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THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)
OFFICIAL REPORT

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HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

Tuesday, 14th April, 1953

*The House met at a Quarter Past
Eight of the Clock.*

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

9-7 A.M.

PAPER LAID ON THE TABLE

CENTRAL EXCISE NOTIFICATION No. 8

The Deputy Minister of Finance (Shri M. C. Shah): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Central Excise Notification No. 8, dated the 21st February, 1953, in accordance with Section 38 of the Central Excises and Salt Act, 1944. [Placed in Library. See No. S—30/53.]

ELECTION TO COMMITTEE

**NATIONAL FOOD AND AGRICULTURE
ORGANISATION LIAISON COMMITTEE.**

Mr. Speaker: I have to inform the House that the following Members have been elected to serve on the National Food and Agriculture Organisation Liaison Committee:

- (1) Shri K. Janardhan Reddy.
- (2) Prof. Ram Saran,
- (3) Shri Tekur Subrahmanyam,
and
- (4) Shri Choithram Partabrai Gidwani.

*Introduced with the recommendation of the President.

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**SEA CUSTOMS (AMENDMENT)
BILL**

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Sea Customs Act, 1878.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Sea Customs Act, 1878."

The motion was adopted.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I *introduce the Bill.

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 1953-54, be taken into consideration."

In my speech introducing the Budget, I had explained the various provisions of the Bill while dealing with the Budget proposals. The Bill does not make any substantial change in the existing position, but, with your permission, Sir, I shall briefly explain the various provisions so as to attempt to assist the House in dealing with this measure.

I shall first deal with the provisions relating to income-tax. We are not making any change in the existing rates of taxation, but, in the case of personal income-tax, as the House is already aware, the exemption limit is being raised in the case of individuals from Rs. 3,600 to Rs. 4,200 and in the case of Hindu undivided families from Rs. 7,200 to Rs. 8,400.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

I hope that the House will welcome this concession which, while giving

**Moved with the recommendation of the President.

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh]

some relief to the Income-tax department, also benefits assessee, a large number of them, in the lower income brackets. As I mentioned earlier in the House, this change will result in a reduction of the number of assessments by about 70,000 and I hope that the time thus saved will be used by the department to give attention to bigger and more important cases.

The next concession is in respect of super-tax payable on dividends from wholly subsidiary Indian companies. For the last one or two years, it has been noticed that foreign companies carrying on business in India preferred to do so either through a branch or a foreign subsidiary as the income-tax payable in either case was invariably less than the aggregate income-tax payable (including the super-tax payable by the foreign parent company on dividends received from the Indian subsidiary) if the business were carried on through a wholly Indian subsidiary. The pattern of taxation was, therefore, in a measure a disincentive to the formation by them of Indian subsidiaries which, in our view, are more beneficial to the economy of the country. They are more subject to our control and regulations. Now, to remedy this disadvantageous situation, we thought it necessary to reduce the disparity between the tax payable when a foreign company carried on business through a branch of a foreign subsidiary and when it carried on business through a wholly owned Indian subsidiary. This object is partly achieved by reducing from one anna to six pies in the rupee the super-tax rebate admissible to a foreign company on its Indian income other than income from dividends received from the wholly subsidiary company. It has now been urged that the confining of the rebate to one anna to dividends of a wholly subsidiary company, will deter the foreign company from allowing Indian shareholders to hold any shares in the subsidiary companies. As the participation of Indian shareholders is also one of the desiderata, it is proposed to relax the condition of 'wholly subsidiary' and to allow super-tax rebate of one anna on dividends received from a subsidiary company. This would enable foreign companies to allot or transfer some shares of their Indian subsidiary companies to Indian shareholders without reducing the super-tax rebate admissible to the parent company. But the reduction in rebate from one anna to six

pies does not reduce the disparity to a sufficient extent. I therefore, intend to increase the rebate admissible on dividends received by a foreign company from its Indian subsidiary from one anna to one and a half annas. By doing so, the existing disparity will be halved and then perhaps at another stage we can remove it completely.

The Bill also makes certain changes in the Income-Tax Act which I shall now briefly explain. The first is a minor one and relates to exemption of house reserved by the owner for his own residence but which he is unable to occupy on account of his occupation or employment elsewhere where he owns no house and resides in a rented house. If virtually he derives no benefit from his own house, it is only fair that he should not be made to pay any tax on its notional income.

The second amendment proposed gives relief to authors of literary and artistic works who can claim that their income from royalties or copyright fees had spread over a period of two or three years according to the time spent by them in producing the literary or artistic work.

