

[Shri Satish Chandra.]

any serious untoward incident, the processionists were cordoned off and asked either to witness the sports peacefully or to disperse. Some of them agreed while others went away. There was no occasion whatsoever to make a lathi charge. The entire incident lasted only a few minutes. Out of the total strength of 2,176 workers employed in the Depot not more than 50 had participated in this demonstration. On the 9th of April, at approximately 9 A.M. the Commandant of the Depot was informed that Shri S. M. Joshi, General Secretary of the All India Defence Employees Federation, who happened to be in Delhi on that day wanted to meet him. The Commandant immediately came to the gate and was informed by Mr. Joshi that the workers were intending to go on a token strike and he wanted to persuade them not to do so. The Commandant readily agreed to allow Shri S. M. Joshi to address the workers. Quite a large number of workers had already gone inside the Depot and on Mr. Joshi's persuasion the remaining ones also decided to resume work. Some of them, however, could not do so within the normal time, as according to the existing orders, the Depot gates are finally closed for the day at 9.50 A.M. I must confess here that if a little discretion had been exercised by the Depot officers by taking the liberty of relaxing the particular rule and keeping the gate open beyond the prescribed time the trouble might have ended then and there. Instructions have, however, been issued that the absence of the workers involved will be regularised by granting them leave for the day.

As regards 505 Command Workshop, a proposal was put up for consideration of the Works Committee on 5th April, 1954, that twelve annas per worker should be contributed from the profits of the Unit Canteen (which normally go to the Labour Welfare Fund) for the celebration of the FME

day on 1st May, 1954. Out of 6 or 7 members of the Works Committee, only one member has disagreed with the proposal. The money is to be utilised for expenditure on sports and refreshments to the workers. Government have no knowledge of any hunger-strike having taken place on 8th April, 1954, as alleged by the hon. Member.

COMMITTEE ON ABSENCE OF MEMBERS FROM SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE

PRESENTATION OF SECOND REPORT

Shri Atlekar (North Satara): I beg to present the Second Report of the Committee on Absence of Members from sittings of the House

FINANCE BILL

The Minister of Finance (Shri C.D. Deshmukh): I beg to move:

"That the Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the financial year 1954-55, be taken into consideration."

So far as the imposition of income-tax and super-tax is concerned, there is no change from last year. Clause 2 of the Bill seeks to make certain amendments in the Indian Income-Tax Act. Of these, four amendments relate to the extension by two years, upto 1956, of the concessions which were to expire on the 31st March 1954. Pending the report of the Taxation Enquiry Commission, it was decided to continue these concessions for another two years. The concessions whose period has been extended, are:

- (i) the exemption of foreign profits chargeable on remittance only in the case of a resident person;
- (ii) the exemption for two years of income from property built before the 1st April, 1956;

*Moved with the recommendation of the President.

- (iii) the initial depreciation allowance at the rate of 15 per cent. in the case of buildings completed before the 1st April, 1956; and
- (iv) the exemption available under section 15-C if production is commenced before the 1st April, 1956.

Another amendment gives exemption in respect of interest payable outside India to a non-resident on a loan issued for public subscription outside India. When the law was amended in 1939, and the interest paid outside India on borrowed capital used in India was made chargeable to income-tax, the intention clearly was to give exemption in respect of the interests on loans issued prior to the 1st April, 1938. Since, prior to that date, the interest was not chargeable no provision had been made by the borrowers in the contract for deduction or payment of Indian income-tax. The intention of the exemption was indicated by allowing a deduction from the income of the assessee for the interests paid on such loans without any restrictions, but no provision was made through oversight for such exemption in the hands of non-resident recipients. The exemption was then given by executive orders—in 1941—but this could not possibly be continued any longer. It has, therefore, been considered advisable to put the exemption on a legal footing by making an amendment in the Income-tax Act.

Then I come to the Estate Duty. Clause 4 of the Bill makes two amendments in the Estate Duty Act with retrospective effect from the 15th October, 1953, when the Act came into force. Both these amendments are of a clarificatory nature. The first amendment is to remove any doubt that the property deemed to pass on death is chargeable as property passing on death. The second amendment is to make it clear, as I mentioned in the Council of States during the passage of the Estate Duty Bill, that the exemption under clauses (f) and (g) of section 33 regarding insurance for

payment of estate duty or deposit of advance for payment of estate duty was not to exceed Rs. 50,000 in the aggregate.

As regards customs duties, I have already indicated to the House in my reply to the General Discussion on the Budget that the increase in the import duty on betel-nut was made in order to reduce the profit of the middle man. Reports of market values from ports indicate that as against an increased duty of Rs. 33 per maund, market prices have risen by less than Rs. 15, and that the anticipations appear to have materialised to some extent. The House is aware that in response to representations, I have already varied slightly the excise duty on soap by exempting the first 25 tons of toilet soap and the first 125 tons of laundry soap cleared from a soap factory in any financial year. The number of units expected to benefit by this concession is 39 out of a total of 82 which fell under excise control in the beginning. I shall be moving a little later in the course of this debate an amendment of the definition of 'soap' in the Finance Bill so as to make it a little more precise.

The House is also aware that in the case of foot-wear I recently announced a measure of relief by raising the exemption limit for non-power operated factories to 49 workers whereas originally such factories employing more than 19 workers were taxable; this is estimated to have given relief to 12 out of a total of 76 units originally brought under excise control.

The only other topic I shall refer here and now is in regard to art silk textiles. I have very carefully gone through the several representations I have received and I have decided: (i) to raise the exemption limit from factories employing up to nine looms to those employing up to 24 looms and (ii) to lower the square yard duty of 0-1-0 per square yard,

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exclusive of the handloom cess of three pies per yard recently announced, to six pies per square yard and in addition the cess of three pies per yard will continue to be payable.

In effect, the rate of duty exclusive of the cess will now be about a third of what was originally proposed and half of the modified rates. Mills will also be given the option of paying in advance a lump sum of Rs. 22-8-0 per month per loom employed in the production of art silk instead of the prescribed rate on their actual production and will thereby enable to free themselves from a substantial part of the excise control and fiscal supervision over their operations.

A further concession which I propose to give is not to treat staple fibre as art silk for the purposes of excise duty on art silk fabrics. The present practice of treating staple fibre and cotton textiles as cotton clothes for excise purposes will continue. As against my original estimate of Rs. 1.60 crores, the revised estimate about the receipts from these taxes will be about Rs. 75 lakhs only. All the concessions I have announced will be given effect to by executive orders.

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved.

"That the Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the financial year 1954-55, be taken into consideration."

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta North-East): Mr. Speaker, we are in the last phase of the drama over which the curtain will soon be rung and Government will take charge of the country's finances for the next twelve months. I do not propose to go into the details of the Finance Bill which, with certain modifications, the Finance Minister has just placed before the House and I would leave that discussion mainly to the clause by clause analysis which this House

will make later. But I feel that in spite of the changes which the Finance Minister has accepted, the new financial proposals remain footling little irritants on our body economic and I also feel that they are pettifoggery for in a year which is supposed to be a big year as far as our Plan is concerned, the returns expected are in monetary terms extremely meagre.

I see in the Treasury Benches as represented by the Finance Minister a kind of comfortable assurance that the recession which has started in the United States of America will be checked and that something will turn up in the United Kingdom.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

In regard to this recession in the United States we heard from President Eisenhower himself on the 17th of February this year that in one month, from 15th December to 15th January, there was a rise by two million in the unemployment figure. Government, of course, hopes that they would get over this recession. But this is the thirteenth depression in the United States since the Civil War in 1860. And today we might very well recall the depression in the United States which was hovering round the corner in 1949 and which was lifted only by the Korean War. I say this is an ugly portent, and the foreign policy of the United States should give us reasons for taking a very serious view of the situation which, I fear, the Finance Minister has not taken. We hitch our wagon still to the somewhat pathetically blinking economic star of the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom.

About the Treasury Benches I was reminded the other day, when I asked a question about their internal condition, of a passage in Bernard Shaw's "Heart-break House". It is "a strangely happy house, a house without foundations—I call it heart-break house." They have their

differences from time to time which they patch up and pose as if they are happy. I am not concerned with their occasional heart-breaks, but it is really heart-breaking for the country to have its destinies and its economic direction left in the hands of those who are in charge today. I say this not only because of our general and basic criticism of much of what this Government stands for but also because of its—what I am constrained to call—blatant ineptitudes. I will give a few very recent examples of these instances which are egregious, because in the discussion of the Finance Bill we have a lot of rope—a rope which some of the Ministers might hope is one which we shall hang ourselves with—but we have a lot of rope and I shall try to take advantage of that phenomenon.

I shall refer, first of all, to what I discovered only a few months back, on the 8th December, 1953, to be exact, when the hon. the Minister of Commerce and Industry was very kind and he answered an enquiry which I sent up to him. And I found out that there is a gentleman in his Department whom I shall not name—though I have got his name here—who is a Director (at least on that day he was a Director) in the Office of the Textile Commissioner, drawing a salary of Rs. 1,600, who had no academic qualifications, not even a Matriculation certificate, had no technical qualification, and was supposed to have had journalistic experience for seven years before his initial appointment on a high salary in 1944. This is how the unemployment problem in certain quarters is sought to be tackled by the Ministers.

I will refer next to another matter which was brought up before the House the other day when the Seventh Report of the Public Accounts Committee was placed before us and the Evidence Volume came into our hands. And on page 42 of it there is a statement by the Father

of the House, Mr. B. Das. The day before he had encountered five or six instances in the P. & T. Department where people who should have been sacked at once had been very highly promoted. That was the expression he used.

In regard to the Information and Broadcasting Ministry we find that the Minister the other day told us that he had dismissed a certain number of people, twenty-five or twenty-four, entirely on the advice of the Union Public Service Commission. My information is,—which, if it is inaccurate, I would like to have corrected,—that the Union Public Service Commission had recommended of course that these people should go; but they had examined the cases only on the basis of the confidential files and they did not give a chance to those people to appear before them to make their defence, if any. And the Union Public Service Commission had said that the cases should be kept pending and the persons kept on in service till the next chance came when they could take the opportunity of finding out whether they should be taken or not taken into the service. That was the kind of recommendation made by the Union Public Service Commission, somewhat favourable to the employees. But in spite of that the Minister chose to dismiss those twenty-five people. I know also that something else happened at the same time. Soon after this case happened in regard to these 25 employees, in August 1953 the U.P.S.C. recommended the dismissal of six technical assistants, one of whom however happened to be a person with some influential connections and therefore the recommendation of the U.P.S.C. in regard to these six technical assistants in August 1953 was disregarded. This is the way in which the Information and Broadcasting Ministry is functioning from time to time. I want, also, to refer to one other thing. I do think that whoever is in charge of the radio system in our country

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should try to mobilise to the maximum the talents of our people, their cultural capacities and the varied musical talent in this country. It seems the Minister for Information and Broadcasting has a 'hobby-horse' which he rides to distraction, as far as musical talent is concerned, with the result that there is a list of condemned artists. The National Musical Festival at Red Fort has not been broadcast because certain condemned artists were taking part. That is the kind of thing happening from time to time. Pandit Onkarnath Thakur does not come and participate in radio performances because people like him take objection to this whole system of having condemned artists. I do not mean that the Minister for Information and Broadcasting should have no tastes in regard to music. He is very much entitled to it; he is very much entitled to be proud of his taste. As far as this organisation is concerned, we have a variety of musical talent—the *Gharvana* business as you all know, so many able men who render music in different ways—and it is very important that we should try to have the maximum mobilisation of the very varied and rich musical talent which we have in this country. I wish to have an assurance from Government that no Ministers, particularly the Ministers who are in charge of cultural departments, will be allowed to ride their 'hobby-horses' to the detriment of the cultural development of this country.

I want to say something also in regard to the Railway Ministry. Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri took me very seriously to task because I told him that last year I had drawn his attention to the fact that 700 and odd workers in the Sealdah Division were living in condemned wagons and that the same condition still prevails. He told me: "you are wrong; you have not gone there and you should not have made that statement." I asked him as to how many were still living in condemned wagons and he said that there were about 100

or 120. On the 4th of April, 1954 a question was asked by Shri Ramnanda Das to which the answer was given that 789 members of the railway staff in Sealdah Division are still staying in these condemned wagons and that certain quarters which Shri L. B. Shastri had ordered to be constructed are perhaps in the process of construction. I do not know what exactly has happened in regard to them. This is the kind of thing happening from day to day. This is the kind of thing happening as far as the Treasury Benches are concerned.

Then, Sir, in regard to Irrigation and Power Ministry, the other day the question came up that the Rao Committee reported in September 1953, more than six months ago. The Rao Committee said—according to the newspaper reports which I have tried to show in this House—that in one case a sum of Rs. 1,16,00,000 was given unwarrantedly to a firm, Hind Patel—the name is rather suggestive. So much money was given to this firm for carrying out changes because unwarranted changes were made in the design by a French or Swiss firm. It is said that the whole thing is under consideration of the Estimates Committee. How is it that for more than six months the report is withheld from this House? How is it that this kind of thing goes on all the time?

I also want to say about another thing. The Chief Minister of West Bengal went back from Delhi a few months ago and told the people that he has got an assurance from the Planning Commission that the Ganga Barrage will have the first priority in the Second Five Year Plan. He had to say it because he had to face his people there. Without the Ganga Barrage, the future of the Calcutta port and even the water supply of Calcutta is in great jeopardy. Then we were told and a Press note came out from Delhi which said that this project is not included in the

Second Five Year Plan because of international questions with Pakistan which had to be taken up, and so on. This is a kind of playing with ideas, playing with words, playing with the expectations of the people, which, I am sure, this House ought to try to put a stop to.

In regard to seamen's insurance, I got an answer from the Government last year that the Government knew that Rs. 14 lakhs were lying with the U.K., money which was earned by Indian seamen working in British ships during the war. This money we can get for the asking if only we had a scheme for seamen's insurance in this country. Government said, we know all about it. Two weeks ago, I asked a question, what have you done. They said, we have not prepared any scheme. Therefore, Rs. 1,400,000 earned by the sweat and toil of Indian seamen in British ships will go abegging because our Government has not got some sort of a scheme for seamen's insurance in order to get this money out of the coffers of the British Government.

I have the report of the Income-tax Investigation Commission, which I am sure, the House has taken serious notice of. The Income-tax Investigation Commission says that Government, off its own bat, does not refer so many cases to the Commission which ought to have been referred to it and—this is not all—the Commission has to do it. I have not got the time to quote chapter and verse from the report; it has appeared in the Press and everybody knows that. The Commission says, "of our own volition, we had to take the initiative in the matter of securing reference to us of certain cases as a result of which we have succeeded in unearthing hidden income to a very large extent." This is the kind of thing which goes on. It is difficult to see how our Government is going to have a real Plan and how our Government is going to try at least to equalise the sacrifice on the part of the people, if even a very elementary effort to collect the income-tax

is not made properly. That is the gravamen of the charge which is made, I should say, in very sedate and cultivated language by the Members of the Income-tax Investigation Commission. I say this because I refer the Finance Minister to the index number of the rates of profit of our companies here. It appeared only the other day in the *Eastern Economist*; if I give some figures, he may question them; let him verify and find out. He will see that in particular departments it has gone up to 551. The index figure has gone up from 1939 to 551. In spite of this, we find that these people are behaving in this manner. The Income-tax Investigation Commission refers to certain groups, certain big industrialists and their satellites. This is the language which is used by the Income-tax Investigation Commission. I want the Finance Minister to go into these matters and see that this kind of thing does not continue.

The other day, a suggestion was made to the Health Minister that a minimum target of 50,000 tuberculosis beds in the five years should be achieved. She said that she would be very happy to achieve that target, but that she had not got the money, because a recurring grant of Rs. 6 crores would be necessary and the non-recurring expenditure would be about Rs. 40 crores or so. We pay a privy purse to so many of these princes, who do not even care to tell us about their foreign holdings. The other day, in answer to a question, we heard of one prince who has chosen to disregard Government's question as to how much of foreign holdings he had got. We pay nearly Rs. 5,80,00,000 by way of privy purse to these people. We cannot have 50,000 tuberculosis beds because we cannot afford to spend Rs. 6 crores a year. We are having a Plan. What is the idea behind it? Do we believe like men of the type of Dr. Vogt that we are Asiatics who breed like rabbits and so should die and the population problem could be

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solved in that way. Don't we think that with better health, perhaps we can create condition of things in this country where real economic and social progress can be achieved? What is the criterion? That is my charge against the Finance Minister in particular and against the Government in general. They make a plan. It is a financial programme; it is nothing beyond that. It is unreal and it has no relation to the living condition of the people in this country. And that is why, for all the Information and Broadcasting Ministry's tom-tomming by spending quite a number of lakhs over the Plan's publicity, nothing has happened to enthuse the people, to have the glow of enthusiasm in the hearts of the people.

In regard to foreign capital which is a matter which comes up so often, we find from the *Times of India* of the 15th February that the United States Department of Commerce has brought about a hand-book called *Investment in India* which has been only recently available in this country. It notes a growing recognition by Government of the need for private foreign investment, for private enterprise, for private enterprise in general, and a consequent willingness to offer terms of entry that are attractive to foreign investors. And then it says :

"This development has come about gradually and has been made known more by actions than by words."

My hon. friend the Finance Minister and my hon. friend the Commerce and Industry Minister have made known by their actions if not so much by their words, which are sometimes very brave words when they come and speak on the floor of the House, that foreign investors are going to have a free hand as far as the exploitation of the country is concerned. And the result is what we find—Governors of States and Chief Ministers of States going to open a build-

ing constructed by the Imperial Chemical Industries (India) Limited in Calcutta, or by the Standard Vacuum Oil Co. Ltd., in Bombay. Why should this happen? Indian patriotism has fought for so long against these foreigners and the menace of "(India) Ltd." and now our Governors and Chief Ministers go all the way and they get garlands and they get smiles from these foreign gentry who are supposed to be extremely well-behaved; and then they say: "God bless you. You are doing your best for us. We are benighted Asiatics. You have brought the light from somewhere, and therefore we have come to praise you." That is the kind of thing which goes on all the time.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): May I say, if my hon. friend would permit me, that so far as the opening of institutions belonging to private enterprise is concerned, the Central Government have limited themselves to the Prime Minister, the Finance Minister, and the Commerce and Industry Minister, who will not participate in these functions. We have not gone beyond these three.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Whatever that may be, the point of what I was saying, I am sure, is not touched by whatever excuse might be offered by the hon. Minister.

In regard to the States Reorganisation Commission. I would say—it has happened so—that two of the Members who should have a kind of judicial dispassionateness in regard to this question, if such a thing can happen,—as far as I am concerned, I cannot imagine a man with a completely blank mind, which I fear can only be a sterile mind, but the other party always talks of judicial dispassionateness and that sort of thing—have expressed themselves very strongly against the whole idea of linguistic provinces, which is the most amazing thing, and nothing has been

said so far by the Central Government in regard to this proposition.

And, in the meantime, repression goes on on language groups in Manbhum, near the borders of West Bengal and Bihar. I do not want to go into the merits of the question. I do not want to create a chauvinist atmosphere. I do not want a fight between the Bengalis and Biharis over this question. But there is this universally accepted principle in our country of linguistic redivision of provinces. We must have this linguistic redivision. And, at this stage, if any effort is made to repress any linguistic group, certainly that repression has got to be taken note of by the Central Government.

I say a Member of this House—I am not referring to the case in the High Courts—was marched across the streets of Purulia or Hazaribagh from the jail to the Court, and there was a rope round his waist and, we have been told, fetters round his feet. And that was the kind of thing which was going on. His hands were tied and he was taken to the Court along the roads.

Shri Jajware (Santal Parganas *cum* Hazaribagh) rose—

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I have got so much to say that I cannot yield to this kind of interruption.

In regard to another point, the question of rationalisation—I am happy the hon. Minister for Commerce and Industry is also here—what exactly is Government's position in regard to rationalisation? Let us be more explicit about it. Are we going to have rationalisation of one sort or the other in this context of growing unemployment? I want Government to take time over it and tell us very specifically, concretely, the definite steps which they are going to take in the near future. I say what is needed today is not rationalisation schemes of existing industries, but that available capital resources be used in new and parti-

cularly basic industries. This is a very important thing. I want Government to think over this. It is not important for us to rationalise here and now. It might interest some of those for whom the world goes round because there is the profit motive. For them, of course, rationalisation may be a very important thing here and now, but for the country rationalisation in the context of growing unemployment is certainly not important. What is important is that there should be new and basic industries. I do not argue against rationalisation as such, because, after all, we must have rationalisation at some time or other. We must grow, we must have heavy industries, a real industrialised society. If and when we have that, certainly rationalisation will fit into the scheme. It would be absolutely appropriate to the situation. But as things stand, it is standing in the way of the development of new and basic industries, and that is why we have got to take very good care.