The third amendment is to Section 15-B of the Income-Tax Act relating to exemption of donations to charitable institutions. Although the minimum has been reduced in the case of persons other than companies from ten per cent. to five per cent. of the total income and also the maximum limit from Rs. two and a half lakhs to Rs. one lakh, the range of charitable institutions to which donations would be exempt now under the amendment has been very much increased. Under the existing law, donations were exempt only if paid to institutions approved by the Central Government and, administratively, in order to reduce or minimise loss of revenue, Government would approve only important institutions according to a more or less arbitrary classification. But now donations can be made to any institution, big or small, which satisfies the conditions laid down in the law itself. Therefore, there should be no difficulty for donors to find out whether an institution satisfies the requisite conditions. As regards donations paid prior to 1st April, 1953, there is no doubt that they are governed by the existing provision, but if necessary a formal amendment can be made to this effect for removal of any doubts.

The fourth change relates to the restriction on set-off of losses of speculative transactions against profits from speculative transactions only. This amendment is necessitated by the need to check the practice of what is called "buying losses" and claiming set-off against other incomes. This practice of buying losses is part of the archaean of the stock exchanges and perhaps not very clear to the ordinary law-abiding layman, but it simply means that a certain transaction is transferred *ex post facto* to a person who has made a profit and who therefore is liable to pay an additional income-tax or super-tax. He buys these losses from people to whom the sale does not matter so much, for a certain consideration. It is true that the Income-Tax Officer can look into these transactions and in theory can even now disallow such losses which, as I said, are spurious. But for this purpose he must have some circumstantial evidence to enable him to come to this conclusion. Now, the accounts maintained by brokers are, however, such as to make it possible for the buyers of losses to have the necessary entries passed in support of their claim. Hence, the problem that faces the Income-Tax Officer becomes difficult in practice and we hope that by this restriction we can at least protect the revenue due on incomes other than profits and gains of speculation.

I have had discussion on this question with the representatives of some stock exchanges—really the two important ones, *viz.*, Bombay and Calcutta—and the East Indian Cotton Association who came to see me the other day. They laid stress on one particular point, namely, that the brokers of recognised stock exchanges and forward markets had to enter into contracts of the nature of jobbing and arbitrage in the normal course of their business and therefore such transactions, they suggested, should be taken out of the category of speculative transactions just as the hedging contracts made by a person in the course of his manufacturing or merchanting business, have been exempted. On consideration, this seems to me to be feasible without very materially reducing the efficacy of the provision and I propose to move the necessary amendment to this effect.

The other points made by the representatives of the stock exchanges can be secured by necessary executive instructions. It has always been

the intention that speculative transactions in different commodities and in different markets would be regarded as one business and the profit and loss determined by combining all these transactions.

With regard to hedging, the department will not be too particular about the quantities and timing, so long as it is satisfied that the transactions do constitute genuine hedging.

In the case of private limited companies, the genuine speculation losses incurred by them which are not set-off against other incomes will be taken into account in considering whether Section 23-A should be applied or not.

The fifth amendment empowers the Central Government to negotiate agreements with foreign Governments, if necessary, for relief from or avoidance of double taxation.

The sixth amendment relates to the exemption of super-tax to dividends received by a company from an Indian company engaged in specified basic industries. The exemption applies both in respect of investments in new companies or in respect of investments in fresh capital raised by public subscriptions by an old company engaged in these basic industries. In the case of the new companies, it is proposed to extend the concession to those formed after the 31st March, 1952 instead of after the 28th February, 1953, as the former are practically on the same footing as new companies for the reason that they are not likely to have commenced production, and the proposed concession will be of assistance to them in having their capital subscribed.

Now I turn to the proposals regarding customs and central excise duties. The additional duties on customs, or surcharges, are being retained for another year. The revenue collected thereby is estimated at about Rs. ten crores.

A number of changes have also been made in the customs duties by the First Schedule. As briefly explained in the notes on clauses, new duties are imposed on horses costing over Rs. 2,000 and precious stones and the like. On the other hand, duties are being reduced on milk foods for infants and invalids, on certain essential medical supplies like penicillin in bulk, antibiotics and sulpha drugs, scientific and surgical instruments and on prints, engravings and pictures etc. Duties on

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh]

a number of items are also being increased to yield some additional revenue. With the simultaneous liberalisation of the import policy in respect of some of these articles, it is expected that there will be an addition to the revenue. The principal increase under import duties is by about two annas per lb. on betel nuts. Owing to the progressive and continual fall in prices *vis-a-vis* imported nuts, indigenous growers of betel nuts have pressed for a high import duty, so that there will be a reasonable return on their products. The result of all these changes is expected to yield an additional Rs. three and a half crores.

On the central excise side, the main change has been the substitution of specific duties for the present system of *ad valorem* assessment of fine and superfine cloth. The law provides for *ad valorem* assessments. On account of the fall in prices early last year, certain specific duties were fixed by notification as an alternative to the *ad valorem* rates. With the further fall in prices, however, the *ad valorem* rates again continued to be the effective rates as they yielded a lower revenue. In order to avoid administrative inconvenience in fixing the real value of fine and superfine cloth for the purpose of such assessment, I have decided to replace the present *ad valorem* rates by the specific duties indicated in clause 6, if the House accepts this proposal. The surcharges on Central excise duties are also being continued for another year.

The Bill makes two changes in the inland postage rates. Postage on book, pattern and sample packets is being raised from nine pies for the first five tolas and three pies for every additional two and a half tolas to one anna and six pies respectively. The existing rate of six annas for every forty tolas for parcels is being raised to eight annas. As I explained in my Budget speech, these increases, together with an increase in the Registration and Insurance fees which has been made with effect from the 1st April, 1953 by executive order have been necessitated by the deficit in the working of the Postal Services which this will only partly cover. The incidence of these increases is unlikely to fall on the poorer sections of the community, and I am convinced that in the existing situation there was no alternative but to increase these rates for strengthening the postal finances.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion moved:

"That the Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the financial year 1953-54, be taken into consideration."

The House is already aware that four days, namely, 14th, 15th, 16th and 18th April, 1953, have been allotted for consideration and passing of the Finance Bill, 1953. We shall now proceed with the first stage of the consideration motion involving general discussion.

If the House agrees, the general discussion on the consideration motion may conclude day after tomorrow, that is, the 16th April, 1953 (three days are thus allotted for general discussion) subject to the right of reply by the Finance Minister for which, I believe, he will have about an hour.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: That will be at the end of the third day.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Then we will proceed to clause by clause discussion on the last day, that is, the 18th, at 1-15 P.M. precisely on that day, discussion on the whole Bill, including the third reading must be over.

I would invite suggestions as to whether we should devote any particular portion for the third reading. If not, the clause by clause consideration may take place and the third reading will be a formal affair. If, however, leaders of groups would like to say anything, I have no objection to allot half an hour to three quarters of an hour on the last day for the third reading. One hour will be reserved for the leaders of various groups from 12 to 1. From 1 for fifteen minutes the hon. the Finance Minister may reply.

Thus from 9-15 to 12 o'clock on the 18th we shall dispose of the clauses. At 12 o'clock I will apply the guillotine to all the remaining clauses and amendments. At 12 the third reading will start. The hon. the Finance Minister will reply at 1 o'clock and the whole thing will conclude at 1-15.

As a number of hon. Members are desirous of participating in the discussion, I believe fifteen minutes may be taken by each speaker. If, however, leaders of groups would like to have some more time, I have no objection to allot them 20 minutes.

That will satisfy most of the Members. There is a provision in the rules that time may be allotted.....

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee (Calcutta South-East): It may be a little flexible.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Flexibility does not mean from 20 minutes to two hours. I have always been flexible. Shri Meghnad Saha. Absent.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: That is the difficulty of rigidity, Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Otherwise I am afraid of becoming too flexible. Let hon. Members now catch my eye. Shri Harihar Nath Shastri.

Shri H. N. Shastri (Kanpur Distt.—Central): When the Budget was presented last month and a general discussion took place over it, I was absent from the House due to unavoidable reasons. I would, therefore, Sir, crave your indulgence even at this late stage to offer my tributes to the Finance Minister for the care and foresight with which he handled the finances of our country. Some years back it seemed as if we were in a shaky position, but it is gratifying to note that by now complete confidence has been restored in the financial stability of our country.

The Finance Minister no doubt deserves appreciation for this improved situation. The energies of the nation are already set in full motion towards the implementation of the Five Year Plan and naturally our people are looking forward with hope and optimism towards the realisation of an era of prosperity for them. While offering my tributes to the hon. Minister I shall be failing in my duty if I do not point out certain disquieting trends that are causing deep concern and which if not properly looked into and firmly checked are bound to seriously impede the progress of the Five Year Plan.

Last week while speaking in the House on Labour Demands, I had expressed grave anxiety over deterioration in employment position in private sectors of the industry. Today I am pained to observe that the position in many of the public sectors or in sectors controlled by the Government is in no sense very encouraging. I have just returned after a brief tour of the coal-mining areas of Jharia in Bihar. Although the coal industry is a private enterprise conditions of work and industrial relations are regulated by the Government of India. Now the conditions under which the workers in the coal mining industry

are to work and live are extremely unsatisfactory. During the last six years there has been no improvement in working conditions. Some time back the I.N.T.U.C. having the largest membership in the coal industry urged on the Government of India to set up a Board of Conciliation for effecting revision in the service conditions. I reliably understand that while the Ministry of Labour is in favour of appointing such a Board, the Production Ministry has resisted the proposal on the ground that such an appointment would result in rise in coal prices. No one would be more anxious.....

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Are these Cabinet secrets?

Shri H. N. Shastri: Since the hon. Member himself had been a Minister of the Cabinet, he should know it better.

No one would be more anxious than myself in the desire to check rise in prices. But I submit that it is an extremely short-sighted policy to permit on the one hand constant increase in managerial and other expenses and on the other hand to subject labour to a state of semi-starvation and sub-human conditions of work in the name of economy.