In regard to the affairs of the External Affairs Ministry, I would say that the United Nations observers in Kashmir are still happily hunting round the place. But why should we forget the old unsavoury history? Why should we forget that mascot of the British bourgeoisie, Lord Mountbatten, who succeeded in trapping our Prime Minister? If you read *Mission with Mountbatten*, which I was reading only the other day—re-reading as a matter of fact,—you will find how he traps the Prime Minister into the net of the United Nations, and how we had to refer this case to the United Nations. Then there are certain other cases. For instance, there is a case about one Haight, about whom it was said by Sir B. N. Rau in the Security Council as follows—this fellow went over, and helped the Azad Kashmir forces, and he was an ex-officer of the American army—

“India, I am told, can, if she chooses, be tough and ask for damages from the United States

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for losses sustained as a result of Haight's activities, not merely because of loss of life inflicted by him, but for the entire cost of military operations necessitated by his organisation of the Azad forces."

This appeared in *The Hindu* of the 14th February 1950. But of course, we did not get tough with the Americans. We got no damages, and we did not even get a word of apology. Then there was a man called Major-General Delvoie. The fellow was doing all kinds of malpractices, and smuggling things across to Pakistan; and the Government of India had to tell him to quit, and he did quit. Then there was the Governor of the Punjab, Sir George Cunningham writing letters to our then Commander-in-Chief, Sir Robert Lockhart, I am not going into any of these details now, but we know these things. In the face of these things, how is it that we go on tolerating this enormity, and how is it that we do not raise our voice a little louder? I am sure, the Prime Minister would say again,—as he has said so many times—you chaps are barbarians, you do not know the kind of language which we ought to use. Let him choose his own language. Obviously, he is so much more effective than we are; let him use his own language, but let him do something about it. Let us not allow this matter to slumber over, but that is what I fear he is going to do. That is why I say in regard to foreign policy, the Prime Minister has made, particularly in recent months, a great contribution. He has taken a stand in regard to the hydrogen bomb, and other methods of mass extermination; in regard to the problem of freedom in Asia—especially South East Asia—he has taken a stand which is worthy of India. But to be effective, our policy in every aspect must be consistent and strong, which it is not. That is where I charge the Finance Minister, because he is a specialist in this matter, and he is in charge of the

economic administration of this country. I say that our economic administration has to be conducted in a fashion which is really consistent with our foreign policy as we propound it today; otherwise, the kind of proposition which we put forward in regard to foreign policy will be laughed out of court as exuberant, just as exuberant as the Prime Minister seeks to make out that my exclamations in this House are exuberant. Unless we make up our minds about what we are going to do, there is no good throwing bouquets at the Finance Minister. On the contrary, I would say, here is an opportunity: just because at this moment we are saying, you have taken a great stand in regard to foreign policy, here is an opportunity to justify not only yourself to yourself, but yourself to the country. And that is a challenge which I am throwing from this side of the Opposition. I would ask the Finance Minister, in regard to this question of the U. S. recession, and the clouds gathering on the economic horizon, as to why it is that we are not thinking more seriously in regard to the organisation of our international trade. I think that the idea of having barter agreements on long-term basis with planned economies is extremely important. I say this because—if I may be permitted to quote from the *Economic Review of Asia and the Far East*, published in 1951 by the UNECAFE, which noted that—

"In sheer quantitative terms, greater stability of the demand for the raw materials exported by under-developed countries is even more important than the current scale of foreign aid and loans."

Obviously, if we are to have given amounts of equipments delivered to us regularly at scheduled times, to implement our planned construction, it cannot be done if one year, our exports bring us Rs. 715 crores,—that was in 1951—the next year, viz.,

1952, they bring us Rs. 556 crores, and the third year, viz. 1953, they bring Rs. 336 crores. Now prices fall not because of a law of nature or a God-given dispensation, but because there are people all over the place sitting in all the Bourses, the stock exchanges, manipulating things so that it is in their interests that these raw materials can be extracted from the under-developed countries which must go on to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the metropolitan countries.

I say, that we are supposed to be drawing aid from the United Kingdom, from the United States, from Norway, from Heaven knows what other countries. Actually by this means, by beating down the prices of our export commodities, they are cheating us, and actually we are aiding the United States and the United Kingdom a hell of a lot more than what they are aiding us. That is the definite claim which I certainly would like to make. Since we do not have, and we cannot have, our export commodities in unlimited amounts, the only sensible and practical thing for us to do is to make long-term and firm barter arrangements. And there are countries like the Soviet Union, like Czechoslovakia, like Poland and Hungary; with some of these countries we already have trade agreements. But, they are going to be trade agreements on paper if you go and say—as you said early in 1952—that our business people are at liberty to enter into contracts with these Socialist countries. That is not the entire answer; that is no answer at all. These are socialist economies which have offered on a barter basis those capital goods which you need. They have offered to take commodities from this country. Let us, therefore, give our thought to the idea of these barter transactions because without this, I fear that we shall not get anywhere.

Now, this brings me to the last and the main point which I want to emphasise, and that is in regard to the position of our Plan. I think I once

said to somebody or other—I do not know if it was here in Parliament—that like a medieval document called the *Golden Bull* which legalised anarchy and called it a Constitution, we have got a Plan which bases itself largely on the jungle called the private sector, with the result that actually we have got no plan at all. We haven't a real plan, but merely a limited programme of haphazard investments, principally depending on the private sector. The rate of investment in relation to the national product is changeful in every capitalist country. I shall refer the Prime Minister to certain talks given in the Indian Statistical Institute by Prof. Bettelheim of Paris, who was a visiting Professor there, in Calcutta. Now, he would find there an analysis—he is not a Socialist; if he was a Socialist, Government would have given him the order of the boot: but he is not that; he is just, as far as I can make out from the notes of his speeches, a reasonable economist who tries to understand the difficulties of the under-developed countries—and he shows how the rate of investment in relation to the national product is changeful in capitalist countries; and it is stable only when a real plan is in operation, only when real efforts are made to make full employment realisable, when monopolistic practices do not create a continuous and chronic condition of economic disequilibrium. That is the position. I am sorry I do not have time to go into details over it. I wish our Finance Minister would have a very close study of the formulations made by Prof. Bettelheim in his lectures before the Indian Statistical Institute which, I am sure, would throw a flood of light on the way in which we should reorganise our Plan, and I am sure if we do that, we shall be very cautious in regard to foreign capital. We shall try to see to it that our own resources, specially our mineral resources, are developed, and we shall go ahead with the plan of having heavy industries straightway, whatever the cost in suffering. Our people are ready to suffer once they know that you

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

are on the right track. They won't suffer with you, when you want to monopolise comfort for a few and you want to give privation to everybody in this country; they will suffer with you the moment they have the realisation that they are there, really working for a goal which would make life happy not only for themselves but for their children and their children's children. I was pleased in a way when I found the Finance Minister trying to break away from certain foreign influences, particularly the influence of the International Monetary Fund which has lately reported on the conditions in our country. He gave, what I may be permitted to call, a slogan, a slogan of 'development through deficits.' I think that just as the I.M.F. slogan of development through foreign aid is no good, so the idea of development through deficit financing is no good at all, because I do not believe in the capacity of the Government to have those controls, those checks and balances, which alone can make deficit financing acceptable, which alone can make the capital formation by the Finance Minister capable of results. The Finance Minister has talked about capital formation. The trouble is not that capital cannot be formed but that its formation and utilization for the expansion of production are prevented today on account of the fundamental basis on which our economy is built. Today, crores and crores of rupees are being extracted from this country, year after year, by profits garnered by foreign monopolists as well as by Indian monopolists. Now, our own monopolists have got to be checked just as foreign monopolists have got to be checked. I have given instances and I shall not repeat them, by why can't we now, when we are at the beginning of the second five year plan, make a simple scheme of directing all profits earned by those monopolists to those industries and other sectors of economy which, in the opinion of Gov-

ernment, as representatives of the people, should be extended and further developed? Let us bring that kind of idea into being. If we can put a ceiling on profit which, as I said before, will certainly create a good deal of real, big source of capital formation, and if real reforms in the land system are introduced, the burden on the peasantry would go. So much money which is now being wasted by non-agricultural sections of the land as non-productive capital on land would be forcibly diverted by Governmental agency from such non-productive investment to productive channels, and the improvement in the standard of life of our peasantry, who are still the backbone of our country, would create purchasing power and on the basis of our own productivity we can have a plan of our own. It will be labour productivity as the source and fount of our capital formation. After all, the greatest capital which a country possesses is its people: not bricks and mortar, not the gold which you find stowed away in the Rajpramukhs' chests and treasure-houses. The greatest capital which a country has got is its people. If you mobilize their worth, if you try to enthuse them, if you invoke their spirit, they will be available tomorrow. Then alone can we have a real plan worthy of this country. As far as the plan is concerned at present, I do not find any signs of this Government going in the direction which it should. On the contrary, I find it wobbling, hesitant, with a brave stand on foreign policy and a very pusillanimous stand in regard to general policy. These things are so blatantly inconsistent that unless we can make up our minds, unless we change and root out those inconsistencies, we shall be nowhere. But we want to be somewhere; we want to have our place in the sun, the place which our ancestors who created a massive civilization are calling upon us to fill. That is why in discussing the Finance Bill, I wish this Government has the courage—the kind of courage which creates a

new policy—to go forward in the way which I have tried, in a very hurried and sometimes in a very disjointed fashion, to indicate to the Finance Minister and to the House.

श्री बंसल (झज्जरवाड़ी) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज मैं चाहता हूँ कि आपकी इजाजत लूँ कि मैं अपने विचारों को हाउस के सामने हिन्दुस्तानी में रखूँ।

अपोजीशन के जो डिब्बी लीडर हैं उन्होंने अभी बहुत लम्बी चाँड़ी तकरीर की और उन्होंने शुरू किया अमरीका से। उसके बाद उन्होंने बहुत सी मिनिस्ट्रीज के ऊपर अपने विचार प्रकट किये और फिर आखिर में वह अमरीका पर ही आ गये। मैं यह सोच रहा था कि वह अमरीका के पीछे क्यों पड़े हुए हैं। तो यह मेरी समझ में उनकी तकरीर के आखिर में आया जब कि वह इस बात को लाये कि हिन्दुस्तान वालों को रूस वालों से बार्टर एग्रीमेंट करना चाहिए। उन्होंने सन १९५१ की एक इकाई की रिपोर्ट का हवाला दिया उस रिपोर्ट को मैं ने भी देखा है। उस रिपोर्ट में यह है कि जो देश अपना कच्चा माल बाहर भेजते हैं आगे चल कर टरम्स आफ ट्रेड उनके खिलाफ जाते हैं। मैं अपने भाई को बतलाना चाहूँगा कि अब बहुत कम कच्चा माल हिन्दुस्तान से बाहर जाता है। मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि थोड़ी सी चीजों को छोड़ कर कौनसा कच्चा माल हिन्दुस्तान से बाहर भेजा जाता है।

तो जो उन्होंने अंडर डेवलप देशों की बात, कच्चे माल के एक्सपोर्ट को लेकर कही थी वह हिन्दुस्तान पर लागू नहीं होती। और मेरी समझ में नहीं आया कि उन्होंने बगैर सोचे समझे इस बात को इतना तूल क्यों दिया ?

दूसरी उनका ठोस सुझाव था कि रूस वालों के साथ हमारा बार्टर एग्रीमेंट होना चाहिये, ठीक है, बार्टर एग्रीमेंट होना चाहिये, लेकिन मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या उन्होंने लड़ाई के बाद जितने बाइलेंडल ट्रेड एग्रीमेंट्स हुए हैं उनको जांचा है और क्या उन्होंने यह देखा है कि जितने भी बार्टर एग्रीमेंट्स हमने दूसरे

मुल्कों से किये, पिछली लड़ाई के बाद, वह कोई भी सफल नहीं हुआ, वह एग्रीमेंट्स क्यों नहीं सफल हुए, उसके बहुत से सबब हैं, मैं उनकी तफसील में नहीं जाऊँगा मगर मैं बड़े अदब के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि एक टोटलिटैरियन एकोनामी हो तो उसका एक्सपोर्ट ट्रेड प्राइवेट सिस्टम वाले देश से कभी कामयाब नहीं हो सकता और यह बड़ी वजह है कि बार्टर एग्रीमेंट कभी भी कामयाब साबित नहीं होते। मैं उन लोगों में से हूँ जो रूस के साथ, जेकोस्लावाकिया के साथ और चीन आदि देशों के साथ चाहते हैं कि हमारे व्यापारिक सम्बन्ध दिन पर दिन मजबूत हों। आखिर हमारी किसी देश से दुश्मनी तो है नहीं। रूस से जो इंग्लीशमन अभी आया था, हमने उसका बड़ी अच्छी तरह से स्वागत किया और उनके साथ एक ट्रेड एग्रीमेंट किया, मगर मैं यहां साफ कर दूँ कि महज ट्रेड एग्रीमेंट कर लेने से ट्रेड नहीं चलती, ट्रेड तो वह चीज है जैसे दोनों हाथ से ताली बजती है एक से नहीं बजती, उसी प्रकार से ट्रेड भी चलती है। केवल बार्टर एग्रीमेंट पर साइन कर देने और फिर जाकर रूस में चुपचाप बैठ जाने से ट्रेड डेवलप नहीं होगा। अगर वह चाहते हैं कि हमारी ट्रेड रूस के साथ बड़े तो उनका फर्ज हो जाता है कि वह कोशिश करें और देखें कि कौन २ कमजोरियाँ व सामियाँ हम में हैं जिससे कि इनमें आपस की ट्रेड नहीं बढ़ पा रही है और उनको दूर करने का प्रयत्न करें। मैं इस सम्बन्ध में तफसील से बयान नहीं करूँगा क्योंकि मेरा समय केवल पन्द्रह मिनट का है, लेकिन मैं उनको यकीन दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि हाउस में इस तरफ जितने लोग बैठे हुए हैं वे इस बात के इच्छुक हैं कि रूस, चीन, जेकोस्लावाकिया और अन्य जितने भी मुल्क हैं उनके साथ हमारी ट्रेड बढ़े और दिन पर दिन बढ़े। मैं ट्रेड की तरफ से भी उनको इस बात का यकीन दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश की ट्रेड चाहती है कि हमारा लेनदेन इन मुल्कों के साथ बढ़े और अगर आगे कोई अवसर आया, हमारी ट्रेड आगे बढ़ाने की बात चली तो मैं उनको यकीन दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि मेरी पूरी

[श्री बंसल]

पार्टी उनके साथ होगी। ट्रेड को बढ़ाने के लिये उन्हें ठोस सुझाव देने पड़ेंगे। ब्रिताने भी बाल्लेंट्राइट ट्रेड एग्रीमेंट्स हुए वह क्यों कामयाब नहीं हुए, इसके बारे में उनको सोचना होगा और उनमें जो कमियाँ थीं उनको दूर करने के लिये उनको प्रयत्नशील होना पड़ेगा।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अपने उन मेम्बर साहब की तकरीर के बारे में अर्ब कर रहा था, मैं दंखता हूँ कि मैं अपने असली मेम्बर से कुछ थोड़ा सा बहका जा रहा हूँ। उन्होंने जो तम्बी चौड़ी दलीलें दी थीं उनमें मैं नहीं पड़ना चाहता, उन्होंने हर एक मिनिस्ट्री को लेकर शुरू से आखिर तक जिस तरह डिमांड्स एन्ड गान्ट्रस पर बहस होती है उस तरह से उन्होंने बहस शुरू की। मैं अब चूँकि समय थोड़ा है इसीलिये अपने को यह जो विषय हमारे सामने पेश हैं और इससे जो सवालात पैदा होते हैं, मैं उन्हीं पर अपना ध्यान रखूँगा। सबसे पहले तो मैं यह अर्ब करना चाहता हूँ कि ब्रिताने भी सुझाव इस विधेयक में हैं मैं उनका समर्थन करता हूँ। जैसे ही वह बजट अर्ब मंत्री महोदय ने इस सदन के सामने रक्खा था, उसी शाम को बाहर जाकर प्रेस प्रीतिनिधियों को उनके ब्रिताने भी सुझाव हैं उनके प्रति अपना समर्थन धोषित कर दिया था और जब से मंत्री महोदय ने यह चार्टर्स स्टेटमेंट नम्बर १, २ और ३ हमारे प्लान की प्रगीत के बारे में दिये हैं तब से मैं उनके ब्रिताने भी सुझाव हैं उनका और भी बारे में समर्थक हो गया हूँ। अपने इस समर्थन का सबब मैं थोड़ी दूर बाद इस सदन के सामने रखूँगा। अभी मैं एक छोटी सी चीज मंत्री महोदय के सामने लाना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि वह जो अपने रॉयन के कपड़े के उमर एक्साइज ड्यूटी लगायी है उसको न लगाये तो बहुत अच्छा होगा और उसके बदले में मेरा सुझाव है कि रॉयन चार्ज जो हम इम्पोर्ट करते हैं उस पर इस समय २५ परसेंट इम्पोर्ट ड्यूटी है, उसको बढ़ा कर ४५ फीसदी कर दें तो उनको एक करोड़ रुपये से

भी ज्यादा मिल जायगा और ब्रिताना असन्तोष छोटे २ कारखाने वालों में फैला हुआ है, अमृतसर और सुरत से लोग आये और उन्होंने अपनी कठिनाइयाँ रखीं, अगर मंत्री महोदय मेरा सुझाव मान लें तो उन कठिनाइयों में बहुत कमी हो जायेगी। मेरा सुझाव है कि अगर अब एक्साइज ड्यूटी को हटा दिया जाय और उसके बन्ने में इम्पोर्ट ड्यूटी २५ फीसदी से बढ़ा कर ४५ फीसदी कर दी जाय तो कोई हर्ब बजट में नहीं होगा और ब्रितानी छोटी इंडस्ट्रीज हैं उनमें जो असन्तोष फैला हुआ है वह आसानी से दूर हो जायगा।

मैं यह अर्ब कर रहा था कि इस विधेयक में ब्रिताने सुझाव दिये गये हैं उनका मेरे समर्थन करने का एक दूसरा सबब यह है कि जो नकशा हमारे देश के सामने अब इस पंच-साला योजना का है, मैं समझता हूँ कि सदन के सदस्यों ने जो तीन टैबुलर चार्टर्स हैं उनको गौर से पढ़ा होगा और उनको गौर से पढ़ने के बाद एक चीज जो सामने आती है वह यह है कि अगर हम अपना वह प्लान पांच वर्ष में सत्य करना चाहें, जैसा कि हमें सत्य करना चाहिये तो हमें ५६० करोड़ रुपये की डीफीसिट करनी होगी। वह एक बहुत बड़ी भारी रकम है। मैं उन लोगों में से हूँ जो यह चाहते हैं और इस बात की कोशिस करना चाहते हैं कि हम यह प्लान पूरी तरह से इम्प्लीमेंट करें और उस रास्ते में ब्रिताने चार्ट फाक्स हों उनसे हम अपने को बचा कर आगे बढ़ें और मैं चाहता हूँ कि २२२५ करोड़ रुपये का जो टार्गेट है वह पूरा का पूरा हमें निभाना चाहिये, और इसीलिये हमें इस बात से मुंह मोड़ना नहीं चाहिये कि ५६० करोड़ रुपये का डीफीसिट हमें करना पड़ेगा। जब हमें इतना बड़ा डीफीसिट करना पड़ेगा और उससे जो मुद्रास्फीति या इनफ्लेशन होगा उसको रोकने का क्या इलाज है? उसका उपाय यही है कि जो हम क्रय शक्ति वृद्धि में हैं उस क्रय शक्ति को दूसरे रास्तों से वापिस लें। एक तरीका एक्साइज ड्यूटी का है, दूसरा तरीका