Now I would like to say a few words about some of the industrial concerns that are directly under the control of the Government of India. We have been hearing a good deal about our river valley projects. They have aroused considerable interest not only in this country but also abroad. But it is a pity that there is no machinery existing to look after the interests of thousands of workers who are employed in these projects. When their grievances are brought to the notice of the Government, their complaints are brushed aside on the plea that those workers are under the control of the contractors. The contractors, on the other hand, in the generality of cases, treat them in a most inhuman way. I should feel that in the execution of these projects the main responsibility to safeguard the interests of the workers is that of the Government, and it is necessary that before any contract is given, there should be a definite assurance about minimum wages and proper conditions of work.

I should like to say a few words about the Defence installations. There are a number of Ordnance Factories, as you may be aware, throughout the country. During the four years after the termination of the

[Shri H. N. Shastri]

war, more than 30 per cent. workers were thrown out of employment. There was a halt for some time and there was an assurance that there would be no further retrenchment. Suddenly, the Defence Ministry seems to have come to the conclusion that there is a surplus in these industrial establishments of the Defence Ministry. It may be of interest to note that in the Defence installations, while there has been an over-all retrenchment of 40 per cent. workers, during the post war period, the number of high grade officers has more than doubled. I have, frankly speaking, begun to suspect that the screw is loose somewhere with the result....

An Hon. Member: Whose screw is loose?

Shri H. N. Shastri: On both sides. You have also to share the responsibility.

.....with the result that while the Government is, on the one hand pursuing the Five Year Plan, on the other hand, in the conduct of the affairs of some of its departments, it is lacking planning sense.

One latest statement from a Central Minister has caused me a rude shock. Some days back, Sir, under your chairmanship, some short notice questions were put in regard to retrenchments in the Hindustan Shipyard.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram (Visakhapatnam): In the Hindustan Shipyard.

Shri H. N. Shastri: In the Hindustan Shipyard. The House may be aware that about 1000 workers were retrenched there. They were summarily retrenched without any proper consultation with the workers or without any notice. It is a pity that this action has been taken in repudiation of the solemn undertaking given personally by the Minister some months ago that there would be no retrenchment. The answer given by the Minister to the short notice question and supplementaries was most unconvincing and disappointing but what has most amazed me and upset me is that part of the reply in which the Production Minister has justified his stand on the plea that he had received legal advice from the Law Ministry to the effect that the summary retrenchments were legally justified. I do not know whether the Law Minister, who is really a very capable man, gave this precious and curious advice in a fit of absent-

mindedness or does this form the basis of the State policy in this country.

Another disquieting information has been received this morning to the effect that while, on the one hand, these 1000 persons have been retrenched, on the other hand, recruitment of new contract labour has already started. If this is so, I must say that this is.....

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: That is also legally justified.

Shri H. N. Shastri:.....unfair labour practice and personally I shudder to think of the consequences of such a policy. But, I must say that if it is the desire of the Government to ignore all canons of equity in industrial relations and to pursue its own course by flouting the feelings of workers, only some miracle can save this country.

The policy of the majority trade Unions in this country during the last six years has consistently been to offer the maximum possible co-operation to the Government, in its task of stabilising freedom and ensuring industrial peace. We are not sorry for that policy; it has served the interests of the workers and of the country as a whole. Even today, the majority of organised labour has pledged its support to the Five Year Plan. But the way in which things have, for some time past, been moving is very disquieting and this has led to growing discontent among the working classes not only in the private sector but also in the public sector. The present situation is making it increasingly difficult for labour to continue its policy of unstinted co-operation with the Government. I am afraid that if the present complacency on the part of Government in handling the labour problems does not stop it is going to land our country into unforeseen difficulties. Stable industrial relations based on a sympathetic appreciation of the needs and problems of the working classes, constitutes the foundation of industrial peace and economic prosperity in any country. I regret that an awareness of this basic fact is lacking not only in private enterprise but equally so among those who are responsible for the governance of this country.

There is no doubt there is the Ministry of Labour. It is an important Ministry, which is expected to shape and control the labour policy of the Government. But the real position is that for all practical purposes the Ministry of Labour is superfluous. It has no voice.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: I will just make one suggestion, Sir. In the course of the debate on the Finance Bill, the activities of all the important Ministries will come up for discussion. There is no Minister here except the Finance Minister. At least the Deputy Ministers may be asked to come here and listen to the suggestions, constructive and otherwise, which are being made from all sides.

Shri Algu Rai Shastri (Azamgarh Distt.—East cum Ballia Distt.—West): But, Sir, is it not enough that the Finance Minister is listening to the debate?

Hon. Members: No, no.