इनकमटैक्स का है और तीसरा तरीका लॉन्स का है। एक्साइज ड्यूटी के सम्बन्ध में विधेयक में जो सुझाव दिया गया है मैं उसका समर्थन क्यों कर रहा हूँ, उसका सबब यह है कि इस समय इनकमटैक्स को बढ़ाने के लिये कोई मांग नहीं आनी चाहिये और उसकी एक खास बजह है और उसे हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने बड़ी अच्छी तरह से रक्खा है कि वह टैक्सेशन का सारा सवाल एक टैक्सेशन कमीशन के सामने पेश है और वह बड़ी गौर से इस बात को देख रहा है कि आखिर किस तरह का हमें टैक्सेशन स्ट्रक्चर वहाँ पर कायम करना चाहिये जो कि इस प्लान को मर्दनवर रखते हुए बैस्ट पॉसिबल रजिस्ट्रस हमें दें और जब कि वह आयोग इस सारी चीज को बड़ी गौर से देख रहा है और इसी के लिये वह नियुक्त किया गया है तो मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि वह उचित होगा कि हमारे मंत्री महोदय इस वक्त वर्तमान टैक्सेशन के ढांचे को एकदम बदल दें और इस बात का इन्तजार न करें कि उस आयोग की हमारे सामने रिपोर्ट आये ताकि हम गौर से सोचें और यह भी विचारें कि जो ८६० करोड़ रुपये का इनफ्लेशन इस डीफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग के द्वारा होगा उसके असर को हमें किन तरीकों द्वारा रोकना होगा। उसका तरीका यह है कि जिस जिस सेक्टर में वह रूपया बढ़े उस सेक्टर से हम उस रूपये को वापिस ले लें और उसका एक सबसे अच्छा तरीका हमारे खजाने में यह है कि एक्साइज ड्यूटी चीजों पर लगती है और वह उन लोगों को देनी पड़ती है जो उन चीजों को इस्तेमाल करते हैं। बहुत से मेरे भाई यह कहते हैं कि आखिर ये जूते पर क्यों इस तरह का कर लगाया जाय ? पहले तो जो जूतों के ऊपर कर लगाया गया है वह हर एक जूते पर नहीं लगा है, जो छोटें २ घरेलू उद्योगों द्वारा जूते बनाये जायेंगे, वह इस टैक्स से बरी कर दिये जायेंगे और सिर्फ उन्हीं जूतों पर कर लगेगा जो बड़े २ कारखानों में बनते हैं और हमारे ये भाई जो इन बड़ी २ कम्पनियों के बनाये जूते पहिनना चाहते हैं और खर्च कर सकते हैं उनका यह फर्ज होजाता है कि सरकार

को खास तौर पर जब कि वह इतना इनफ्लेशन कर रही है तो उसमें थोड़ा सा हिस्सा बटावें और टैक्स के रूप में सरकार को दें।

दूसरा सवाल यह पैसा होता है कि वह जो ८६० करोड़ रुपये का डीफिसिट हमें इन पर करना है, क्या वह करने के बाद भी हम २२४४ करोड़ रुपये के टारगेट को इन पांच वर्षों में पूरा कर लेंगे, मुझे तो इन चार्ट्स को देखने के बाद बरा भी शक नहीं है कि अगर हमारे वित्त मंत्री और हमारी सरकार इस बात के ऊपर बिस्कुट उतारू हो जायें कि हमें वह प्लान पूरा करना है तो मुझे कोई शक नहीं मालूम होता कि बावजूद इसके कि हमारा प्लान इन तीन वर्षों में काफी पिछड़ गया है, उसको पूरा किया जा सकता है।

4 P.M.

मैं बताऊँ क्यों। पहले साल हम ने २६२ करोड़ रुपये खर्च किये, दूसरे साल २७९ करोड़, तीसरे साल ४९९ करोड़ खर्च किये। वानी दूसरे और तीसरे साल के बीच में जो हम ने अपनी प्लेन को बढ़ाया वह करीब करीब १४० करोड़ रुपये से बढ़ाया। इसी तरह अगर हम तीसरे और चौथे साल के जो ४६४ करोड़ रुपये के बजेटेड फिगरस हैं उन को देखें तो उन में हम ने १५२ करोड़ रुपये से बढ़ाया। इसी तरह से अगर हम आखिरी साल के ७३५ करोड़ रुपये के खर्च को ले कर अपनी प्लेन को पूरी करना चाहें तो हमें १७९ करोड़ रुपये से बढ़ाना पड़ेगा। मैं मानता हूँ कि यह दरें कुछ थोड़ी ज्यादा हैं बमुकाबले इस के कि अगर हम ने प्लेन को पहले से ठीक तरह से बराबर चलाया होता। लेकिन फिर भी मैं इन को इतना ज्यादा नहीं समझता कि हम माफूस हो कर बैठ जायें, जैसा कि पिछले दिन हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने कहा मुझे वह चीज अच्छी नहीं लगी। उन्होंने कहा कि हम प्लेन को ८०, ८५ परसेन्ट तक ही निभाने पायेंगे। और वह मुझे इस लिये नहीं भाई कि मैं इस में माफूसी देखता हूँ और माफूसी के साथ साथ मैं इस में वह देखता हूँ कि अगर हम ने डीलापन अल्बहार किया तो जो हमारी पांच वर्ष की प्लेन है उस में ६ वर्ष लग

[श्री बंसल]

जायेंगे। यह चीज मैं बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकता इस के पीछे एक कहानी है, वह मैं बताऊँ।

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: On a point of personal explanation, Sir, I think I said that we are certain to execute at least 85 per cent. That is not the same as saying that we shall confine ourselves to executing the Plan to the extent of 85 per cent.

श्री बंसल : आप को धन्यवाद कि आप ने जो मेरी बड़ी भारी शंका थी उस को दूर किया। मैं तो आप को अपनी पूरी सपोर्ट देना चाहता हूँ कि आप पांच वर्ष में इस प्लान को पूरा करें। आखिर कोई भी प्लान हो, बगैर जनता को तकलीफ़ हुए आप उस की प्लानिंग नहीं कर सकते। जितने भी दूसरे मुल्कों के उदाहरण हमारे सामने हैं, आप देखेंगे कि उन सब में यह बात हुई। रूस में प्लानिंग हुई, वह केवल टिजर और ट्वायल से ही नहीं हुई बल्कि उस में ब्लड भी शामिल था। और भी देशों में जहाँ पर प्लानिंग हुई, वहाँ टिजर और ट्वायल बहुत ज्यादा शामिल रहा। इसलिये यदि हमारे देश में इतनी मुद्रा स्फीत करने के बाद भी जनता को कुछ थोड़ी सी तकलीफ़ होती है, तो उस को तकलीफ़ उठानी पड़ेगी। अगर आप यह चाहें कि हमारे रहन सहन का मेजर पांच वर्षों में कुछ थोड़ा सा बढ़ जाय, आप वह समझें कि बगैर कुछ किये हुए, बगैर कुछ तकलीफ़ उठाये, बगैर कुछ सैक्रिफाइस किये हुए यह हो जाय, तो यह नामुमकिन बात है, और हमें अपने को इस भुलावे में हर्गिज नहीं रखना चाहिये। इसलिये मैं तो, जो भाई इस तरफ़ बैठे हुए हैं उन का फर्ब तो है ही, जो उस तरफ़ बैठे हुए हैं, उन से भी अपील करता हूँ कि वह इस प्लान को कामयाब बनाने में पूरी सहायता सरकार को दें। यह नहीं कि अभी जैसे हमारे माननीय मुक़र्जी साहब खड़े हुए और उन्होंने प्लान के ऊपर तो कुछ कहा नहीं, पर रूस और अमरीका की बात कहने लगे और जो दो चार इधर उधर की मिनिस्ट्रियों में कामियाँ हैं उन की बात कहने लगे।

Dr. Lanka Sundaram (Visakhapatnam): What happened to the Committee on Public Co-operation; only one sitting in two years?

श्री बंसल : उस का जवाब तो मंत्री महोदय देंगे। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि जो कुछ भी हमारी सरकार इस प्लान के बारे में कर रही है वह सब ठीक ही कर रही है। सदन को यह मालूम है कि मैं इस बात के ऊपर कि हमारी प्लान करीब करीब 200 करोड़ रुपये से चार वर्षों में पिछड़ी जा रही है सरकार का बड़ा भारी क्रिटिक रहा हूँ। लेकिन जैसा मैं ने अर्ज किया कि यह बात मुझमें भाई नहीं कि वित्त मंत्री ने हाउस के सामने बताया कि इस तरह से ज्यादा एंलोकेशनस हुए हैं और वह अनयूटिलाइज्ड रहे। यह बात ठीक है कि कुछ दूसरी मिनिस्ट्रियों की कमजोरियों की वजह से जो एंलोकेशनस थे वह अनयूटिलाइज्ड रहे हैं। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि इस में फाइनेंस मिनिस्ट्री का कसूर है, यह सारं डांचे का कसूर है, जो हमारा एंडीमिनिस्ट्रीटिव सेंट अप है, मैं उस का कसूर समझता हूँ। जब तक हम इस डांचे को नहीं बदलेंगे और ऐसा डांचा नहीं बनायेंगे जो कि इस प्लान को एग्जक्यूट कर सके, तब तक मैं समझता हूँ कि जनता का स्तर भी नहीं ऊंचा होगी और हमारी प्लान वह पेपरही पर रह जायेगी। मैं आप को बतलाऊँ, हमारी जो एकानामिक कमेटी आफ दि कौन्सिल है वह बनी, प्रोडक्शन कमेटी आफ दि कौन्सिल है, वह बनी। प्रोडक्शन कमेटी आफ दि कौन्सिल शायद एक बार भी अच्छी तरह से नहीं बैठी, या शायद एक आध बार बैठी हो तो जो हमारे प्लानिंग के अंग हैं, जो कि इस प्लानिंग के ही लिये बनाये गये हैं, जब तक उन में एक कोऑर्डिनेशन नहीं आयेगा, जब तक प्लान को एग्जक्यूट करने की भावना बढ़ नहीं होगी, तब तक हमारी प्लान आगे नहीं बढ़ सकती। इसी लिये मेरा सुझाव है कि हमें इस एंडीमिनिस्ट्रेशन के डांचे को, इस प्लान के एग्जक्यूट करने वाले डांचे को बदलना है। मैं कोई भी सैक्रिफाइस ऐसी नहीं समझता जो कि इस के लिये नहीं की जा सकती। हम

को हर ऐसी चीज को हटाना चाहिये जो कि इस प्लान को सफल करने के रास्ते में रोड़ा अटकाने वाली हो ।

मैंने दो सुझाव रखे । एक तो हमें इस प्लान को पांच वर्ष के भीतर ही भीतर पूरा करना चाहिये और इस में जितनी भी रूकावटें आयें, उन सब पर हमें हावी होना चाहिये । दूसरा सुझाव यह है कि हमें अपने एंडीमीनीस्ट्रीटब सेंट अप में इस प्रकार से रद्द हो बदल करना चाहिये कि वह इस प्लान के लिये एंग्रिजक्विटिव बन जाय ।

तीसरा मेरा सुझाव यह है कि हमारा सरकार के जो बहुत से अंग हैं, यानी प्लानिंग कमिशन, एकानामिक कमिटी आफ दी कौन्सिल और प्रोडक्शन कमिटी आफ दी कौन्सिल, इन सब में एक बड़ा सामंजस्य होना चाहिये, उन में को-ऑर्डिनेशन होना चाहिये ताकि इस काम में जो रूकावट आज कल हमें पड़ती हुई नजर आती है वह न रहे ।

मैंने कुछ उदाहरण अपने सामने रखे, जिन में जितना रूपया था वह खर्च नहीं हुआ । ऐसा नहीं था कि उन में एंलोकेशन न रहा हो, सब के लिये एंलोकेशन था और वह सब ऐसी चीजें थीं जिन पर कि देश का निर्माण निर्भर करता है । पीनिसिलीन फैक्ट्री के लिये ६४ लाख रूपये मंजूर हुए और ३० लाख रूपये लगाये गये, मेशीन टूल्स फैक्ट्री के लिये १४२ लाख रूपये मंजूर हुए और केवल ५० लाख रूपये उस में लगाये गये, इसी एंलोक्यूट्रीकल इन्वियुपमेंट के लिये एक लाख रूपये एंलोकटे हुए, उस में से सिर्फ ५०,००० रूपये खर्च किये गये । इसके अलावा कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट्स, लोकल वर्क्स और इन्डस्ट्रियल हाउसिंग इत्यादि के लिये १७ करोड़ रूपये रखे थे, लेकिन खर्च हुए सिर्फ ८ करोड़, ७२ लाख रूपये । ५० करोड़ रूपये रखे गये थे फार 'दी डेवलपमेंट आफ बीसक इन्डस्ट्रीज एंड ट्रान्सपोर्ट' । प्लान का शुरू में यह बकला गया था और खर्च का तखमीना है सिर्फ ५० लाख रूपया । इस साल के एक्स्प्लेनेटरी मेमोरान्डम में कहा जाता है कि :

"The Government of India have revived a proposal for establishing a factory for the manufacture of heavy electrical equipment."

५० करोड़ रूपये एंलोकटे करने के बाद प्लान के चौथे वर्ष में वह प्रोजेक्ट रिवाइव किया जाता है । अगर हमारी यह हालत है तो हमारी प्लान नहीं चल सकती और इसी लिये मेरी अपील अपनी सरकार से, वित्त मंत्री से ही नहीं, अपनी सरकार से है कि वह इस प्लान को बरा ब्यादा सीरियसली ले और इस में जितनी जितनी स्कीम है उन को पूरा करे ।

सवाल पूछा गया, मुकेशी सदस्य ने पूछा कि प्राइवेट सेक्टर इस में क्या कर रहा है ? प्राइवेट सेक्टर के लिये २२२ करोड़ रूपये की इन्डस्ट्रियल डेवलपमेंट एंड एक्स्पेंशन के लिये प्लान में व्यवस्था की गई थी । मैंने कुछ आंकड़े दले हैं । वह वे आंकड़े हैं जिन के लिये इन्डस्ट्रियल डेवलपमेंट एंड रंगुलेशन एक्ट के अन्तर्गत नये अन्वर्टीकग्स और पुराने अन्वर्टीकग्स के एक्स्पेंशन के लिये परमिशन लेनी पड़ती है । यह आंकड़ा ११५ करोड़ रूपये के हैं । इस प्रकार से अगर आप देखें तो पांच बर्षों में २०० करोड़ से ज्यादा इस प्राइवेट सेक्टर का हिस्सा होगा हमारी प्लानिंग में । मैं इस को बहुत कम नहीं समझता । वह काफी भाग है जिसको यह ले रहे हैं । रहे हैं ।

मैं जानता हूँ कि जिन ४२ इन्डस्ट्रीज का प्लान में बिक्र किया गया है उनमें जिस तरह से तरक्की होनी चाहिये उस तरह से नहीं हो रही है । मगर मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ अपनी सरकार से कि अगर वह तरक्की उन में नहीं है तो क्या पिछले तीन बर्षों में कभी भी प्लानिंग कमिशन ने इन्डस्ट्री वालों को बुला कर कहा कि आप क्यों अपने टार्गेट को पूरा करने में कमजोरी महसूस करते हैं ? क्या कभी उनको बुलाया गया और उन की दिक्कतों को पूछा गया ? कभी उन को बुलाया गया और उन को उन की जिम्मेदारियां बताई गई कि तुम ने यह वादा किया था और हमारी प्लान जिस को

[श्री बंसल]

अच्छी तरह से चलना चाहिये था वह नहीं चल रही हैं तो उस में बाधा क्या है? जहां तक मुझे पता है कि ४२ इन्डस्ट्रीज में से एक आध को बुला कर अगर पूछा हो तो पूछा हो, बरना जहां तक मुझे मालूम है किसी को बुला कर नहीं पूछा। तो अगर हमारा यह प्लान है तो उस को हमें प्लानिंग के तरीके से चलाना होगा। इस तरह यह नहीं चल सकता कि एक किताब में यह लिख दें कि यह प्राइवेट सेक्टर करेगा, यह फलां मिनिस्ट्री करेगी, यह स्टेट गवर्नमेंट करेगी और आप चुपचाप बैठ रहें। प्लान का मतलब यह है कि उस प्लान को निभाने के लिए जितने भी अंग हैं। उन सब का बराबर कोऑर्डिनेशन होना चाहिए। अगर आप उन को बार बार बुलाते रहें, डाइरैक्शन देते रहें और उन को साथ चलाते रहें जब तो प्लान चल सकता है लेकिन अगर यह सिर्फ किताब में ही लिखा रखा जाय तो यह प्लान नहीं चलेगा। प्लान का वह मतलब नहीं है कि एक किताब लिख दी और फिर सब लोगों पर छोड़ दिया कि वह उस को चलावें। वह चीज उस वक्त खास तौर पर जरूरी हो जाती है जब कि आप डीफीसिट फाइनेंसिंग करने जा रहे हैं।

आप पांच साल में ६०० करोड़ का डीफीसिट फाइनेंसिंग करने जा रहे हैं। इस डीफीसिट फाइनेंसिंग के मसले पर मैं दो एक सवाल अपने वित्त मंत्री महोदय से पूछना चाहता हूं वह यह कि इधर तीन वर्षों में २२५ करोड़ का डीफीसिट फाइनेंसिंग हुआ है और इसके नीचे जो एक नोट लिखा हुआ है उस में यह है कि ६० करोड़ रूपया पीपल्स ने एबजार्ब किया। तो बचता है १२५ करोड़ रूपया। लेकिन जब मैं रिजर्व बैंक के आंकड़ें देखता हूं तो मुझे यह १३५ करोड़ की बढ़ोतरी कहीं मालूम नहीं होती है। नोट्स इन सरकुलेशन एट दी एंड आफ मार्च १९५१ में हैं १२०४ करोड़ और २६ मार्च १९५४ में वह है ११८६। वह घट जाता है बढ़ता नहीं। मार्च ५२ और ५२ के बीच में बढ़ता है और मार्च १९५२ और ५४ के बीच में बढ़ता है लेकिन मार्च १९५१ से नहीं बढ़ता। बीच में जो बढ़ोतरी होती

है वह १३५ करोड़ की नहीं है। १९५१ के मुकाबले में आजकल १८ करोड़ कम हैं, १९५२ के मुकाबले में ८७ करोड़ ज्यादा हैं और १९५२ के मुकाबले में ५२ करोड़ ज्यादा हैं। तो मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि यह जो आंकड़ों में थोड़ा सा फर्क है इसकी क्या वजह है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इस चीज का मारकेट पर असर पड़ता है। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि जब आप डीफीसिट फाइनेंसिंग करते हैं तो उसका असर मारकेट पर नहीं पड़ेगा। इसीलिए मैं इस बात पर जोर देना चाहता हूं कि जब आप इतने बड़े पैमाने पर डीफीसिट फाइनेंसिंग करने जा रहे हैं तो आपको प्राइस ट्रेंड पर भी निगाह रखनी पड़ेगी। लेकिन मैंने वित्त मंत्री की स्पीच में इसका जिक्र नहीं पाया। तो मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या आप यह काशन नहीं रख रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि इस बात की जरूरत है कि हम प्राइस ट्रेंड्स को वाच करें और आपका टच मार्केट से रहना चाहिए। मैं नहीं जानता कि आप का टच मार्केट से है या नहीं लेकिन यह चीज जरूरी है। आपका प्राइस इंडेक्स इस काबिल नहीं है कि उस पर बहुत रिलाई किया जाय। वह बहुत पुराना बना हुआ है और वह ऐसे सेंटर्स से कलेक्ट किया जाता है कि गलत आंकड़ें मिलते हैं। इसीलिए जब तक आप अपना प्राइस इंडेक्स न सुधारें तब तक तो यह और भी जरूरी है कि आपका मार्केट से टच रहे और खास तौर से जब कि आप को इन अगले दो वर्षों में नियंत्रण रखना पड़ेगा। मैं समझता हूं कि अगर आप इतना डीफीसिट फाइनेंसिंग करने जा रहे हैं तो आप को किसी न किसी प्रकार का नियंत्रण रखना पड़ेगा। लेकिन अगर वह सड़ाई की तरह का नियंत्रण होगा तो आप की प्लान कभी नहीं चल सकेगी। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूं कि आप जो नियंत्रण लगायें उस के बारे में अभी से बैठ कर बहुत अच्छी तरह से सांच विचार कर लें और उन लोगों के साथ बैठ कर यह करें जिन का काम मारकेट ट्रेंड को देखने का है और उन से विचार विमर्श करके

आप इस बात का अन्दाजा लगायें कि किस किस प्रकार का नियंत्रण हमको करना चाहिए। कंट्रोल का मतलब यह नहीं कि फिजीकल कंट्रोल हो, हालाँकि मैं उसके भी बहुत खिलाफ नहीं हूँ। अभी चीनी के दाम तेंजी पर चल रहे थे तो खाद्य मंत्री ने बाहर से चीनी मंगाई। यह बहुत अच्छा नियंत्रण है। प्लान को पूरा करने के लिए आपको इसी तरह का नियंत्रण करना चाहिए। मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि आप उसके बारे में अच्छी तरह से सोचें। ऐसा न हो कि एक महीने बाद दरें बढ़ें और आप बिना सोचे समझे नियंत्रण कर दें और उसका अच्छा असर होने के बजाय बुरा असर हो। इस लिए मैं अर्ज करता हूँ कि इस नियंत्रण के मसले को आप अच्छी तरह से सोचियें और उसके लिए तैयार रहिए। मैं चाहता हूँ और सारा देश चाहता है कि हमारा प्लान ठीक तरह से चले क्योंकि अगर यह ठीक तरह से नहीं चलेगा तो आप बेकारी के मसले को हरायेंगे तँ नहीं कर सकते।

Kumari Annie Mascarene (Trivandrum): I oppose this Bill tooth and nail, as the habitual offence of the Finance Minister and as the recurring malady of the administration. Every year a fresh and new taxation is brought in for one reason or the other, to saddle the tax-payer and to increase the burden of taxation without the corresponding right or privilege of tax relief. The tax-payer is the foundation on which rests the whole financial structure of architectural extravagance to proclaim to the world the wealth of the nation and the prosperity of the people. Finance is the life stream of the body politic, whose normal, healthy circulation is necessary for the growth and progress of the nation. The Finance Minister is the pivot of the financial structure, around whom the other Ministries radiate like spikes in the wheel of fortune revolving onward forward to peace and prosperity. I am surprised to find that this small revolving of the wheel of fortune in the hands of our Finance Minister seems to be

impossible unless he saddles the tax-payer with heavier and heavier taxation. The Finance Minister confesses openly by this Bill that he has failed year after year to balance the Budget in spite of the sound economic principles he has been following during the last four years. He has been following a sound monetary policy; he has been following during the last four years. He has been following a sound monetary policy; he has been following deficit financing and the most difficult principle of further taxation he has followed—still with deficit financing and the tax-payer's burden increasing every year. I am extremely sorry to frankly confess my opinion because I represent lakhs and lakhs of people, who cannot even afford one meal a day, and this taxation will fall on their neck like the axe of persecution.