Shri Algu Rai Shastri: I want to know, Sir, when the Finance Minister is present, others should also be present?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. All hon. Members will kindly resume their seats. I really expect that at the last stage of the Finance Bill, every hon. Minister will be here. There is no good saying that the hon. Finance Minister is here. He has been here for the last one month bearing the brunt of the whole burden. Every other Minister must know exactly what is being said about his Ministry. Even now, it is not too late. I expect the hon. Ministers to be here, with, of course, some few exceptions here and there; on account of other work they may go but they must come back and continue to catch the thread from their Deputy Ministers. I expect it, seriously.

Shri H. N. Shastri: I was just stating that the Ministry of Labour, in the way in which it has been made to function, seems to be rather superfluous. It has no voice in the labour policies pursued by the States; some of whom are pursuing pro-employer policies. In the public sector, the position is that every Ministry in the Government of India wants to keep the Labour Ministry at a safe distance. I hold no brief for the Labour Ministry. But I am quite clear in my mind that the Government of India must have a clear-cut and unified labour policy which must be under the control of the Labour Minister. I would rather suggest that if the position is not acceptable to the Government and if the Labour Ministry is to have no voice in the industrial relations of the various Ministries, then, in that case, I should feel that this Labour Ministry should be liquidated rather than continued at the expense of the people.

Sir, there is, as you are aware, the proposed labour legislation which is

yet to come before Parliament. And I hear one of the reasons why it is not coming up is that every Ministry wants to keep itself beyond the purview of the proposed legislation. I think it is a dangerous trend which ought to be checked.

Before I conclude I should take this opportunity, as a humble representative of my people in this Parliament, to appeal to the Prime Minister who is not only the head of the Government but the most respected leader of this country to set things right before it is too late. I fully realise the fact that of all persons our Prime Minister is the most worried man in this country today. He is gifted with dynamic imagination. There are many things that he is earnest about doing. But unfortunately he is seriously handicapped in the execution of his plans due to obstructions not only from without but also from within. All the same I have a deep-rooted feeling which is shared by an overwhelming majority of our countrymen that if there is any man who rightly feels the pulse of the people, who is in tune with their needs and aspirations and who is endowed with the capacity and determination to overcome the obstacles and to have his own way prevail and to give a right lead to the country, it is he and he alone.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: The House has just listened to a very impassioned appeal from my hon. friend Shri Harihar Nath Shastri, as regards the imperative necessity for keeping the working people of this land satisfied in the matter of their employment conditions, for the reason that without such satisfaction the entire Five Year Plan might be imperilled. I would like to add a few more observations to what my hon. friend has said. But before I do so I would like to have your permission to say a couple of words on the Finance Bill proper.

The Finance Minister said that there are not any radical alterations in the tax structure or the incidence of taxation, and I entirely agree with him. I should like to congratulate him on increasing the taxable limit so that the lower income brackets would benefit by it. But I must say that the reverse is true as far as the increases in postage on books and packets and registration and insurance fees are concerned. All things considered I would like to state that this Finance Bill indicates a sort of a halt, a halt in the march towards the fulfilment of the Five Year Plan. Out of the five years two years are gone

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already, and apparently the Finance Minister is trying to stop in front of the mid-stream, to take stock of the situation at a moment when increased expenditure is felt to a greater extent than what has been the case during the past two years. I had expected that in this country after nearly eight years since the conclusion of the Second World War there would be some attempt at reduction of the tax structure. But my hon. friend the Finance Minister would say that this is a planning Budget, and he wants money. Actually Rs. 400 crores of the taxpayer's money is going into the Bill which we are asked to pass. I have no objection to passing even a bigger Budget, provided an assurance is given that the money sought to be spent will be spent properly.

My hon. friend Shri Harihar Nath Shastri made a reference to the Shipyard. Here are the figures as regards the amounts of the taxpayer's money which are sought to be spent. In the budget of last year the provision was Rs. 3,23,79,000, obviously for acquiring the Yard. This year very recently we passed an appropriation of a supplementary grant of Rs. 69,86,000, making in all a grand total of Rs. 3,93,65,000 on the Yard alone. In addition to this appropriation, the Planning Commission's overall allotment for the expansion of the Yard is of the order of Rs. 14 crores.

In respect of these Rs. four crores provided last year and this year I have got detailed figures worked out. Rupees one crore and ten lakhs are given as subsidy for building ships. I want the House to remember as to the manner in which these vast appropriations of the taxpayer's money are being utilised. Here I have got the break-up of the figures. To the French firm which is now in saddle in the Shipyard, after the Scindia Company had built nearly a dozen ocean-going ships, a commission of four per cent. on the ships built is allowed. At the rate of Rs. 68 lakhs per ship and on the basis of the schedule of two ships at a time it comes to Rs. five and a half lakhs. In addition to this, there are the salaries, allowances, etc. from the block ceiling allotment of Rs. three lakhs a year to this French firm of experts, and according to my information Rs. one and a half lakhs of this have already been spent. And more experts are expected to come. Additional staff has accounted for more than Rs. one lakh. The other day my hon. friend the Minister for Production refuted my suggestion in a question that Rs. one lakh has been spent on this. Here are the

figures of duplication of things. Managing Director Rs. 3,000 (in addition to the Resident Representative of the old Scindia Company who is still continuing); Civil Engineer Rs. 1,600; Purchase Officer Rs. 1,600; Board Secretary Rs. 500; Liaison Officer Rs. 500; Drawing Officer Rs. 500; Overseer Rs. 200. This comes to a total of Rs. 7,900 a month for officers over and above what the Scindia Company has employed, every one of whom is in employment today. In addition, there is the increased pay of officers ranging from Rs. 50 to Rs. 250 per month, involving double and treble increments.

On the basis of two ships built at a time, the total additional costs work out to considerably more than Rs. eight lakhs a year. They are also going to build the third also simultaneously, in which case it would come to Rs. twelve lakhs. And the French firm has recommended the laying of the fourth berth also, in which case it will mean Rs. 15 lakhs a year.

What is the position? My hon. friend the Finance Minister in his budget speech made a very important point—and I agree with it—namely the mobilisation of people's emotion and sentiment. In addition, the Prime Minister said that he has declared war on unemployment. What is the net result of all this taxpayer's money being put into the Yard?

I will give the figures. Under the Scindias, the normal complement of labour was 4,600. Of this number 800 went away. When the new company with predominant Government participation took it over the number was 3,800 out of which 150 had left. Out of the remaining number 813 are sought to be retrenched without notice, without legal process—about which my hon. friend Shri Harihar Nath Shastri said something eloquent just now. I am not going to repeat what he has said. But I want to point out the manner in which the taxpayer's money is being sunk into the Yard for no purpose at all. Here are the examples of extravagance and wastage. I wish my hon. friend the Production Minister were here to contradict me. For the Managing Director to move into his residence a sum of Rs. 22,000 was spent on its reconditioning, Rs. 4,000 on electrical installations and Rs. 2,000 on a refrigerator—totalling Rs. 28,000. In this, the supervisory charges are not accounted for, because most of the Scindia workers were turned on to the job. Somebody must be the

nawab somewhere, and here it is a question of the I.C.S. people who are ruling the roost in the public sector, which will be a greatest tragedy, because they are neither trained nor equipped to do the job. The present Managing Director is a friend of mine and we have served on the delegations to the U.N.O. I have nothing against him. I am illustrating a point of vital importance to the country. A man in Food is sent to make ships, and a man in Communications is perhaps sent to Sindri. It has now become a careerist job, with the result that all these things are happening under our very nose. Wrong levels for slipway No. 3 this means gradients were irregular, with the result that any damage might happen to the ships. This means waste of money, time and materials. For the 35 ton crane on the jetty, wells were dug slantwise, and piles had to be driven to support it. I do not know how the heavy crane is going to function on this basis. 90 per cent. of the work is done without estimating. Materials were spoiled due to inefficient supervision and careless use of tools without knowing the life of many materials. The other day I put a question about this which was not answered. A loss of about Rs. 40,000 was incurred by wrong and careless punching of steel materials, angles, channels, etc., and 248 ship's floors were also wrongly punched. I would like the Production Minister to contradict me when the time comes. I expect the hon. Finance Minister to see that the money which is raised from the tax-payers' pockets is utilised properly. This is a matter for the Estimates Committee of this House to investigate, for the reason that money must be properly spent. I am saying this not because I am the President of the Labour Union, but because of the manner in which vast sums of money are being mispent today.

An Hon. Member: Excepting Rs. 40 a day.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: I consider the Hindustan Shipyard as one of the mightiest institutions of vital significance to our nation. For two years I have held my hand and did not publicise the affairs of the Yard, for I expected the Government to do the right thing at the right moment. They have not done the right thing. On the 22nd, the workers are going to strike. Look at the audacity of the management. On the 8th of this month the workers have given notice of a strike. On the 10th they get an answer from the management in which the following sentence occurs:

"Keeping in view the position that the number of men retrenched cannot be altered, if you wish to put forward any concrete proposals in writing, we shall be prepared to consider them."

I hope my hon. friend Mr. Shastri will take note of it in particular. The position was that notice was served on the 30th. Discharge took place on the 31st, without even 17 hours notice. The strike notice was served on the 8th, and on the 10th the above letter comes saying that they are prepared to discuss with the Union keeping in view the number 813 being surplus. What a travesty of procedure? From the way in which this institution is being mismanaged. I am sorry, very soon, the country will hear more about the Shipyard.

On the 10th of this month the workers refused to take their salary. There are 2680 people who are still employed in the Yard. On the same day the management closed down the Yard for a while in memory of Shri Walchand Hirachand, who was one of the founders of the Yard. The workers refused to budge an inch and staged what might be called a stay-in strike. In addition to the workers, the staff, the foremen and the Agreement officers also joined in this demonstration. I warn the Government to note the consequences of this, because there is resentment all round in the Yard today.