In this small revolving of the wheel of fortune, the Members of the Cabinet should co-operate so much so that there is no obstruction caused by self-seeking, ambition, corruption or otherwise. I regret to say that we on this side of the House were rather surprised even at the rumour of a rift, which would have sounded so unique to the rest of the world. I am glad to note that it was only the passing phase of a rolling cloud to clear the horizon. The rest of the world would be surprised to hear of such an incident of a Cabinet consisting of men of World renown, whose prestige and position are not only an asset to the nation but to humanity at large.

Till the other day I had no misgivings of this character till the 17th of March evening when the Finance Minister made his speech. There I heard the Finance Minister using all his powers of expression in supporting foreign capital whereas from the national platform, I hear the Prime Minister inviting the people to contribute to the national loans to make the nation stand on its feet with self-respect and maintain its own dignity. Which of the voices

[Kumari Annie Mascarene]

is to be followed? (An hon. Member: Both.) We are baffled. The Finance Minister must forgive me if I say that for a moment—for a moment only—I was driven to suspect whether it is fifth column activity in the Cabinet. I suppose that it is not; I suppose that my suspicions are unfounded. A denial is necessary to confirm the policy of the Government.

I suppose the Finance Minister is aware of the history of foreign capital and foreign aids with its dire consequences in Asian countries and in European countries. If I can believe the verdict of those friends of Eastern Europe, they have told me about the many bad effects of the Marshall Aid. It is also the experience of many Asian countries. As far as possible, the Finance Minister should respect the dignity of this Government by respecting the self-supporting principle. Maybe, we will take a long time, but then, we will be safe within our own risks. We have been fighting for ages together to get this independence and we feel sorely when you say that this Government should go in for foreign aid. That is why, Mr. Finance Minister, I raise my voice against such proposals which tend to take away the independence of this country.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: She may kindly address the Chair.

Kumari Annie Mascarene: The preamble of the budget speech is resounding with praise for its own achievements. During the last few years, says the Finance Minister, there was marked increase in production, a small fall in food prices, assistance was coming from abroad, there was a moderate surplus, there was banking credit and there was a satisfactory position of the balance of payments. We quite agree with him; we also say that there is an increase of income: we could understand it and in his peroration

he sings the glory of the achievements of the Congress administration. There also we quite agree.

But between the preamble and the peroration comes the Budget proposals to inflict more taxes on the people. That is where we cannot understand the Finance Minister. Before I deal with them, I wish to do justice to his administration by agreeing to all the achievements that he had put before us in this House.

It is a fact that this Government at the very outset had to confront a major human convulsion when streams of humanity like a mountain torrent came, rushing down the precipice of an ill-fated destiny, swept over the plains of India, foaming with tumultuous emotions of uprooted ancestral homes with their sweet and sacred memories—a situation that would have shattered the mightiest powers in Europe. It is equally true that the Congress administration had tackled with success the problem of five hundred and odd native States which were known as princely ulsters—or I would call them princely ulcers sapping the health of the nation. These were tackled successfully and were directed towards the main stream of national life to enrich it. We quite agree with him. It is a fact that this administration had made great effort to harness the forces of nature to distribute through the length and breadth of the country streams so that we may have a life of plenty tomorrow. That also we agree. It is equally true that there have been many improvements in the transport arrangements and so on and so forth. That is the glorious picture that the Finance Minister had been painting before us in glowing colours.

Now, will you please look at the other side of the picture which I am going to paint before you, not in colours but in actual facts and figures? I was just calculating the

national earning during the last seven years. I have collected the figures from the Budgets given to us during the last seven years—the Railway Budget as well as the General Budget. I have got the figures for each year but I do not wish to saddle the House with so many details and I will just come to the conclusion by saying that during the last seven years from the Railways we had Rs. 3196 crores, and from the General Budget we had Rs. 2689 crores—in all Rs. 5885 crores during the last seven years. This is only the Central revenues; if you take the revenues of the whole of India during the last seven years, it would be much more. I was unable to go through every State Budget but I have collected figures for one year for the whole of India and that is from the *Report on Currency and Finance, 1952-53* and there the total earning of the whole of India including the States is given as Rs. 4971 crores for one year. For seven years, let us have a rough calculation and multiply it by seven and we get about Rs. 35,000 crores.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is that taxation?

Kumari Annie Mascarene: That is the revenue; not taxation; that is the Budget amount; or income of the States from all over India.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It seems enormous.

Kumari Annie Mascarene: I ask the Finance Minister: is the picture he has painted so glossily in proportion to the amounts that have been spent? It falls far short. Why is it so? Why has it fallen so short of the expectations of the people, of what they can actually do with such an amount? The reasons are not far to seek.

With regard to the rehabilitation, I have myself seen certain colonies. I regret to say that several families are huddled together in one flat with not even a little of privacy to the inhabitants; that was what I saw. The reason why they have fallen

short of the expectations. You have rung the bell in such hurry.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Member may have it leisurely; I am not in a hurry.

Kumari Annie Mascarene: I am so glad. How many of the schemes have been completed during these years?.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am afraid hon. Member has misunderstood what I said. It is not that I am going to allow her to speak more leisurely.

Kumari Annie Mascarene: Anyway I hope you will give just sufficient time—about five minutes—to give all the facts that I have collected.

They have not completed a single scheme so far in order to benefit the country. China was able to complete within two years greater and more majestic schemes.

Then I would like to refer to waste of money and corruption. There is extravagance of expenditure in every Department. That can be proved before the Finance Minister from the findings of the Public Accounts Committee.

"On several occasions in recent years, the attention of the Public Accounts Committee has been drawn to the continuance of a large number of cases involving uncovered excesses, unsurrendered savings, and irregular re-appropriations."

"As stated in the preceding Chapter, there have been excesses in 18 voted grants. * * * Savings occurred in 80 out of 100 grants, but only 71·2 per cent. of the total actual savings under the voted grants was surrendered."

"The Committee have come across a large number of specific cases in which laxity of control over budgeting or control over expenditure was noticed."

On page 11 of their *Seventh Report, 1952-53, Volume I*, they say

[Kumari Annie Mascarene]

with respect to the import of fertilizers:

"Government could have saved £27,000 if the deal had been negotiated on a Government-to-Government basis."

Again I would invite the attention of the Finance Minister to the Committee's observation on page 37:

"As has been pointed out above, the Committee came across certain instances where the Ministry of Finance had not taken into account the element of interest on capital outlay and other overhead charges involved in the running of a particular scheme...etc."

The Administrative Audit system has been recommended by the Committee, but it was not followed by any other Ministry except the External Affairs Ministry.

"The Committee would like to draw the attention of the Ministry of Finance that the notes on 'Important Schemes' financed by Government and in respect of which expenditure has been provided for during the year 1953-54, do not indicate the return yielded ...etc."

I do not wish to go through all the markings that I have prepared. I wish to refer to an observation in the Audit Report of the Defence Services, and it is scandalous how in the face of these remarks they have brought forth the taxation policy again.

"The failure to follow the prescribed tender procedure and the unnecessary restriction of competition must be presumed to have involved Government in losses the aggregate amount of which cannot be estimated, but an analysis of tenders accepted, which allows a loss in certain restricted fields to be demonstrated, suggests that it was very large."

And then the most colossal thing they have pointed out is this, that the

losses written off during the year 1951-52 amounted to Rs. 3,18,60,864, while in 1950-51 they amounted to Rs. 3,32,75,290. In other words, Rs. 7 crores of losses were written off. And it is the taxpayer who has to fill up this gap. The Finance Minister can bring any taxation proposal and get it passed with the help of their majority. But it is the tax-payer who has to pay.

In the Audit Report on the Railways there is this observation:

"The decision to purchase this equipment was taken by the Railway Board without financial concurrence and when the case came to the notice of the Finance Branch of the Railway Board in October, 1951, they did not approve of the action."

This sort of unauthorised expenditure is eating away the funds of the State.

In the Report on the Engineers' Seminar at Nangal, which was distributed among the parliamentary papers, I find:

"This factor has mainly contributed to the large proportion of immobilised machines, low output, costly production and disproportionately large amounts of money locked up in spare parts stock."

But when I put a question about these spare parts lying without any use, the Minister disowned it.

We are confronted with proposals for fresh taxation. The State has sufficient income, and the schemes are already there. But the Planning Commission has not prepared blue-prints so that the schemes may be carried out carefully and systematically. Nothing is done in the Secretariat, which remains bureaucratic. It is the Secretariat which defames the Finance Minister, which defames

the Government, and which defames democracy. The mistake lies not in the Cabinet or in the Ministry but in the Secretariat. For instance, in regard to the Director-General of Supplies I have several quotations about the discrepancies, and there is a recommendation that he should not be consulted hereafter. I would like to tell the Finance Minister: these have to be taken into consideration before you bring this taxation on the people, which is not worth the paper on which it is printed. Therefore I oppose this Bill with all the energy I can command—atomic energy!

Shri N. M. Lingam (Coimbatore): The last speaker said the Finance Minister began with a preamble, ended with a peroration and in-between inserted his Budget proposals. Hearing her speech I was led to a somewhat similar conclusion. She began with a preamble, ended with a peroration and in-between she indulged in a declamation.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: And you are in perspiration!

Shri N. M. Lingam: We are tired on this side of the House, of hearing the same refrain being sung over and over again.

Kumari Annie Mascarene: And the same also from that side.

Shri N. M. Lingam: I shall presently show how we take an objective view of the situation confronting the country, and how the Budget proposals are sound.

The Deputy Leader of the Communist Party was saying that the financial proposals are not in harmony with the bold and brave stand that we have taken with regard to our foreign policy. In the same breath he said that we are sending our raw materials to the Western Democracies and that it is actually we that are helping the U.S.A. and other countries and not they that are helping us financially. So it is not for me to condemn what he has said. He has given his own answer.

But I want to go deeper into the question. He takes advantage of the stand taken by the Prime Minister and thinks that India is now pro-Communist. I mean to say that because of the stand taken by the Prime Minister with regard to the hydrogen bomb, because of the stand we have taken with regard to the attitude of the West towards the Indo-China question, he thinks we are moving nearer to the Communist bloc.

I want to tell him.....

Dr. Rama Rao (Kakinada): Nobody says that.

Shri Velayudhan (Quilon cum Mavelikkara—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Has he said so?

Shri N. M. Lingam: It amounts to that.

An Hon. Member: Inference.

Shri N. M. Lingam: Otherwise, he would not have condemned the financial proposals of the Finance Minister, in particular that part of the proposals which enable us to get what is called foreign aid from the Western Democracies. It is forgotten that this aid is not a one-way traffic. The whole world is so much inter-dependent: each part of the world has become so much closer to the other that we cannot go on without aid of some kind or other from another country. Throughout the ages India has contributed to the well-being of the world maybe, not in the world of materials but in the world of spirit. Our contribution has been, as a great patriot has said: "like the gentle dew that falls unseen and unheard, but brings into blossom the fairest of roses". Indeed, our contribution has been immense and if some nations help us in their prosperity, it is not regarded as a debt we owe them. It is because they recognise the greatness of the country; the vitality of the nation. After all, you may discard all the help that the world has to offer to you, but if you are weak, if you cannot assimilate the aid which is given to you, it will be

[Shri N. M. Lingam]

of no avail. If, on the other hand, you are a strong nation, it is for you to get help and also to give help. So, let us be absolutely clear on this point. We have seen a thousand waves of prosperity. We are not enamoured by the aid that the western nations are giving, but we consider it in keeping with our dignity and our interests. I may mention here that the western nations are also keeping their interests in view while giving the aid. Therefore, to ask the Finance Minister or the Foreign Affairs Minister to change our policy in this matter is wrong counsel because we do not believe that any set of people is composed wholly of devils or wholly of angels. We may recall the words of Burke here when he said: "You cannot condemn a whole people". The national life of the people of India has been like the Ganges. We have marched through scores of shining centuries and no foreign ideology, however strong it may appear to appeal to the people, will change our course. It cannot change and it will be a bad day for India if it decides to change its course of life. I may go one step further and say that it is easier to change the course of Ganges than for India to change its course of life. Let there not be any dabbling with our foreign policy. Let there not be any fuss about this foreign aid that we are getting. We are conscious of our strength; we are firmly standing on the ground and we will march ahead.

Sir, I had to change the theme of my speech because I was provoked by the remarks made by my hon. friends opposite. Now, I shall, at the limited time at my disposal, deal with the financial proposals.

The proposals of the Finance Bill are comparatively insignificant in the context of the Budget as a whole, and the Budget has been discussed so much in this House that, I am sure, the Finance Minister must be feeling weary hearing these speeches from Members

on the proposals. But, I feel that attention has not been drawn to one particular aspect of the background against which our proposals are being discussed in this House. It is agreed that 'planning' means that we should have co-ordination of wills and organisation. Although we have prided on our ability for the method of democratic planning, still planning implies a certain amount of regimentation and organisation, and if to that extent mobilisation of wills is absent, planning is bound to be a little dilatory and less effective. Now, Sir, we have to see these forces that tend to detract from the effectiveness of planning. I have no time to go into the details of the question, but even on a superficial examination we find that there are three or four major factors that act like holes in the ship of State.

I refer to the war of ideologies going on even in this country. The hon. Member of the Communist Group who spoke first, said that we must move together, we must think together and we must pull the nation together. Did he realise that by the methods of his party, by the way in which they were treating the emblem of the nation namely, the national flag and the head of the State they were really helping.....

Dr. Rama Rao: What about the National Plan?

Shri N. M. Lingam: ...the movement of our policies in unison with the current of national life? It is common knowledge that his Party, the leader of which spoke a little while ago, has preferred the 'Red Flag' to the national flag, and we have seen in this very House.....

Dr. Rama Rao: On a point of order, Sir, and this is a very serious point. He says that we ignore the national flag, which is absolutely false.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That is the hon. Member's experience.

Shri N. M. Lingam: I believe, the hon. Member or any representative of the Party which he represents, will have an opportunity to explain their attitude towards the flag. I am glad, however, to hear that they have no disrespect to the national flag. What I refer to is, that this conflict of ideologies that they are creating in this country has constantly pointed to a source of inspiration which is outside our borders. At the beginning of the Session itself when the President was addressing the Houses, Members of that Party boycotted the sitting. So, Sir, I would like to appeal to them: "Brothers, you are going in the wrong direction; you cannot change the course of our national life however much you may try. First, plug that hole in the ship of State by realising that what you are pursuing runs counter to the genius and ideals of our race." That is the first step you have to take and only then you will be helping not only the building up of the nation, but the successful implementation of the Five Year Plan. So, the boot is really on the other leg. The sooner you realise it, the better for the country and for yourself.

Sir, the next hole that we find in the ship of State is the plethora of literature and the kind of films that are being shown in the country to re-grade and corrupt the mind of the youth of our land. It is not the leakage in the finance of the country alone that constitutes a weakness for our country; the spiritual weakness, the holes in the emotional world of our land have to be tackled. Unless our brain energy; unless our emotional energy; unless our spiritual energy are canalised, no amount of thought or caution on the part of the Finance Minister is going to save the country. So, we have to safeguard the mind of the youth of our land; we have to save the land from political sabotage and, I think, lastly, we have to see that no loss, financial or material, occurs. Therefore, the lot of the Finance Minister is unenviable. We hold him responsible for all the ills of the country, but we do not

help him in our own fields to see that the necessary background is provided for him to husband our resources and to finance our plans. In other words, we have to see that the entire nation is galvanised; the longer we postpone the problem, the more we have to reconcile ourselves to an indefinite period of suffering and travail.

Sir, I come to one or two specific issues after dealing with the general questions.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. I did not want to prescribe any time-limit. There are only four days allotted for the Finance Bill, for all its stages. It must be settled now how long the House proposes to spend on the consideration stage, what time it wants for the clause by clause consideration and what time it wants for the third reading. I would also like to limit the time for speeches. Generally, on Bills, we do not prescribe any time-limit. But a number of hon. Members want to speak. So, you cannot allow any hon. Member to go on indefinitely. Now, when I ring the bell, the hon. Member starts with a new topic. That is my difficulty.

First of all, let the House decide as to what time shall be allotted for the second reading stage. Or let us start from the third reading. Does the House want some time to be allotted for the third reading or not?

Some Hon. Members: One hour for third reading.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: May I suggest, Sir, that two hours for the third reading would be proper? That was the position last year also.

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): In the general discussion, most of the Members are anxious to take part. There will not be much of a difference between the general discussion and the third reading stage. If the House agrees so far as we are concerned, we are prepared to allot three days for the general discussion. As there are no contentious clauses to be amended or altered, I think four hours would be quite sufficient

[Shri Satya Narayan Sinha.]

for the clause by clause consideration and the third reading also

Some Hon. Members: Yes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now, therefore, the last hour will be devoted to third reading. Three hours are allotted for clause by clause consideration. Three days are allotted for the consideration stage.

I limit the time for speeches to 15 minutes except in the case of the spokesmen of the various Groups on the first day—I have got their names—20 to 25 minutes. I allowed 30 minutes to the Deputy Leader of the Communist Party. The rest of the Members will have 15 minutes.

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha: That would be counted against the Party time.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Certainly.

Shri N. M. Lingam: I shall be very brief and finish in five minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am not going to allow it. Each Member will have 15 minutes only.

Shri N. M. Lingam: The previous Members got half an hour and I thought I could get as much.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All right.

Shri N. M. Lingam: I wish to make one or two observations with regard to the working of the community projects and the National Extension Service. The National Extension Service has as its pivot, the working of the co-operative movement and the working of the local bodies, and scientific agricultural practices. It is a well known fact that the co-operative movement is not able to give enough credit facilities to the agriculturists in the areas in which the National Extension Service is working. For creditworthiness, the essential conditions are that there should be plenty of rainfall, that irrigation facilities should be available, and that land must not be fragmented and the tenure must be proper. We know that the land question has not been solved in the country with the result that the poor agriculturists are not, and will not,

be able to get credit from the co-operative institutions. Unless more credit is made available to the agriculturist and unless the favourable conditions namely, fertility of the land, prevention of fragmentation, proper land tenure are assured, it will be difficult to rehabilitate him in the National Extension Service areas.

The other impediment is this. Miles and miles of roads are being constructed by voluntary labour in these areas. These roads are being transferred to the local bodies for maintenance. It is not realised that the local bodies themselves are not in a position to maintain these roads. Unless the Government given adequate financial help to the local bodies to maintain these roads, these roads constructed at a huge cost by the labour of the people will go to waste for want of maintenance. In this connection, I want to draw the attention of the House to the report of the Local Finance Enquiry Committee. I know from experience that the local bodies are in doldrums today. The State Governments have made inroads into their spheres of taxation. Local bodies are not able even to attend to the ordinary amenities of the people in their sphere. I suggest therefore that at least the Central Road Fund should make a greater allocation to the construction and maintenance of village roads. The allocations made at present are very meagre. I think the present allocation is Rs. 60 lakhs for the entire country. This is very small, indeed. I would say that the allocation made to the national highways may be reduced because the national highways can wait for some more time, but the development of village roads is most essential for the rehabilitation of villages.

Shri Thann Pillai (Tirunelveli): I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak though at the lag end of the session.

First of all, I feel that my time should be a little more than 15 minutes because this is the only opportunity that has been given to me.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I cannot do that; he will have only 15 minutes

Shri Thann Pillai: The economic pattern of our financial policy is being kept up so that there may not be any dislocation; but we have all agreed that the objective is not to continue the existing order, but to change it thoroughly into something new, which will help the people at large. On that basis, we have given unto ourselves the First Five Year Plan which is called the Bible of progress of our nation. When we look at it, we find that the authors have written beautiful pages about the methods of implementation. They say that the Plan, to succeed, must have the co-operation of the executive and the people. In the next following paragraph, they undo the principle of the executive co-operation. They say that corruption, nepotism, etc., should be removed by making them undergo certain conditions of service, declaration of their property and the property of their kith and kin, etc. Many times, this question has been raised in this House by some hon. Members. I ask a simple question. If you want co-operation, will you get it by inducing them to co-operate or by abusing them? The members of the services may not be able to represent or speak out what they feel. But, in their private conversations, they express a feeling that though the Criminal Tribes Act has been repealed, the policy-makers are trying to introduce a new sort of a criminal tribe in the Government servants. There are, of course, bad men. But, the bad men go scot-free and the good people are feeling that they are being insulted. That is my apprehension about the whole question of enlisting co-operation and support from the executive. Bad executive should, of course, be removed. But, all men are not bad; not all are angles. The good men have a grievance which should be redressed. Even the structure of the service has not been well-kept. We are slow in changing the pattern and the details of working though we should not demolish the house. The leaky pot should be replaced by

something worth the name. Are we doing that?

5 P.M.

I have taken up the question of the services and I want to devote a little more time on that. Method of recruitment, confirmation, promotion, everything, is thoroughly unsatisfactory. The people also are not satisfied. We may say that we have got the Union Public Service Commission, the Provincial Service Commissions, etc. After all, these are manned by the people of our own country. The executive cannot be entrusted with too much power. So also, the Union Public Service Commission and the State Service Commissions should not be entrusted with supreme power. They are human beings as much as ourselves. They are ordinary people like ourselves. They may have high qualifications, but otherwise they might be working in the same way as the executive is working. They have also got their bias. If you take the provincial field, there is the communal bias. If you take the U.P.S.C., there is the communal and linguistic bias. That is the feeling of the people. So, a new device should be found wherein the U.P.S.C. and the executive must have joint control over selection, promotion and confirmation. I understand people who have passed examinations in the U.P.S.C. are not confirmed, and unpassed people are confirmed in the Stenographers service.

Then, there is another chapter about quick promotions for efficient people. What is the measure of efficiency? How to ascertain it? Is it to be left in the hands of the U.P.S.C. again or in the hands of the executive? Nothing is said clearly about it. Some examination might be there, but no such thing is envisaged. After all, rapid promotions for efficient people should be given, but the method is not clear. There again, there is accusation of favouritism.

Then come the amenities for these government servants. It will be interesting to note that in 1949, as an economy measure, Government sus-

[Shri Thanu Pillai.]

pended the P.T.O. concessions for the lowest grade staff. They also introduced a voluntary cut of Rs. 500 in the salaries of the highly paid officials. I understand that the cut has been restored since, but the P.T.O. concessions have not been restored. Ever so many times Members have spoken on it, but no reply is forthcoming from the hon. Finance Minister. We are giving concessions to artists to travel with musical instruments if they are in groups of four or five. We give concessions to school children but not to our service people who have come from every nook and corner of India. I know of people who cannot afford to go and see their people for five or more years. You have given them liberal leave rules just to help them to recuperate, but being in Delhi, not being able to go home, some of them are not taking the leave, or, taking the leave, they are simply rotting here and thinking of all these disabilities. And that is the cause of disaffection, and disaffection ultimately consummates in disloyalty. It should not be understood that I am supporting that, but only say that it is no wonder that the Finance Ministry's file goes to one hon. Member in the Opposition for putting an uncomfortable question; the Defence file is supposed to have gone to Pakistan but reported to have been torn on the frontiers of India; and the Prime Minister's Secretariat's confidential records of Mr. Chandra's report find a place in the Press. All this shows the type of executive which is functioning, which you have to trust. In the executive, they say, there is positive disaffection. I do not mean to say that these actions of the executive should be justified, but we on our part should not give room for even small excuses.

The lower paid staff are the most hard-hit in the Government servants of today. We have had the I.C.S. and I.A.S. class. They form a community of their own, with their caste system of Secretaries, Under-Secretaries, gazetted, non-gazetted etc., like the

"non"s among people who cannot say something positive and affirmative as they say "non-Brahmin", "non-Muslim", like that "non-gazetted". There are N.G.Os. conferences; everywhere there is disaffection and disgruntlement. What are we going to do to settle these issues, I ask the Government.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA in the Chair]

This is our own home. How are we going to reorganise ourselves on a governmental level, one of the supporters of the plan of reconstruction, the executive. I say it is within our power to reconstruct, reorganise and rehabilitate and better the executive. I hope this Government will do its best in a short time.

We are people who are planning for the future, but with these disgruntled people, no Plan can succeed. Our hon. friends opposite alone are helped by this policy. It was interesting to hear the Deputy Leader of the Communist Party speak very highly of the people's co-operation in our national reconstruction. I only wish it was sincere and not a cover tactics, because with this tall talk of reconstruction, co-operation of the people etc., we hear of the Burnpur factory strike and negotiations for giving six annas quantum of work for one rupee of wages. That is the type of co-operation they want to extend, and they come here to Parliament, for press publicity, to say that this Government is not drawing all that is best in the country and they show the way for people's co-operation. Where is the way? The cat is out of the bag when they say: "Why not the trade be diverted to the socialist democracies?" It is a catchy expression. "Socialist democracy" is a very good expression but we are not against anybody. Though we may oppose the Communist Party here, we are not opposed to the Communist countries of Russia, China or any other country. We have got our own pattern.

When Mr. Lingam was speaking, one hon. Member challenged about the flag and the loyalty. I would like to state here that in Madras, there are not only the hammer and sickle flags flying, but hammer and sickle flags with a red star near the mast. That is the flag being used profusely by the Communist friends. What is that flag?

And when the film exhibition came from Russia, there was a public meeting. The people who had gone and visited Moscow, the Mecca of our comrades, were all there. These people were there all the time, but they were not noticed, but when they returned from Russia, they were garlanded, they were received as great men, because they had returned from their Mecca. Well and good. Do it. But they say these Ministers go and open this building and that building, whereas they go and bring out people who are nothing and nobodies,—simply because they visited Moscow, which is everything for them—in the presence of foreign representatives. The foreign representatives questioned: “Where is your flag?” There was the flag of the hammer and sickle, but the national flag was not seen in the meeting, and one member from Russia was reported to have asked: “Where is your national flag?” I challenge my hon. friends to contradict this report.

Shri Alga Rai Shastri (Azamgarh Distt.—East cum Ballia Distt.—West): Shame!

Shri Thanu Pillai: Why I say all this is there is some type of disaffection, and there are people who are making use of this disaffection in this country.

Then, we have got all kinds of fissiparous tendencies—communal, caste and linguistic. It is bad enough already, but we are not helping to curb them. We are helping rather to further encourage these fissiparous tendencies by some attitudes that are being expressed here about linguistic questions. We are supporters of the

cause of Hindi in the South. We are for accepting Hindi. We have accepted Hindi as the national language of India. Now, we come here as the representatives of the people. You all know we are not educated in Hindi. We are not conversant with that language. We are here to listen to the representations and the suggestions that are made here. But what is the opportunity given to us? People who can speak in English are asked to speak in Hindi. Formerly, translations of Hindi speeches were being given and we were satisfied with reading the reports, but even that is now stopped. If this is the regard shown to the representatives from the South, do you expect the people of the South to believe that here there will be consideration for the non-Hindi people? There is already the accusation of domination of North over South, language questions of Hindi and non-Hindi and all that. We are supporters of the cause of Hindi, but what is the handle that is being given? As it is, when we go home people ask us this question: “What is it you understood in the Parliament?” The Members opposite will keep quiet here but they will say there: “These fellows did not know anything. They were talking in Hindi. They did not respect us. We were telling you people, but you did not listen. You supported Congressmen who are doing all this.” I submit for myself: introduce Hindi, but we have agreed to a certain time-limit and within the time-limit...

Two minutes, Sir.

Shri Velayudhan: Time-limit!

Shri Thanu Pillai: I am not one of the inevitable few who talk often. So, give me two minutes.

What we submit is this language question should be solved with our co-operation. We will learn Hindi. We are the people who are the supporters of the cause of Hindi, but your policy is not helping us, but helping the people raising anti-Hindi slogans in the South. You know there are movements going on.

Shri Veeraswamy (Mayuram—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Tamil Nad is not supporting Hindi. It is opposed to Hindi.

Shri Thana Pillai: Yes, they might oppose, but I challenge their opposition. On that question itself we have defeated them. They dare not come and even contest the elections. I challenge them. We will meet them there, and we know what to do.

Shri Veeraswamy: I challenge not only the hon. Member but also the Government.

Mr. Chairman: Order, order.

Shri Thana Pillai: The protagonists and supporters of Hindi, while having ensured that Hindi is the national language, have not at the same time seen to it that provision has been made for teaching Hindi to the children in the schools of Madras State. You may not introduce compulsory Hindi, but at least provision should be there for teaching Hindi in the various schools, but even this has not been done. You do not impose that condition in the schools, but you only impose this language here; that is what we have come to feel—we may be right, or we may be wrong. You may have the best of intentions, but the resultant opinion that is caused thereby is so bad that it is not good for the country and its unity. Those of us that want to work for the unity of the country, and the strength of India, desire that this question should be considered with the utmost love and affection that we preach in other spheres. This question must come foremost, and I hope this Government will take due measures to introduce Hindi without any friction, but as quickly as possible, and without this Sanskrit-Persian quarrel—we are not able to understand what it is, but there is a lot of talk about it,—and more about this, later.

Shri M. R. Krishna (Karimnagar—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Having got an opportunity today, I would like to

state something about a very important matter which has been neglected for a long time. There are over 400,000 ex-servicemen in the country. After acquiring a lot of training, and after serving for a number of years in the war, they have been completely neglected, and have been allowed to rot about in the streets. I know how the rehabilitation schemes are working. I know that in Hyderabad State, they have spent lakhs of rupees, to rehabilitate the ten thousand demobilised army personnel there, but that scheme has proved to be an absolute failure today. I am reminded of the sad story of a horse, which, after having done meritorious service in the war, after the enemies had been defeated, and after the victory had been celebrated, the horse was removed to a stable, where the treatment to this horse was neglected but when another war broke out, the commander wanted to use the same horse, thinking that it would serve its ungrateful master as best as it did on a previous occasion.

The Ministry of Defence have given us certain figures and stated that 171 persons have been rehabilitated in the Hyderabad State, after lakhs of rupees have been sent. I know of the Ammuguda Scheme, and how far it has helped even a few demobilised officers, leave aside the case of the ex-servicemen. Out of ten thousand demobilised personnel, only 171 persons have been rehabilitated, and this is what they say. If the scheme is really beneficial, I do not see any reason why the demobilised army personnel in Hyderabad who are suffering and starving, do not go and settle on those lands. Even these 171 persons are there on the land, because they are now paid a couple of rupees or so, if they do not stay on the land, they may not get even this amount. These persons would be very grateful, and would serve the Government very well, if only the Defence Ministry could settle their overdue gratuity, pensions etc. Already the Defence Ministry have taken a

considerable length of time as regards this matter, and even today, there are lakhs of people, who have been victims of the Defence Ministry, so to say.

I would also like to say in this connection that very often the Defence Ministry issues peculiar circulars to the Air Force Academy, and other military establishments in Hyderabad State, to employ even peons and chowkidars from amongst people outside the State of Hyderabad. There are instructions to these military departments that they should try to employ people who have been retrenched in the Madras and Bombay areas, because apparently the Defence Ministry think that in Hyderabad, there are no people who have been retrenched from the Army or the Air Force. As a matter of fact, in Hyderabad, there are more persons who have been completely neglected, and who, even to this day, have not got any benefit from Government after serving a long period. They are quite docile, and they do not want to create any kind of trouble for Government. If only they want to do it, in the next elections, Government may have to face a lot of trouble from these ex-servicemen. It is high time that Government should look into the matter and see that proper arrangements are made to rehabilitate them. Even though lakhs of rupees have been spent, only very few people have been benefited by these schemes.

Some of these officers, who have been well-trained and who are very young, are quite fit to take any kind of hard job. They can even be sent to the rural parts to educate the rural population about cleanliness, about their responsibilities etc., if an emergency should arise. If these people could be sent to the rural parts, I do not think the Health and the Education Ministries will have to spend much money, either for the cure of diseases, or for educating the rural population.

Another point I would like to stress is that this Budget has to be understood in the context of the Five Year Plan. The Five Year Plan aims, and rightly too, at an all-round development, physical, intellectual as well as moral. But I am sorry to find that in our Budget, as also in the Five Year Plan, very little provision has been made for physical education. Sound mind in a sound body is a good old saying, and there is also a very important Sanskrit quotation which says that even for religion, physical fitness is essential. Every country in the world has been taking special interest in providing physical education to its citizens, through various games and sports. Education without a sound body is a sheer waste, especially in a country like ours, where all learning and all attainments will have to be utilised for the development of the country in all its aspects. Therefore, the responsibility of giving proper physical training to the citizens of the country, especially the student population, lies with the Central Government. None in this House would be against making their sons and daughters fit to take up any responsibility that is entrusted to them in a time of emergency.

As it is, there are no proper arrangements for games and sports in the schools. More than sixty per cent. of the schools in the country have very little or no open space at all, for purposes of physical education. It is high time that the Central Government come to the aid of the State Governments, by giving them sufficient grants for the purpose.

The Education Ministry, I think, has no proper plans to impart this education to the students. Since education became a State subject and as the State Governments are left with very paltry sums for educational purposes, they have not paid due attention to give proper physical education. Thus,

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the Central Government and the State Governments have deliberately neglected this very important subject of education. The Government is responsible for the preservation and protection of the country's hard-won freedom, and in case of an emergency we cannot be able to defend our country only by speaking in the United Nations Assembly, but we will have to adopt many other means also. Therefore, unless one is physically fit, I do not think it will be possible at the time of emergency for our Defence forces to defend such weak people and also the weak villages which have no strong men to defend themselves. Let not the Government forget the proud saying of the Englishmen that the 'Battle of Waterloo was won on the play fields of Eton and Harrow'. Even in the dormant past, the Greeks, known to be the most civilised people leaving behind a legacy worth imitating, were the first to glorify the human body. They have started the Olympic games, an event which alone has led to healthy rivalry and sportsmanship in the present world. And this made everyone in that country most disciplined law-abiding citizens.

The Spartans went a step further and they not only gave military training and physical training, to their men, but also gave first-class training to their women in order to make every woman a best mother. Even our ancestors had great faith in physical education. I would like to quote Swami Vivekananda who said:

"If our blood flows clear, if it flows strong and pure and vigorous, everything is right. Political, social, any other material defects, even the poverty of the land will all be cured if that blood that flows in our veins are pure and perfect."

Therefore, Sir, I appeal to the Government to set apart a considerable amount to give proper physical training for our students so that at the time of emergency, they may be able to defend the country.

Lastly, I would like to speak about one very important thing concerning my own community. The universally recognised duty of every civilised Government, however it may be constituted, is to guarantee the three basic necessities of life to every citizen in the land—food, clothing and shelter. The Government have plans to produce more food and cloth and today we are assured that we have abundance of food and clothing. But we know that the common man in the street has no money to purchase. As regards shelter, even though there is a separate Ministry set up to tackle this problem, this Ministry has not made any satisfactory progress. The Ministry has not even thought of removing the stinking slums. Is it because these slums are inhabited by the poor Scheduled Castes and other low income groups? Even this day in independent India, over 60 per cent. of the Scheduled Castes' and Scheduled Tribes' *bastis* are established on lands belonging to the private owners, and the tyranny and oppression of these landlords I cannot be able to express. It is a well-known fact. Whenever it does not suit the landlords or whenever they do not get sufficient money from these poor people, they simply harass them and they are made to shift from place to place every month or every year. It is surprising that even the Planning Commission, I should say, has completely neglected to provide any better shelter for these people. They have not even cared to look into it. During the two years of the Plan period, the Government spent a considerable amount on the displaced persons. They have spent about Rs. 200 crores, and above that, now I am told they have set apart about Rs. 50 crores to advance to each applicant over Rs. 5,000 to start business etc. But the Government have no time to consider to provide even the basic necessity of shelter to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Government may have many schemes to improve their lot, but the first and foremost duty of this Government is to see that no hut and no

house belonging to this community is constructed and established on the private land. The Government should try to purchase and give those lands to the Scheduled Caste people. The Government should tackle the problem of housing of the Scheduled Castes on a war basis. The Government should set apart at least Rs. 10 crores solely for providing shelter for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. Government can also make use of the machineries which have been in use for the construction of projects and dams at various places. To help the Scheduled Castes and other low income groups to have better shelter, more expeditious methods and machinery to get sites should be employed. Provision should also be made to give cheap building materials like cement, steel and timber. The cost of houses could also be brought down if certain mechanical equipments are given; for instance, quarrying and stone-cutting work could also be given through the Public Works Department. It is time for the Government to consider the setting up of a Rural Housing Corporation, and insurance companies, trusts, and other charitable institutions may be asked to invest money in the housing scheme and the Government can promise them a better return. In order to clear their slums, the Government can insist on the landlords to provide better houses for those people who have been settled on those lands, this will compel the landlords to sell their land at considerably low prices.

Shri Dabhi (Kaira North): While giving his reaction to the Budget proposals, the hon. Member, Shri Tulai-das, is reported to have said that we are now returning to a 'bullock-cart economy'. I do not know exactly what he meant by that. But from what he said about cottage and small industries on the floor of this very House, I feel that he used those words because of the Government's policy of encouraging cottage and small-scale industries by levying duties, by purchasing more and more products of cottage industries and by other means.

It is quite natural that the big industrialists and capitalists do not like the encouragement being given to the small-scale industries, on whose ruins the big industries have been flourishing. They give their lip-sympathy to the small-scale and cottage industries, but really they do not want that any encouragement should be given to them. This has been made clear from the various speeches that have been recently made by several big industrialists. On 7-3-54 while speaking at a meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in New Delhi, Shri G. D. Birla stated that they wanted to encourage only those small industries which would serve as feeders to the big-scale industries. Not only that; he wanted that people should buy not *Khadi* but mill cloth; not ghee or *ghani* oil but only *vanas-pati*. Not only that, he ridiculed the idea of Gandhiji regarding India getting self-sufficient by means of the *charkha* and hand-weaving. The other day, Shri, N. N. Wadia, the President of the Millowners' Association, stated that their customers were 36 crores of people. That means they do not want any other cloth. *Khadi* or even handloom cloth, should be purchased by the people. He boasted that the textile industry gave employment to seven lakhs of people; but he forgets that though the mill industry was able to give employment to seven lakhs of people after 100 years of its existence, it has flourished on the ruins of the *khadi* industry which gave employment not to a few lakhs but to millions of people. This is the attitude which the big industrialists show towards the small scale and cottage industries.