Three years ago, the workers surrendered Rs. 15 per head per month of their dearness allowance to avoid retrenchment. My hon. friend, the Production Minister made a statement last year that there would be no retrenchment. The entire history is there. I am making an appeal on the floor of this House that Government would not force the Yard to close down. I am going away tomorrow, because my duty lies there. I have done everything in my power to see that this is not ruined simply because the present ruling I.C.S. personnel want to spoil for a fight. Let a Tribunal be appointed. Let the Government justify the necessity for discharging all these 813 workers, but the condition precedent is that each one of these must be taken back into the Yard before the Tribunal sits. I am pleading like this on this very important occasion, not because I am President of the Labour Union, but because it is the only Shipyard of this country which is going to be turned into a shambles. The naval base, the port and other vital installations are cheek by jowl to the Shipyard. The oil refineries are coming

[Dr. Lanka Sundaram]

very soon. Let there not be an industrial strife of unprecedented magnitude. Let the Government go before the Industrial Tribunal to justify the discharge of 813 workers.

10 A.M.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भागवत (गुड़गांव) :
जनाब डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, मैं आप का बहुत मशकूर हूँ कि आप ने मुझे इस वक्त हाउस के सामने बोलने का मौका अता फरमाया। हम पिछले दिनों में जब यहां पर बजट के सिलसिले में डिस्कशन हो रहा था, तो बहुत सारी बातें गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से सुनते रहे हैं कि गवर्नमेंट ने बहुत सिम्पल में तरक्की की है। मैं आज इस वक्त आपकी खिदमत में उन चन्द अमूर का जिक्र करना चाहता हूँ कि जिनके अन्दर गवर्नमेंट मसरूफियत की वजह से तवज्जह नहीं दे सकी। यही आज एक मौका है फाइनेंस बिल पर जब कि इस बिल को छोड़ कर दूसरी बातों का भी बड़ी मुनासबत से तत्रकिरा किया जा सकता है।

अब्वल बात यह है कि इस देश के अन्दर आज परमात्मा की कृपा से और गवर्नमेंट की इमदाद से ऐसी शकल बन गयी है कि हमारे फूड मिनिस्टर साहब कहते हैं कि देश ने फूड के मामले में कारनर टर्न कर लिया है और यह चीज उम्मीद दिलाती है कि अब गल्ले के ऊपर से रिस्ट्रिक्शन्स और कंट्रोल्स हट जायेंगे। लेकिन प्लानिंग में हम देखते हैं कि कंट्रोल को जरूरी समझा गया है, इसलिये गल्ले की कमी पूरी हो जाने पर भी कंट्रोल का उठना मुश्किल मालूम होता है। मिनिस्टर साहब ने हमें बतलाया कि अब यहां देश में काफी गल्ला पैदा होने लगा है, करीब चार लाख टन चावल पैदा हो चुका है। अकेले उड़ीसा में तकरीबन दो लाख टन चना जिले हिसार व रोहतक में पैदा हो चुका है और जहरत स ज्यादा इन दो,

तीन अञ्चल में गल्ला पैदा हो सकता है और जो थोड़ी बहुत गल्ले की कमी रह भी जावेगी, वह नई नहर के आने से भाखरा डैम के द्वारा पूरी हो जायेगी और तब हमें बाहर से गल्ला ज्यादा नहीं मंगाना पड़ेगा, लेकिन गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से वह कहा गया कि २.४ मिलियन टन फूडग्रेन्स की कमी न होते हुये भी सिर्फ इसलिये देश में मंगाया जायगा, क्योंकि लोग क्लैमर करने लगेंगे अगर हम बाहर से गल्ला नहीं मंगावेंगे, ऐसा किदवई साहब ने फरमाया। आज गल्ले की कमी दूर हो चुकी है। और क्लैमर के डर से गल्ले का मंगवाना महज हिमाकत है।

गल्ले से हट कर मैं एक ओर जरूरत की चीज की तरफ हाउस का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ और वह दूध की हमारे देश में कमी है। इस देश के अन्दर दूध की बहुत भारी कमी वाकई हो गयी है और आज के दिन हम सब तरफ से यही सुनते हैं कि दूध की हमारे यहां एक्यूट शार्टेज है। और यह बहुत ही अफसोसनाक बात है कि गवर्नमेंट ने पिछले चन्द सालों में इस कमी को दूर करने के लिये कैटल प्रीजर्वेशन के वास्ते और नस्ल बढ़ाने के वास्ते जो रकम खर्च करनी चाहिये थी वह खर्च नहीं की। गवर्नमेंट ने तकरीबन ८.५ करोड़ रुपया प्रो मोर फूड के वास्ते प्रोवाइड किया, लेकिन कैटल के वास्ते केवल ६ लाख रुपया खर्च किया और हम बराबर जोर जोर से चिल्लाते रहे हैं और गवर्नमेंट का ध्यान इधर दिलाते रहे हैं लेकिन किसी के कान पर जूँ नहीं रेंगी। इसलिये वक्त का तकाजा यह है कि आप इस तरफ तवज्जह दें और देश के अन्दर दूध बढ़ाने की कोशिश करें। आज दूध की कमी महसूस की जा रही है और दूध की कमी इस स जाहिर हो