Now, the question is, what is the attitude of the Government towards these industries? There is no doubt that recently Government have been trying to give some help and encouragement to the cottage and small-scale industries. But the question is whether they are doing all that they should do to encourage these industries. The reply to this question is in the negative. Not only is my reply

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in the negative, but the speeches which several of the hon. Members made on the very floor of this House also show that the Government are not doing all that they should do for encouraging the cottage industries.

Then there is another point. Unless you have got a certain faith in a particular cause, you cannot have any enthusiasm for that cause. Unless you have got enthusiasm for that cause, even if you mechanically give certain financial aid, to particular industries, you cannot really advance that cause, and you cannot successfully pilot the course of that industry. I have with me here an issue of the *Harijan*. You know that the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board recently published its annual report under the caption "One year in retrospect". While reviewing this report, the Editor of the *Harijan* in its issue, dated 6th March, 1954, has given the heading, "Cinderella of our Industrial Sector". There also, he has definitely stated that Government were not giving that kind of encouragement which it ought to give to the cottage industries, especially the *khadi* and village industries. I have got with me a resolution very recently passed by the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board regarding the help to be given to the village oil industry. This resolution states that Government is not giving the subsidy which the Board itself recommended for giving encouragement to the village oil industry. The resolution definitely states that unless the subsidy recommended by the Board is given, it will not be possible to carry on. This is what the resolution says: I shall not read the whole of it but read out only a few lines.

"Without subsidy of the type proposed, the Board fears that it will not be possible to help the Ghanis in their struggle for existence against the mills. Among the measures proposed for the strengthening and revival of this industry, the Planning Commission had included the grant of a subsidy to the Ghanis.

In the absence of some such measure of relief, the Ghanis are in danger of being squeezed out and those engaged in the industry will swell the ranks of the unemployed."

We are trying to remove this unemployment problem as much as possible, but this is the position where even the recommendations of the Khadi and Village Industries Board are not being implemented by the Government. Then, how can we say that Government, as a whole, has any faith in this? This is the position with regard to the *khadi* and village industries.

Another point which I want to refer to is Government policy with regard to the implementation of article 47 of the Constitution of India in respect of prohibition. I am sorry to state that Government are not taking any definite steps towards the implementation of this policy. I know that prohibition is a State subject, but at the same time, I do not understand why they do not introduce prohibition in the Army, Navy and the Air Force. You know Sir, that the other day the wife of an Army officer who was going to Korea had written a letter to Rajaji in which she stated that the wife of every army officer felt that prohibition must be implemented and that wine has been a curse. It has been a curse to every family. Not only this. I am pained to see that, while our Prime Minister has deprecated the cocktail parties on the one hand, what is the position on the other hand? Last year there was a carnival among Army officers, and there, the prizes were given. Do you know what the best prize was? The best prize that was to be given at the carnival was a whisky bottle! I shall now refer to one small passage published recently in the *Harijan*. In that issue of the *Harijan* it is stated that on the 26th January, 1954—it was a dry day in Delhi State—some people requested the Chief Minister that on that day the shops should not be closed. The Editor of that paper was in Delhi on that day and he states on the strength

of a newspaper report—I do not know what is the truth—that on the 26th January, people were allowed to drink as much as they could

Shri Gidwani (Thana): If they are allowed to do so every day, what do you say?

Shri Dabhi: We know that recently the A.I.C.C. has passed a resolution again affirming its faith in prohibition. But this is a strange thing that is going on in Delhi. I hope Government will take steps to remove this evil, unless they want to be content with परोपदेश पाण्डित्यम् ।

I now proceed to another point. We know that some cut precious stones are imported into this country from Burma, Ceylon and elsewhere—from other soft currency countries. These precious stones are cut, polished and then exported to foreign countries. As a result of this, several of our people earn their livelihood and we also get some dollar and sterling exchanges because of these cut precious stones which are exported to U.S.A., U.K., Switzerland, France and other countries. But after the imposition of the 20 per cent. duty, these imports and exports have been dwindling and many people have lost their livelihood, especially those who were engaged in the cutting and polishing of stones—the artisans of Cambay, which is a very famous city, famous for the cutting and polishing of stones.

I would give you some figures to show the real state of affairs. The export duty, in 1952-53, from these precious stones amounted to Rs 1,27,442. But, as a result of this 20 per cent. imposition, it has dwindled to only Rs. 14,377 in 1953-54. From import duty also it is not very much and the Government got in 1953-54 only Rs. 41,848. So, I appeal to the hon. Finance Minister to immediately remove this 20 per cent. duty on the import of these stones and thus give relief to the persons who are engaged in this trade.

With these few words, I resume my seat.

Shri K. P. Sinha (Patna Central): Mr. Chairman, I am obliged to you for the time you have given me. I must, at the outset, say that I am not an economist and, therefore, I would not be able to throw much light on the intricacies of the Bill which is before us. I must tell you that I am a man who believes in the principle of joint Hindu family. When a *Karta* is placed in charge of the family affairs, especially financial affairs and so long as his sagacity and sincerity are not in doubt, he has got to be believed and co-operated with by all sections of the House. In that light, I say, the Finance Minister has got to be supported.

I have been hearing since the very beginning arguments for and against the Budget proposals and the more I hear them the more I am inclined to believe that there is sincerity and a good amount of care is being taken, so far as the finances of our country are concerned.

I take this opportunity to place before this House the grievances of the Backward Classes. When I say 'Backward Classes'. I must say that this has been divided into three parts, the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and the other Backward Classes. So far as the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes are concerned, we have heard their cases being represented here by very many hon. Members; but, so far as this third kind of people are concerned, during the course of the debate nothing has been said. So far as these Backward Classes are concerned, they are labouring under so many difficulties. Though it has been laid down in the Constitution that all possible safeguards should be given to these Backward Classes, I find the only sort of help that has been given from the Centre is with regard to education. This help is so very meagre, as will appear from the following facts. In 1949-50, there were 3154 applicants for scholarships and only 349 were granted

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scholarships; in 1950-51, there were 3830 applicants and only 517 were granted; in 1951-52 there were 4079 applicants and only 655 were granted and in 1952-53, there were 5795 applicants and only about 1700 were granted scholarships. From these figures, it appears that the Government is taking some steps, no doubt, but it has not given full satisfaction. In this connection, I would place before the House the fact that, so far as the applicants from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are concerned, none of them is allowed to go empty-handed. So far as the other Backward Classes are concerned, I must say that there are among them people who are socially, educationally and economically as backward as those of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I do not thereby interpret or mean that so far as the help given to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is concerned, it is sufficient, but I wish to lay before the House the cases of these Backward Classes, and I appeal to the Finance Minister that their cases may be more generously considered in the light of the fact that so many applicants are coming forward and only a very small number of them are being given relief. Though Government has been taking steps to improve the position from year to year, something more is desirable. Last year the hon. Finance Minister had given a promise in the House, and so far as the Scheduled Castes are concerned, I might express my satisfaction that he met their demand, and almost all applicants were given scholarships. I would appeal to him similarly he should also consider the cases of the other Backward Classes generously, and take forward steps, so that a large number of these people should not be allowed to go empty-handed. What has been done to these Backward Classes in the States? I find that after the Constitution was framed, and still today, there are only four big States that have made a list of these Backward

Classes—Bihar, Orissa, Bombay and Bengal. There are also seven small States who have similarly made their lists—Ajmer, Saurashtra, Travancore-Cochin, Bhopal, Coorg, Cutch and Manipur. The others have not cared to look into the grievances of the Backward Classes and they have not come forward with a list so far. I feel that so far as the States that have prepared their lists, are concerned, they have been given some relief. There is one State—Madhya Pradesh—and here they are of opinion that there is no Backward Class so far as Muhammadans are concerned, and according to them, it is only Hindus that have the Backward Classes, and thus once a Hindu Backward Class member gets converted into a Muhammadan, he ceases to enjoy the relief so far enjoyed by him. I think perhaps these are the considerations that are weighing in the different States, and I therefore appeal that you must look into the condition and grievances of these Backward Classes. So, there is this confusion as to who is a Backward Class person. All these confusions will, I hope, come to an end because the Commission is working there and the persons who are there in the Backward Classes Commission are able persons and I hope that they will be able to make helpful recommendations which the Backward Classes deserve. Even before the Report comes before us, I would request the Government that some steps should be taken in this regard.

I want to place before you some of the grievances that have been put forward by some of the persons belonging to these Backward Classes. They say they should be given adequate representation in the services and in the legislatures as well as in other public bodies. At least one member should be in the Public Service Commission both in the Centre and in the States. I find that in spite of the steps taken by the Government and in spite of their coming forward with

legislation, the mentality has not changed and unless the mentality is changed, it would be very difficult to bring the reliefs that are required to them. I place before you the recommendations of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes Commissioner. He has stated that even though the reports have been submitted and it has been pointed out to the Government that certain reliefs should be given to these people, still, so far as the services are concerned, they have not been properly represented and that is why I say that the Commission's report and legislation alone in this regard will not be sufficient. A change of mentality is required.

I place before you two instances. One person appeared for the IAS examination. He was the son of a court peon. He passed all the written examinations and in *voce voce* one question was put to him. He was asked: what is your father's profession? The poor man hesitated but later he said that his father is a peon. He said he felt that as soon as he said so, the mentality of the Commission members changed and he was rejected on that ground. I do not know what actually worked in the minds of the members of the Commission.

In another instance, a man appeared before a Board for the selection of Sub-Inspectors of Police. They asked him what his profession was and to which caste he belonged. He named the caste which really works in land. The poor man was asked to go and work in the fields. Then Sir, a few words in regard to my constituency. I come from a constituency which has got very fertile lands and which produces two crops in a year. Two or three rivers flow but they make the land either dry or flooded; the crops are in this way devastated practically every year in some form or other.....

Shri D. C. Sharma (Hoshiarpur): Why cannot you have three crops a year?

Shri K. P. Sinha: We have got very big projects costing crores of rupees.

When you are spending hundreds of crores of rupees so that you may convert unfertile or barren lands into fertile lands, why do not you care for these small schemes by virtue of which you can at once save these crops? Therefore, I submit that some sort of small and medium schemes of this character which, when taken up, would benefit the cultivators of these lands which are very fertile should be taken up.

Community projects are started in the canal-irrigated areas or where only a little earth work is required or little drains. Some *kuchha* roads are constructed in places where there are already a foot-path. We say we are going to have hospitals and schools. But who is going to meet their recurring expenditure? The main purpose of the project, I think, is to make the crops of the land sure in the rural areas.

As you have rung the bell, Sir, I shall resume my seat.

Shri Shivannanajappa (Mandya): The Finance Minister has told this House time over and again that the rate of spending as reflecting the physical progress of the Five Year Plan is far from satisfactory. He has also referred in the course of his Budget speech to the fact that many appropriations have been rendered infructuous because of administrative delays in sanctioning, or in pursuing development schemes.

The Ministry of Irrigation and Power which has the primary responsibility for the multi-purpose projects must take the prime responsibility for not spending its allocations. These allocations were relatively conservative and modest, and they could easily have been exceeded if this Ministry had any great drive and vigour in pursuing its task. This Ministry was not only wanting in drive and vigour, but it lacked a Minister for over six months. Apart from this, the outlook of this Ministry on the conduct of its leading officers has been disastrous. The

[Shri Shivananjappa]

D.V.C. has been left without a Chairman for over six months. Any officer placed at the head of any of our great national undertakings, be it Damodar, Hirakud, Bhakra-Nangal or the great Chittaranjan Works, must receive the same support which any managing director of a private company would receive. Hence the Government ought not to fail, through faults in its machinery, to turn to good account the sacrifices of the people.

Further, it is an undisputed fact that the Central Secretariat is over-staffed, and nearly 33 per cent. of the staff is superfluous.

This mass employment for 'digging holes and filling them up' is breeding inefficiency and eating away the very core of sound administration. The tax-payer would not be called upon to maintain an army of parasites who are cankers in the Government. Either retrenchment or scaling down of salaries on an equitable basis must be resorted to for effecting economy and efficiency.

The Central Pay Commission has done a great harm to this country. Its report was intended to embarrass the Britishers who ruled this country when the Commission made its report. The late Mr. M. A. Jinnah realised the implications of this report and did not accept it for Pakistan. On the other hand, he appointed another Commission, with the result that scales of pay in Pakistan are lower at present than in this country.

This brings me to the graver issue of disparity in the scales of pay and allowances between the Centre and the States' employees. This matter has been agitating the States Governments for some time past, as would be evident from the representations made to the Centre by the Governments of Saurashtra and Mysore. The large disparity between the emoluments of the Central and State employees has been a source of considerable embarrassment to the State Governments. In and out of season the State

employees are pressing their claim for equal treatment. This disparity is genuine source of discontent, impairing their efficiency. To cite one example, a peon in the Accountant-General's office at Bangalore draws as much pay as a graduate clerk in the State service, and double that of his counterpart in the State services. It would be too much to expect from the State employees any appreciation of the administrative difficulties confronting the State Governments. If the State Governments raised the emoluments of their employees, it will seriously affect their nation-building services. Sir, the Central Government should formulate its policies in such a way that they may not result in any embarrassment to the States. Meanwhile, the Gadgil Committee has made its report, and its recommendation of merging half the D.A. with the basic pay has been accepted by the Government.

6 P.M.

The Government of India must realise the volume of discontent their system breeds when two brothers of equal qualification, often working in the same building, receive two sets of salaries on the ground that one is an employee of the Central Government, and the other of a State Government.

Another point which I wish to bring to the notice of the Finance Minister, is the representation of the Government of Mysore regarding the enhancement of the loyalty on gold. Under the Gold Duty Act, the State of Mysore was in receipt of a revenue of more than a crore of rupees per year. With the repeal of the Act in 1949, and under the terms of the agreement entered into with the K.G.F. Mining Companies, a revenue of Rs. 20 lakhs was anticipated as net surplus. This expectation was not materialised. The Government of Mysore are getting nothing from the Gold Company except a bare royalty at the rate of 5 per cent. which they

had to pay irrespective of the agreement. The John Taylor & Company have managed to keep the prices of Indian gold higher than the world price mainly by inflating the expenditure and other working costs. They have shown no profits for the Government of Mysore to share. In the present context of the finances of the Mysore State, I request the Finance Minister to give his concurrence for raising the rate of royalty on gold which has remained stationary at 5 per cent. from time immemorial, to 10 per cent. at least.

With these words I conclude.

श्री श्री० मिश्र (गया उत्तर) : सभापति महोदय, मैं वित्त विधेयक का विरोध करता हूँ। विरोध इस लिये करता हूँ कि इस में नये कर लगाने के विचार रखे गये हैं। हिन्दुस्तान की जनता पर बहुत से कर लग चुके हैं, और हर साल कुछ न कुछ नये कर लग जाते हैं, इस लिये इस बिल का विरोध करना मेरे लिये जरूरी हो गया। मैं मानता हूँ कि सरकारों को कर लगाने का अधिकार है और होना भी चाहिये। सरकारी खर्च कर ही से चलते हैं, परन्तु जो खर्च होते हैं उन का नतीजा जनता को क्या मिलता है? पहले इस पर विचार हो जाने के बाद ही नये कर लगाये जायें। साथ ही कर कितने लगाये जा सकते हैं, कर देने की ताकत जनता में कितनी है, इन बातों पर भी विचार होना चाहिये। इस का विचार न करने से काम खराब हो जाता है और हिन्दुस्तान की हालत बिगड़ती चली जा रही है। आम लोग इस ख्याल से परेशान हैं, कि आखिर कितने कर लगेंगे और उन को कितने कर देने पड़ेंगे।

अभी जिन साहबों ने सरकारी पक्ष से भाषण किये हैं उन्होंने कहा है कि हम योजना काल से गुजर रहे हैं और हमारे लिये कर लेना जरूरी हो सकता है और लेना चाहिये। मैं मानता हूँ कि हम लोग योजना काल से गुजर रहे हैं, कर भी लगने चाहिये, मगर आखिर कर कितने से लिया जाय और कितना लिया जाय? यह सवाल

बहुत बड़ा है। फिर योजना काल में हम कर लेते हैं तो जनता इस बात को सोचती है कि योजना काल में जो कुछ हो रहा है उस का नतीजा हमारे ऊपर क्या पड़ेगा। अभी तक जो कुछ काम स्वराज्य के बाद पांच, सात सालों में हुआ है उस से जनता बहुत खुश नहीं है। कुछ ऐसे काम हुए हैं जिन से हमारे खजाने तो भर जाते हैं, पर जनता को कोई लाभ नहीं हुआ, उस की जेब खाली होती चली जा रही है, हमारे बिहार में जमींदारी प्रथा को उठाने का कानून उस राज्य की सरकार ने पास किया है और वह लागू भी हो रहा है। परन्तु उस से हुआ क्या? लोगों को बड़ी उम्मीद थी कि राज्य से जमींदारी उठ जायेगी तो किसानों को फायदा होगा, इस लिये कि सरकार को जितना कर जमींदार देते थे, उस से दस गुना वह किसानों से वसूल करते थे। मगर अभी क्या हो रहा है? जो कानून बना है और जो अब अमल में लाया जा रहा है, उस के हिसाब से सरकारी खजाने में तो दस गुना कर चला जायेगा, पर उस से किसानों को एक पैसे की छूट नहीं हुई। तो लोगों का ऐसा ख्याल है कि सरकार के खजाने में पैसा देने के लिये जमींदारी को उठाया गया है। आज जब इस योजना काल से हम गुजर रहे हैं, अगर वही भावना लोगों में रहती गई और वह समझ कि शावद तप्या जो खर्च किया जा रहा है, सरकारी खजाने को लगातार मोटा बनाने के लिये ज़ुतज़ाम है, जब कि उन कि जेब खाली की खाली रही, तो उस से हमें हानि होगी।

आप जानते हैं कि देश में आम लोगों का रोजगार टूटता जा रहा है, जिस रोजगार पर लोग ज़िन्दा रहते थे वह टूटते जा रहे हैं और लोगों की आमदनी घटती जा रही है। साथ ही कर बढ़ते जा रहे हैं, ऐसी हालत में लोग कब तक ज़िन्दा रहेंगे और किस हालत में ज़िन्दा रहेंगे, यह मैं वित्त मंत्री साहब से पूछना चाहता हूँ। आप वह सोचें कि अगर इस तरह लोगों का रोजगार टूटता जाय और उन पर कर बढ़ते जायें तो इस का आखिर क्या नतीजा होगा। मैं जानता हूँ कि बहुत से रोजगार टूट रहे हैं,

[श्री वी० मिश्र]

आज जिन कामों को कर के लोग अपना पेट पालते थे उन के वही रोजगार टूट रहे हैं, उन को जिन्दा रखने का उपाय नहीं हुआ है। सभी चीजों पर कर लगाये जा रहे हैं। इस विधेयक में एक ही चीज है जिस का मैं समर्थन कर सकता हूँ, और इस की मुभ्त खुशी भी है, कि इस में नमक पर कर लगाने का विचार नहीं है और जगल साल भी नमक पर कर नहीं लगेंगे। इस के अलावा जितनी भी बातें हैं, कोई ऐसी नहीं है कि जिनका समर्थन किया जा सके। पुराने कर लगे हैं और नये कर लगाये जा रहे हैं। जूते पर कर लगाया गया है, साबुन पर कर लगाया गया है। इसी तरह से और चीजें भी हैं जिन पर कर लगाये गये हैं। आप जानते हैं कि जूते पर कर लगाने का असर किन लोगों पर पड़ेगा। कर का बोझ उन लोगों पर पड़ेगा जो कि बीच की, मध्यम श्रेणी के लोग हैं। साबुन का कर भी मध्यम श्रेणी पर पड़ेगा। अगर आप कर लगाना चाहते हैं तो सराब पर कर लगाइये, गांजा पर कर लगाइये, अफीम पर कर लगाइये, जिस से कि ऐसे व्यासनों में जो पैसा खर्च होता है वह सरकार को मिले। आखिर आप क्यों सिगरेट पर कर नहीं लगाते? मैं भी सिगरेट पीता हूँ अगर पीता हूँ तो इस के लिये मैं भी कर देने को राजी हूँ क्योंकि वह चीज कोई जिन्दगी की जरूरत की नहीं है। आप वॉल्टरबुल आवल पर कर लगाइये जिस से जनता का स्वास्थ्य खराब हो रहा है। नाच गानों पर कर लगाइये। पर आप तो जूते पर कर लगाते हैं। वह सार काम आदमी जिन्दा न रहे इस का उपचार कर रहे हैं। मेरा खयाल है कि यह बुरी बात है, इस को कोई न कोई कदम ही करेगा और न ऐसी चीजों को आप को हमारे सामने लाना ही चाहिये।

साथ ही मैं कहता हूँ कि रोजगार टूटते हैं, कुछ इस का उपाय कीजिये, बहुत चीजों पर आप प्रतिबन्ध लगाते हैं, मैं कहता हूँ कि आप सब से पहले ब्लैंड पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाइये, सेफ्टी रंबर पर कर लगाइये, इस से कम से कम

दश के नाइयों का रोजगार बढ़ जायेगा। आप चर्खा चर्खा चिल्लाते हैं, तो लोगों से कहिये कि नाइयों से दाढ़ी बनवायें, यह बहुत खतर की बात है, आप जानते हैं कि नाइयों का रोजगार टूटता है तो उन्हें कोई रोजगार देने वाला नहीं है। इसी तरह से आप कहेंगे कि अगर जूता पहिना है तो सरकार को कुछ पैसा दो, साबुन से कपड़ा धोना है तो सरकार को कुछ पैसा दो, साथ में और भी चीजें हैं जिन से लोगों का रोजगार टूटता है।

आज कल जिस समय कि हम योजना काल से गुजर रहे हैं, इस योजना में कुछ बातें ऐसी भी हैं जिन से हमें उम्मीद थी कि हमारा कुछ भला होगा लेकिन आप ने कहा कि आटा पीसने की कलें कम होनी चाहियें, चावल कूटने की कलें कम होनी चाहियें। आप जानते हैं कि आटा पीसती हैं वह औरतें जो विधवा होती हैं, उन की आमदनी का और कोई जरिया नहीं वह चक्की चला कर अपने बाल बच्चों का पेट पालती हैं, इसी तरह चावल कूटन का काम गांवों में होता है, इस के लिये आप की योजना की कोई जरूरत नहीं थी। आप सिर्फ ऐसी मिलें बन्द कर दते जिस से कि वह औरतें अपना रोजगार कर सकती। आप को बाहर से कोई मशीन नहीं मंगाना पड़ता, कोई इंजीनियर नहीं बुलाने पड़ते और लोगों का पेट भर जाता। आप योजना ऐसी बनाते हैं जिन में इंजीनियर भी बाहर के होने चाहिये, मशीनरी बाहर की होनी चाहिये, और रुपया हमारा होना चाहिये। सब से बड़ी मुश्किल वही हो जाती है। रुपया हम दं और रोजगार दूसरों को मिलता है। अंग्रेज इंजीनियर आते हैं और अमरीका और लन्दन से बनकर मशीनें आती हैं। और ये लोग हम पर हुकूमत करते हैं। कानूनी हुकूमत दूर हो गयी मगर हुकूमत करने वाले आते जाते हैं और हमारे रोजगार टूटते जाते हैं। इसीलिये मैं आपके द्वारा वित्त मंत्री जी से अपनी और अपनी पार्टी की तरफ से, यानी प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी की तरफ से कहना चाहता

हूँ कि आप जो यह कर लगा रहे हैं इनको हटा-इये और दूसरी तरह के कर लगाने के लिये दूसरा विधेयक लाइये। आप ब्लैंड पर कर लगाइये, सिगरेट पर कर लगाइये, शराब पर कर लगाइये, गांजा और चरस पर कर लगाइये। आप कैनाट सरकार में चले जाइये। वहाँ अंगूजी शराब की दुकानें उठ रही हैं और दूसरी तरफ जुलाहों की दुकानें टूट रही हैं, हमारे तीलियों के कोस्टू टूट रहे हैं। क्या आप समझते हैं कि इससे देश का उद्धार होने वाला है। मेरा ख्याल है कि नहीं हो सकता है। और अगर आप इसी तरह का उद्धार करना चाहते हैं तो देश के लिये कफन का भी इन्तिजाम आपको करना चाहिए जिसमें कि जब देश मर जाय तो आप उसका कफन कर सकें। वह चीजें मुझ पसन्द नहीं हैं इसलिए मैं इस विधेयक का विरोध करता हूँ। बातें बहुत की जाती हैं। मैं ने देखा है कि जो कुछ भी सरकारी इन्तिजाम होता है उस पर से लोगों का भरोसा टूट जाता है। बहुत सी बातें ऐसी कही जाती हैं कि जिससे लोग घबरा उठते हैं। मेरी कंस्टीट्यूएन्सी में एक नदी है। उसकी योजना बहुत दिनों से बन रही है। कभी कोई स्टैंट के मिनिस्टर साहब आते हैं, कभी कोई पार्लियामेंटरी सेक्रेटरी आते हैं और बहुत सी बातें कह जाते हैं। उसकी नाप करवाते हैं और कहते हैं कि वह बनेगी। लोग इस भरोसे में दूसरा इन्तिजाम नहीं करते और उसका फल यह होता है कि कभी तो उनकी फसल पानी में डूब जाती है। और कभी पानी के बिना सूख जाती है। इसमें कुछ बहुत पैसा खर्च नहीं होगा। अगर आप उसे करना चाहें तो कर सकते हैं। मुझ जो बातें आपसे कहनी हैं वह इसी सिलसिले में कहनी हैं कि ऐसे कर लगाइये जिनसे देश में नये रोजगार पैदा हों और जिनके पास रोजगार हैं उनके रोजगार टूट नहीं। आप ऐसे टैक्स न लगाइये जिनसे कि देश की जिन्दगी हाराम हो जाय। आखिर जिन्दा तो रहना है। आप साबुन पर, चरमों पर, जूतों पर, मसालों पर कर लगाते हैं, और चीजों पर सेल्स टैक्स लगा हुआ है। कुछ भी

बाकी नहीं है। आखिर जिन्दा रहने के लिए कुछ तो छोड़ दीजिये और जिन्दगी के लिए आभश्यक चीजों के अलावा जो चीजें हैं उन पर आप टैक्स लगाइये। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इस विधेयक को वापस लें और दूसरा विधेयक लायें जिसमें दूसरे प्रकार के टैक्स लगाये जायें। उस अवस्था में मैं समझता हूँ कि उस विधेयक का मेरी पार्टी भी समर्थन कर सकती है और आपको अपना सहयोग दे सकती है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप ऐसे काम उठावें जिनसे जनता को लाभ हो। मैं ने बिहार के एक मंत्री से कहा था कि आप उस नदी के काम को उठावें तो जो कच्चा काम होगा उसको कराने में हम सहयोग देंगे। मैं खुद काम करूंगा और किसान मेरे साथ काम करेंगे। आप पक्का काम करा दीजिये। आप उस काम को करा दें इसी के साथ साथ मुझे दूसरी बात अर्ज करनी है। हमारे बिहार और उत्तर प्रदेश में नहर के पानी की जो सिंचाई की रेंट है वह दुगुनी, तिगुनी और कहीं कहीं चौगुनी हो रही है। इसका कारण यह बताया जाता है कि दूसरी जगह नहर खोद रहे हैं इसलिये वह टैक्स ले रहे हैं। आप जानते हैं कि बहुतसे लोग ऐसी बातें नहीं समझते। हम और आप इस विषय में यहां बैठ कर बातें कर सकते हैं लेकिन जिनको टैक्स देना पड़ता है वह समझते हैं कि इसका क्या अर्थ होता है। आप कह दते हैं कि दूसरी जगह नहर खोद रहे हैं इसलिए उनको ज्यादा पैसा देना चाहिए। दूसरी तरफ नहर में पहले जितना पानी मिलता था वह घटता जा रहा है। पैसा बढ़ता जा रहा है और पानी घटता जा रहा है। ऐसी हालत है। यहां पर बहुत सी बातें होती हैं।

पिछली साल मैंने बजट के माँके पर कहा था कि किसानों को अपनी चीजों के पर दाम नहीं मिलते हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश में मेरठ जिले में एक बहुत अच्छा गांव है जिस में नहर भी है। मैंने वहां पर एक किसान से कहा कि तुम हिसाब लगाओ कि एक मन ऊख पैदा करने में तुम्हारा क्या खर्च होता है। उसने हिसाब लगाया तो मालूम हुआ कि रुपया पाँचे

[श्री वी० मिश्र]

ग्यारह आने एक मन ऊख पैदा करने पर लक्षों आता है। वह उसकी कीमत खेत पर है। आप उससे कहते हैं कि एक रुपया पांच आना मन ऊख बंवाँ और नहर का दुगना टैक्स दो। आप समझते हैं कि यह चीजें क्यों चल रही हैं? यह इस लिए चल रही हैं कि हमारे बंधों का किसान हिसाब किताब नहीं रखता। अगर वह हिसाब किताब रखने लगे तो वह खेती करना छोड़ दें और आप का प्लान खत्म हो जाय, और कोई किसान न रहे।

मुझे और कुछ नहीं कहना और ज्यादा कहने से फायदा भी क्या है। मैं जानता हूँ कि यह बिल पास होने वाला है और पास होकर रहेगा और यह टैक्स लगने वाले हैं। इस लिए मैं इसका अपनी पूरी ताकत से विरोध करता हूँ और अपील करता हूँ कि अच्छा हो कि आप नया बिल लावें जिसके द्वारा अच्छे टैक्स लगावें। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इन टैक्सों को हटा दें।

श्री एन० एल० जोशी (इनदौर): चेंबरमैन महोदय, मैं आपका बहुत आभारी हूँ कि आप ने मुझे बोलने का अवसर दिया।

बिस्म मंत्री जी ने जो विधेयक हमारे सामने प्रस्तुत किया है उस विधेयक का मैं समर्थन करता हूँ। अभी जो सामने के कुछ मित्रों ने कई बातें कहीं उनमें से एक बात कोलेंता हूँ और वह यह कि वह सरकार अपनी याबना को चलाने के लिए और आगे बढ़ाने के लिए अमरीका से ऋण लेती है। परन्तु उन मित्रों ने कभी यह नहीं सोचा कि इस सरकार ने कभी भी किसी देश के साथ पड़पात नहीं किया। आज जो दुनिया दो बड़े भागों में विभक्त है उन दो भागों में से किसी भी एक भाग की यह सरकार पड़पाती नहीं है। कोई भी भाग जो चाहे वह इस देश की आर्थिक उन्नति के लिए इस देश की सहायता कर सकता है और यह देश उसकी सहायता लेने में कभी भी इन्कार नहीं करेगा। तो यह बात आपको मान लेनी चाहिए कि इस तरह की आलोचना करने से कोई लाभ नहीं है। इस सरकार की यह इच्छा है कि इस देश की गरीबी

दूर हो, इस देश की बेकारी दूर हो और इस देश के लोग खुशहाल हों। यह कैसे हो सकता है? अगर हमारे मित्रों के सामने इसके लिए कोई उपाय हो तो वह उनको जरूर सुझावें और यह सरकार उन पर अवश्य अमल करेगी। मालवे में एक पुरानी कहावत है, माल खाये माटी को, गीत गाये बीरा को। यह बान यदि वह चलाना चाहें तो काम नहीं चलेगा। अगर वे इस देश के रहने वाले हैं, इस देश का अन्न खाते हैं, इस देश का पानी पीते हैं तो यह बात बड़ी आवश्यक है कि उनको इस देश की ही बातें करनी होंगी। इससे कोई लाभ नहीं कि वे विदेशों की बातें करें, विदेशों की बड़ाई करें और इस देश की और इस देश की सरकार की निन्दा करें। बहुत अच्छा हो कि वे कोई ऐसे काम करें, ऐसे कोई सुझाव दें कि जिन कामों के करने से और सुझावों के देने से यह देश उन्नति के पथ पर आगे बढ़े, अन्यथा बातों से यह चीज नहीं होगी। आलोचनाओं से कोई काम नहीं बनेगा।

अब मैं मुख्य रूप से उन बातों की ओर आता हूँ जिनको हमारे बिस्म मंत्री जी ने टैक्स लगाने के सिलसिले में इस सभा भवन के सामने कहा है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि पंच वर्षीय याबना को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए देश को पैसे की आवश्यकता है परन्तु इस की पूर्ति दो तीन तरीकों से ही हो सकती है। एक तरीका तो यह है कि हम टैक्स लगावें, दूसरा तरीका यह हो सकता है कि हम कुछ कर्ज लें, या तीसरा तरीका यह हो सकता है कि जितना खर्च हम करते हैं उस में हम जितनी भी किफायत हो सकती है करें। जब हम टैक्स लगाने या कर्ज लेने की बात पर विचार करते हैं तो हमारे सामने यह बात आती है कि जब हमने अपने देश के राज्य को चलाने की जिम्मेदारी अपने ऊपर ली है तो हमारा यह कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि उसको चलाने के लिए हम टैक्स दें और जहाँ तक हो सके हम अपना पूरा शारीरिक और मानसिक बल इस देश की सरकार को कामयाब बनाने के लिए लगावें। जो प्रश्न बार बार उठता है वह यह है

कि क्या सरकार को कोई ऐसा उपाय करना है कि जिसके करने से सार्वं दश के लोग इन सब कामों में जुट जायें और यह महसूस करें कि वास्तव में यह राज्य हमारा है और इस राज्य को कामयाब बनाना हमारा कर्तव्य है। अगर शासन यह महसूस करे कि कहीं पर कुछ खामी है तो उसको उस खामी को निकालना चाहिए और उसका इलाज करना चाहिये। अगर शासन इस ओर ध्यान दे तो कोई कारण नहीं मालूम होता कि सफलता क्यों न प्राप्त हो। अभी फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहिब ने अपने पिछले भाषण में बताया कि आज दश को पंचवर्षीय योजना को कामयाब बनाने के लिए केवल ६ अरब रुपये की आवश्यकता है। केवल नौ अरब रुपये की कमी है, अगर नौ अरब रुपये हमको और मिल जाय तो हम पूरी तरह से इस पंचवर्षीय योजना को कामयाब बना सकते हैं। चेंबरमैन महोदय आप विचार कीजिये, इस दश में २६ करोड़ आदमी रहते हैं, २६ करोड़ का नौ अरब में भाग दीजिये तो आप देखेंगे कि एक व्यक्ति के पीछे कितना रुपया हिस्से में आता है, २५ रुपया मुरिक्त से ही आता है और वह २५ रुपया भी उसे दो साल में देने हैं। यदि इस दश के लोग यह सोच लें, यह विचार कर लें और दश के लोगों के मन में यह उत्साह पैदा कर दिया जाय कि वास्तव में जो सरकार काम करने जा रही है, वह उनके हित में है और और दश के हित में है तो क्या आप यह ख्याल करते हैं कि इस दश का कोई भी व्यक्ति दो साल में २५ रुपये सरकार को देने से इन्कार करेगा? वह अवश्य सरकार को देगा और सहर्ष देगा। इस दश के निवासियों के सामने जो आदर्श है, वह आदर्श अपने अस्तित्व का नहीं बल्कि समाज के अस्तित्व का प्रश्न उसके सामने रहता है। भारतवासी समाज के अस्तित्व को कायम रखने के लिये जीना चाहता है। यहां वालों का यह आदर्श नहीं है कि वह खुद लार्जे और आमोद प्रमोद में अपने पैसे को लगायें, बल्कि उनकी इच्छा यह रही है और सदा से रही है कि वे जहां तक बने समाज के उत्थान में अपने आप को लगायें।

समाज के उत्थान के लिये किसी से जो रुपया लिया जाता है तो इस लिये नहीं लिया जाता कि उससे रुपया एक बार लेकर उसको वापिस नहीं लाँटाया जायगा। वह खूब समझता है कि वह रुपया सरकार को चाहे टैक्स के रूप में दे चाहे कर्ज के रूप में दे, लेकिन फायदा आखिर में उसी को मिलना है। कर्ज के रूप में उससे जो रुपया प्राप्त किया जायगा, वह रुपया मय सूद के उस को वापिस दिया जायगा और वह रुपया जो उससे टैक्स के रूप में वसूल किया जायगा, तो उसके लिये वह सरकार से आशा करता है कि वह उसके हित के लिये खर्च किया जायगा। उसकी नजर में तो सरकार का काम सूर्य के समान है। सूर्य छोटें बड़े स्रोतों से, नदियों और समुद्रों से पानी खींचता है और सब को समान रूप से उसका वितरण करता है, सार्वं दश को हरा भरा करता है। वितरण करते वक्त यह ख्याल नहीं करता, यह तमीज नहीं करता कि कहां से मैंने ज्यादा लिया था और कहां से मैंने कम लिया, जिस से मैंने ज्यादा लिया है उसको मैं ज्यादा दे और जिससे मैंने कम लिया है उसको कम दे, वह यह फर्क और तमीज नहीं बर्तता और समान रूप से उसका वितरण करता है। ठीक वही सूर्य वाला आदर्श यहां के दशवासी अपनी सरकार से अपनाने की आशा रखते हैं। आज मैं आपको बतलाऊं कि जनता के सामने सिर्फ एक सवाल हर जगह रहता है और जब हम लोग अपने अपने निर्वाचन क्षेत्रों में जाते हैं, दौरा करते हैं और जनता से मिलते हैं तो हर आदमी हम से प्रश्न करता है, मैं आपको बतलाऊं कि जब पिछली बार अधिवेशन की समाप्ति पर मैं दौरा पर गया तो मुझ से एक अनपढ़ बिल्कुल सीधे सादे किसान ने एक प्रश्न किया, जब मैंने उनसे कहा कि हमारी योजनाएं किस प्रकार चल रही हैं, केन्द्रीय सरकार किस तरह खर्च कर रही है और राज्यों की सरकारें क्या काम कर रही हैं तो उन्होंने मुझ से यह प्रश्न किया कि साबब यह तो बहुत अच्छा है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार और राज्य सरकार हमारे सामाजिक और आर्थिक उन्नति के कार्यों में लगी हुई हैं, लेकिन हम आपसे

(श्री एन० एल० जोशी)

एक प्रश्न करना चाहते हैं और वह यह है कि सरकार ने अपने शासन यंत्र को संभालने के लिये अब तक क्या किया ? आप चाहे जो कुछ भी करें, हम तो ऐसा महसूस करते हैं कि यदि आप केवल उस चपरासी और पटवारी से या उस मुंशी से जिस से कि हमारा साबका कचहरीयों में जाने पर पड़ता है, अगर किसी तरह से आप यह जो बोझ बहुत पैसा हमसे ले लेते हैं उससे यदि आप हमको मुक्त करवा दें, केवल उन पर ही आप अपना नियंत्रण कर लें तो हम समझेंगे कि आपने हमारे लिये बहुत काम किया। चेंबरमैन महोदय मैं आपके सामने और अपने फ़र्ज़न्स मिनिस्टर के सामने यह बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि यह बात ठीक नहीं है कि पैसा एकत्रित करना एक बहुत बड़ी समस्या है और बड़ा कठिन काम है वह जनता से आपको मिलेगा। लोग तो आपसे जानना चाहते हैं कि आप उनके लिये क्या कर रहे हैं ? मध्यभारत में चम्बल योजना आरम्भ हो रही है और हो गई है। बहुत अच्छा हुआ कि गये वर्ष शासन ने उसके लिये स्वीकृति दी और उसका काम भी आरम्भ हो गया तथा हमारे प्रधान मंत्री करीब डेढ़ महीने पहले वहां पधार और उन्होंने उसका सिलान्यास भी किया, पस्तु मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि वहां के गांव के लोग पूछते हैं कि क्या यह जो चम्बल योजना बन रही है, इससे हमको बिजली मिलेगी ? बहुत सहज सा प्रश्न वह हम लोगों के समक्ष उपस्थित कर देते हैं। अब उनको कहा जाता है कि आप बोझ सा कर्ज दीर्घाय, सरकार को पांच रुपया, दस रुपया लोन दीर्घाय तो वह हमसे प्रश्न करते हैं कि क्या आप हमें बिजली देंगे, क्या हम उस बिजली द्वारा अपने कुंओं से पानी निकाल सकेंगे और क्या हम उस बिजली से अपने छोटे २ उद्योगों को चला सकेंगे ? चेंबरमैन महोदय, मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर कोई भी आदमी उनसे अधिकारपूर्वक कह दे कि हां तुम इस बिजली से काम ले सकोगे और साब ही अपने छोटे २ उद्योगों को भी बिजली से चला सकोगे, तो वह आपको सहर्ष हर तरह से सहायता करने को उत्तर हो जायेंगे। अभी पिछले दिनों डाक्टर

काटज मध्यभारत गये थे और उन्होंने यह कहा था कि मध्यभारत की चम्बल योजना पर जितना रुपया खर्च होने वाला है, उस चम्बल योजना की धनराशि में १० करोड़ रुपया वहां से कर्ज के रूप में लेंगे। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप गांव वालों से यह कह दें कि उस बिजली का फायदा गांव वालों को मिलने वाला है, तो दस करोड़ क्या पचास करोड़ रुपया भी गांव वाले आपको दें देंगे, यह कोई कीठन बात नहीं है, गांव के लोगों को एक बार पता लग जाना चाहिये कि यह वास्तव में उनके उपयोग और लाभ की चीज है, परन्तु अफसोस यह है कि इस तरह के पहलू से कोई विचार हमारे शासन द्वारा नहीं होता और अगर कोई बात कभी कही भी जाती है तो ऐसे एक गोलमाल तरीके से कही जाती है कि जिनसे लोगों में जरूरी उत्साह नहीं पैदा होता और हमारी योजनाओं के प्रति लोगों में उत्साह न होने के कारण हमें सोचना पड़ता है कि इस पंचवर्षीय योजना को पूरा करने के लिये हम रुपया कहां से लायें और हमें उसके लिये बड़े २ एंजीपतियाँ और कुर्बनियों का मुंह ताकना पड़ता है कि वह हमारी सहायता करें, ऐसे लोगों का मुंह ताकना पड़ता है जो न मालूम किस तरह से रुपया पैसा इकट्ठा करते हैं, यह मुनाफा-खोर लोग होते हैं जो चोल्वाबारी करके और इनकमटैक्स की चोरी करके रुपया इकट्ठा करते हैं, हम ऐसे लोगों के सामने हाथ बांधे खड़े रहते हैं और रुपये के लिये उनसे याचना करते हैं। अभी हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने पंचवर्षीय योजना को सफल बनाने के लिये राष्ट्र से जो ऋण देने की अपील की है, मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि रुपया इकट्ठा करना बड़ी मुश्किल चीज नहीं है, हां, एक बार लोगों में इसके लिये उत्साह पैदा हो जाने दीर्घाय उत्साह हो जाये और लोग यह जान लें कि वास्तव में यह उनका काम है और उनके हित और फायदे के लिये होने वाला है तो यह रुपया सरकार को उनसे अवश्य मिल जायगा। सरकार का अमरीका या उन बड़े २ कुर्बे-

पतियों से रुपये की सहायता की मांग करना मैं उचित नहीं समझता। मैं आपको बतलाऊँ कि साधारण से साधारण व्यक्ति अगर उसमें आप उसके लिये उत्साह पैदा करें तो वह आपको तय्या ही नहीं दंगा बल्कि अगर वह आपके साथ हो जायें तो आपको २५ करोड़ लोगों का शारीरिक श्रम भी उपलब्ध हो सकेगा, श्रमशक्ति उनमें कूट कूट कर भरी हुई है और उनके श्रम से आप करोड़ों और अरबों रुपये का काम करवा लेंगे। चम्पल योजना के लिये सरकार कहती है कि उनको नहर निकालने के लिये काम करना है, मैं कहता हूँ कि अगर सरकार वह एतान कर दे कि जिन इलाकों में वह नहर निकलनी है, उन गांव वालों की जिम्मेदारी है कि वह नहर निकाल दें तो मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि जब आप उनको उनकी पंचायतों को विश्वास में लेंगे उनके अंगुजाओं और पंचों को वह काम इंट्रस्ट करेंगे और उनको अपने विश्वास में ले लेंगे तो मैं आपको विश्वास दिलाता हूँ कि अरबों और करोड़ों रुपये का काम वह आपके लिये सहज में कर देंगे। चेम्सलैन महोदय, मैं आपका बहुत आभारी हूँ और मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि मेरे सुझावों पर शासन विचार करेगा और उनको स्वीकार करने का प्रयत्न करेगा।

Shri Bell Ram Das (Barpeta): Sir, I belong to the problem State of India, namely, the State of Assam, covering the North-East Frontier. It is under-developed and there is chronic shortage of funds for any development purpose. In the past, the Britishers cared more for tea, coal and oil and left the country entirely in darkness and backwardness. All the trade and commerce and industry are in the hands of outsiders and the Assamese people never get any employment in those concerns. This being the case, it is hoped that the Government of India will pay more attention to the State of Assam, which is under-developed.

In the present state of civilisation, oil is a commodity which is necessary

both for war and for peace. In India, oil is found only at Digboi in Assam. Recently, oil has been found at Naharkhotia. The Governments both at the Centre as well as in the State are negotiating with the Assam Oil Company, which is a foreign company for granting a prospective lease of Naharkhotia and they have not taken this House into confidence. Recently, I had a talk with one of the Directors of the Company who has come from London and, from him, I have found that Naharkhotia oil-field will be a very profitable one and they are trying to get a market for the sale of their products in other parts of India. This being the case, the Government should not have given the lease at a nominal royalty. Though we have become independent, we have got that lingering trepidation of heart to face a European and bargain on equal terms. I have been told that there is still room for improvement in the agreement, in the interest of India. In this connection, I am constrained to observe that some high-ranking officials in the Government of India show undue solicitations in the matter of speedily obliging the foreign concerns. I have come to learn that one Joint Secretary from the Government of India, belonging to the Ministry of N.S.S.R. accompanied the General Manager of the Company to Shillong in connection with a prospective lease at Naharkhotia and coaxed, cajoled and bullied the Government of Assam into amiable compliance of agreeable terms for the foreign concerns. This is a very important thing and the country and the legislators at least should have been taken into confidence when they leased these Naharkhotia oil fields.

Sir, on previous occasions, I spoke about the exploitation of the coalfields in the Garo Hills. I am glad that the Government of India have taken a step for opening out a railway line for the exploitation of coal in the Garo Hills. It has been recommended by the Planning Commission that Garo Hills coals should be exploited so as

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to relieve the consumption of higher grade coke and to relieve the railways from bringing coal from Bihar and Bengal over a long distance. Though coal is available in Assam, we are supplied coal from Bihar and Bengal and thereby we are feeling the shortage of wagons to carry other necessities to Assam.

Besides this, the coal in Garo Hills contains large quantities of sulphur. Sulphur is a commodity which is normally rarely found in any other part of India. So, the Planning Commission has recommended that the sulphur content of the coal in the Garo Hills should be exploited in its various forms. I request the Government to appoint one coal-mining engineer, depute him to Assam to examine the qualitative and quantitative prospecting of these Assam coal-fields.

We have seen in the last war that the enemies wanted to invade India through the Assam frontier. Assam is the gateway to the anti-social elements today and same is the gateway to ideologies repugnant to the age-old culture and tradition of India. I cite the Naga Hills, as a glaring instance. If you do not improve the condition of the tribal people living in the Frontier Agency, if you do not make them feel the glow of being a citizen of independent India, no amount of police and military strength will be able to keep them at bay and you will have to suffer in the long run. I, therefore, request the Government to give their serious thought about these frontier people.

Sir, I have been listening with great interest for the last two years that the Government of India are trying to bridge all the rivers in India save and except poor Brahmaputra. During the war the construction of a bridge across the Brahmaputra was taken up, but we do not know why the Government did not pursue it after the cessation of hostilities—I think due to the change in the political set-up, it

was dropped. I also heard that a contract was given to a company for the construction of a bridge and Government had to pay some compensation to the company. If you want to develop Assam, Manipur, Tripura and the Frontier areas, the necessity for a bridge across the Brahmaputra is very great. I urge that the construction of the bridge across the Brahmaputra be included in the Second Five Year Plan.

Now, I come to the financial side of Assam. Assam has no industry and no commerce worth the name. She has no port and there is no electricity in the revenue of this underdeveloped State. Assam has got tea, jute and oil, and the Government of India draws away Rs. 9 crores annually from Assam in the shape of excise duty, export duty etc. She has got a revenue of only about Rs. 10.82 crores. How can the people of Assam carry on like this and prosper under this condition? I ask the Government to look into the matter and do justice to the State. I refer to the state of affairs in the State of Assam and the deficits in 1952-53, 1953-54 and 1954-55 are roughly Rs. 1 crore, Rs. 1½ crores and Rs. 2 crores respectively. It means that every year there is a deficit to the tune of Rs. 2 crores. The Government of India, according to article 273 and article 275(1) of the Constitution, makes contribution to the tune of Rs. 40 lakhs, but this sum is not enough to meet the gap between revenue and expenditure of the 6 autonomous districts in Assam under the Sixth Schedule.

This is what the Finance Minister of Assam said in his last Budget speech:

"There is also some wrong impression in some quarters that the gap between the revenue and the expenditure in respect of the administration of the Sixth Schedule districts is made up by the Government of India and that Assam does not spend for the six

autonomous districts. This impression is absolutely unfounded and is due to want of information. The Government of India makes a grant of Rs. 40 lakhs annually as a contribution to the State Government to meet a part of the gap between the revenue and expenditure in respect of expenditure of administration for these six districts. The actual gap is much more. The Government of India do not pay anything except for the article 275 schemes. What is received under this article 275 scheme is spent on these States...

If a proportionate share of all these expenditures were debited to the six districts, the gap between the revenue and expenditure would be increased by several lakhs more."

This is the position of the State of Assam. If the Government of India do not come forward with a bigger grant, then the State of Assam cannot be run smoothly. I urge upon the Government to give some more grants to the State of Assam. In the allocation of income-tax, Assam's case was not properly considered. Population formula was the basis in allotting excise duty; I think it was wrong to apply this in the case of Assam because hills and jungles cover about two-thirds of the area of the State of Assam, and it is unproductive and thinly populated. It is for this formula that Assam did not get its legitimate share in income-tax and excise duties.

As regards communication, I want to mention a few points. Partition has affected Assam severely and it has severed Assam from the rest of the country. The railway link cannot carry all the freight and is not efficient enough to handle the freight to Assam. River transport belongs to a foreign company and they put all sorts of obstacles in our way and raise the freight whenever opportunity occurs for them. Places where the railways do not touch, they raise the freight to an enormous extent and where there

is competition between railway and steamer, they take to the game of under-cutting the rates of the freight. I hope Government will take over this company and nationalise it.

In the hills of Assam, there is a system of cultivation called the *Jhum* cultivation. Under this system what they do is this. They cut down the trees and clear the jungles and after doing a little bit of hoeing, they sow some seeds and the yield they get is very low. It is for this reason that they have to supplement their food by fifty per cent. at least by roots like *Kachaloo* on account of which they suffer from goitre and other diseases. I hope that Government would introduce terrace cultivation in the hills so that all these difficulties could be overcome. In the hill districts, particularly among the Angani Nagas this system of terrace cultivation was introduced during the British regime and it was very popular previously among the Angani Nagas but this has been discontinued and I do not know how this happened. I request that Government should try to introduce terrace cultivation in the hills.

Deforestation is one of the causes of soil erosion in the hills and soil erosion in the hills is one of the immediate causes of flood. As hon. Members of this House know, we get plenty of floods every year and our crops are destroyed. Government should stop cutting down the trees and stop *Jhum* cultivation by introducing terrace cultivation. I do not blame the tribal people because they are helpless. Unless they get some substitute system, they could not leave this system of cultivation. I draw particular attention of the hon. Finance Minister to make some special grant for introducing terrace cultivation in the State of Assam.

The main crop of the tribals in Assam is oranges, bananas and pine-apples. They cannot get good markets for their produce. Government of India very kindly arranged to send

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their oranges and pine-apples to Calcutta by air but air freight is high and they do not get an incentive. So, I request Government to arrange to sell oranges, pine-apples and bananas in all parts of India, particularly in the Northern India. In order to make an experiment, I brought some bananas, pine-apples and oranges to Delhi, and even in this temperature the Assam oranges and pine-apples do not decay at least for 6 or 7 days. If Government makes proper arrangement for their transport by railway with the help of refrigerated vans, things can be improved very much. There is a good market for them in Northern India. They can be brought to Delhi also. An orange costs one pice there, whereas we are purchasing an orange at the rate of six pice or two annas here. And so is the case with pine-apples. I would therefore request the Government to consider this matter and do this little bit of help to Assam.

Lastly, I wish to say that in Assam there is no sale of timber. East Pakistan was previously the best purchaser of its timber. On account of partition, there is no sale of Assam timber in that area. So, I request Government to find out a market for Assam timber. I have been told that our Government purchases a large quantity of timber from Burma. They should try to use Assam timber instead of importing timber from Burma. They can also be used for sleepers on the railways. The railways at present use only steel sleepers. Government can ask the railways to use treated Assam sleepers and thus help the State in earning some money.

Shri Jhulan Sinha (Saran North): Mr. Chairman, out of deference for the wishes of my friends from the South I seek your indulgence for speaking in English.

I rise to accord my general support to the motion for the consideration of the Finance Bill. While doing so I have absolutely no hesitation in

saying that the general principles underlying this Bill are acceptable to me.

I agree with the hon. the Finance Minister completely when he says that he awaits the decisions of the Taxation Enquiry Commission before being in a position to change the general tax structure, in respect of income-tax and other big taxes.

I am at one with him when he says that lesser dependence has to be placed on the customs duties and more attention has to be paid to excise duties on consumer goods produced in the country. Naturally, when our country is struggling to be independent in respect of consumer goods, lesser dependence will have to be placed on customs duties.

But, while doing so, I have only one comment to make upon this Bill, and that is with respect to the duty on foot-wear. I do not very much mind the duty itself as the principle involved in the imposition of the duty. The hon. the Finance Minister has very generously made certain concessions in respect of that duty. But so far as I have been able to follow, the concessions do not go as far as they ought to go. My impression is that this country cannot solve the problem of unemployment unless it takes completely to the encouragement of village and cottage industries. Large-scale industries have got to be encouraged in certain spheres only. The spheres where these cottage industries are now flourishing, have got to be fully supported. We have seen the Exhibition that has just been started. They have published a booklet entitled *Plan for Full Employment*. I have gone through that booklet and I have come to the conclusion that unless this country finds time and money to support the cottage industries in the spheres in which they are flourishing, there is absolutely no hope for the solution of the great problem of unemployment through the big industries alone. In the first place, we know

that this country cannot find money to import all the machinery necessary for having big industries. In the second place, even if we find money for importing them, we cannot employ all those people who are starving or are without proper food and nourishment. Therefore, instead of importing foreign machinery into India, we have to depend more or less completely on the machinery and resources available in the country itself. With this principle in the background, I fail to see how the tax on our foot-wear even with the concessions announced by the hon. Finance Minister can be imposed. I have just suggested an amendment that the provisions in this respect should be modified in this way. The Finance Bill says on page 4, line 40: "Foot-wear, produced in any factory as defined in the Factories Act, 1948." I have got this Act of 1948. Clause 2, sub-clause (m) says:

"'factory' means any premises including the precincts thereof—

(i) whereon ten or more workers are working, or were working on any day of the preceding twelve months, and in any part of which a manufacturing process is being carried on with the aid of power, or is ordinarily so carried on...."

If this definition is confined to this clause, I have absolutely no objection. Wherever power is used, production is on a large scale and if a tax is imposed it will not very materially affect the consumers and manufacturers, but this definition of the 'factory' also includes:

"(ii) whereon twenty or more workers are working, or were working on any day of the preceding twelve months, and in any part of which a manufacturing process is being carried on without the aid of power, or is ordinarily so carried on...."

So, even if the concessions are admitted, it means that, if there is a society of shoe-makers manufacturing shoes and consisting of more than 49 people, the

manufacture of that society will have to bear the tax imposed by this Finance Bill. So, far as I think, this does not accord with the background that I have just now enunciated.

Then, in the general set-up of this Act, I have certain other suggestions to make to the hon. Finance Minister. I know, and you all know, that this country, especially the rural part of this country, is very much indebted. The problem of rural indebtedness has been brought to the notice of the thinkers of this country ever since 1931-32 when a Banking Enquiry Commission was appointed in this country to go into the problem. That Commission assessed the extent of rural indebtedness in this country. So far as I remember, it was at the rate of about Rs. 50 per head. Since then there has been no serious effort made to assess the indebtedness in this country with a view to removing it. So far as this question of rural indebtedness is concerned, I think the first thing necessary for this country is to have an overall picture of it as it appears now. There was a time when an enquiry committee assessed the indebtedness of this country. It was 23 years ago. It is up to the Government to assess it now. My impression, as it is, is that there is no enthusiasm in this country, in the general mass of the people, either for this Plan or for the coming Plan or for other things that we introduce in the interests of the masses of the people, because the people are obsessed and overburdened with the idea of the debt that lies on their head. There was a great thinker in this country,— I do not remember his name—who said that most of the people in this country are born with a debt upon their head, live under debt and transmit the debt to their children. If this be the state of things, we cannot expect any enthusiasm from these people even for their own improvement, with the load of indebtedness lying heavily upon their head. I would, therefore, suggest to the Finance Minister to get this matter thoroughly enquired

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into and take steps for its removal. I know that this problem of rural indebtedness is a State subject. But, the problem is so vast and so acute and so much distressing that the Centre has to bestir itself and take uniform steps either to scale down the debts or take them over or administer other immediate forms of relief to the suffering people.

The next problem to which I would like to invite the attention of the House is the improvement of live-stock in this country. I know that there is a Central Gosamvardhan Committee. They are taking steps to carry out research work to improve the live-stock. So far as I have been able to find out, the most important thing that is lacking in the whole scheme is this. We should ban cow slaughter completely. I have always felt and felt strongly that unless this country is faithful to the cow that supports, nourishes and keeps the life-blood flowing there is not going to be a bright future for this country.

I would further like to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to the baneful effects of *vanaspati*. I know that the Central coffers get about Rs. 4 crores from the tax on this article. But, I do not know how much the people have to spend on the treatment of persons suffering from its baneful effects. There may be difference of opinion with me regarding the effects of this commodity on the health of the people. But, one thing is clear. It lends itself very easily to adulteration of genuine *ghee*. Therefore, this problem has got to be tackled in some way or other, either by getting it coloured or by taxing it so much that the price of it comes on a par with the price of genuine *ghee* in the market.

7 P.M.

Then, I would like to refer to the expenditure on irrigation and power projects and planning in this respect. I have always felt and I still feel that the projects under the First Five Year

Plan should have been those that were capable of easy execution and speedy results. That principle, for some reason or other, has not been kept in view in regard to the schemes that are going on in the country. I have a serious complaint against the Planning Commission for ignoring the interests of Bihar in not taking up the Gandak project. Now, I understand that it is going to be included in the next Five Year Plan. But for that also, they are adopting a very stepmotherly attitude towards that project. Recently, the Government of Bihar requested the Central Government, especially the Finance Ministry, to allow them the full benefit of the small savings collection in Bihar for the execution of that plan, and there was probably some understanding or misunderstanding—I do not know exactly what—about that, and the picture as it now emerges is that the State of Bihar has been allowed only the collection that is extra, that is over and above the target fixed for that State. I know of a precedent in the country. In the case of one State, the Central Government has allowed the entire collections to be given for development purposes. I think the case of Bihar was and is a stronger one.

This Gandak project costs only about Rs. 30 to Rs. 31 crores and is capable of irrigating 39 lakhs of acres of land in that State as well as in U.P. and Nepal. So far as I have been able to find out from the figures, the expense on irrigation per acre is the cheapest in that project, and the expense on the production of power also is the cheapest. And that one project is enough for wiping out the entire food deficit of Bihar. If the Central Government is liberal to that State and grants them not only the extra collections, but the entire collections as solicited by that State, I think these schemes will generally go ahead and in a very short time the State will not only be self-sufficient, but surplus, and when National Plan

loans are floated in the coming years I think the response from that State will be astounding.

Another thing to which I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Finance Minister is that while planning for the country the interests of the poorer section have got to be constantly kept in view. May I continue?

Mr. Chairman: I take it that the hon. Member has finished.

The House stands adjourned to 8-15 a.m. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned till a Quarter Past Eight of the Clock on Tuesday, the 20th April, 1954.