सकती है कि हरियाणा की नस्ल की गायों के नीचे सोलह सेर के बजाय उन गायों के नीचे आज कुल आठ सेर दूध होता है। इससे बड़ा नेशनल डिजास्टर में दूसरा नहीं समझता। यहां पर गायों का दूध पहले के मुकाबले में कम हो गया है और वह गरीब आदमी जो छाछ पर अपना गुजारा कर लिया करते थे आज आप गावों में जाकर देखें कि उन को छाछ तक मयस्सर नहीं हो पा रहा है। आप फाइव इयर प्लान बनाते हैं और हेल्थ सर्विसेज बनाते हैं लेकिन जब तक यह दूध की कमी दूर नहीं की जाती और लोगों को छाछ मयस्सर नहीं हो पाता, तब तक आपकी यह सारी स्कीमें बेकार हैं और आप कामयाब नहीं हो सकते। इससे बढ़ कर और कोई खराबी इस देश के अन्दर पैदा नहीं हो सकती है। उन गरीब आदमियों की दशा सुधारने की तरफ आप तवज्जह नहीं देते। सोलह फीसदी कुनबों को दूध देखने को भी नसीब नहीं होता, यह गवर्नमेंट के आंकड़े हैं, मैं चाहता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट इस ओर अधिक तवज्जह दे। आज काऊ प्रोटेक्शन के लिये और काऊ स्लाटर बन्द कराने के लिये तो तवज्जह दी जाती है और उपाय सोचे जाते हैं कि इसको कैसे किया जाय, लेकिन काऊ की यील्डिंग कैपेसिटी कैसे बढ़ायी जाय और गाय की नस्ल को क्यों कर बेहतर किया जाय, इसकी तरफ जितनी तवज्जह दी जानी चाहिये, उतनी नहीं दी जाती है। मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि काऊ स्लाटर का मसला जिसके ऊपर बहुत सी सोसायटी और लोग जोर देते थे कि यहां पर काऊ प्रोटेक्शन हो, तो वह मसला तो हल हो चुका है और खत्म हो चुका है। हम अपने कांस्टीट्यूशन में तय कर चुके हैं कि इस देश में जहां तक गाय का सवाल है, काऊ का स्लाटर कतई बन्द होगा, और यह गवर्नमेंट आफ इण्डिया की पालिसी है

और गवर्नमेंट की जो इस सम्बन्ध में पालिसी है वह मिस्टर किदवई साहब ने बतलाई है कि किसी भी खराब जानवर को अगर कोई देना चाहेगा तो गवर्नमेंट उसको ले लेगी और उसके बचाव के वास्ते गवर्नमेंट कोशिश करेगी। इसके लिये पचास गौसदन बनाने की इस साल के लिये गवर्नमेंट की तजवीज है जो कि देश की जरूरत का लिहाज रखते हुये काफी होंगे। इस वास्ते में अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट ने इस सिलसिले में कोशिश शुरू की है और उसने चार करोड़ रुपया इस काम के वास्ते रक्खा है और जरूरत है कि बिजनेसमैन और दूसरे लोगों की इस काम में मदद ली जाय और इस रकम को बढ़ा कर बीस करोड़ तक कर लिया जाय और मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर गवर्नमेंट और पब्लिक दोनों इस काम में हाथ बटायें और काम करना शुरू करें तो दो, चार सालों में हम बीस करोड़ रुपये से इस सवाल को बखूबी हाथ में ले सकते हैं और हल कर सकते हैं।

थोड़ा ही अर्सा हुआ गवर्नमेंट आफ इण्डिया के एक एक्सपर्ट राइट साहब ने कहा था कि इस देश के अन्दर जब तक दूध का इस्तेमाल तकरीबन दुगना नहीं होगा, तब तक इस देश के लोगों की बैलेंस ड्राइट नहीं होगी। आज आसाम के अन्दर हम देखते हैं कि वहां पर लोगों की ऐवरेज ड्राइट में रोजाना दूध वगैरा का हिस्सा डेढ़ छटांक से ज्यादा नहीं है, सिर्फ एक पंजाब का प्रान्त है जहां पर कि ऐवरेज अच्छा खासा है, लेकिन वहां भी अक्सर इलाकों में दूध की बहुत कमी है और मैं अदब से अर्ज करूंगा कि आप अनाज चाहे कितना भी खिलायें, लेकिन दूध की बैलेंस ड्राइट में अपनी खास इम्पार्टेंस है और जब तक इस देश में दूध की जो मुकम्मल perfect ड्राइट है कमी

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव]

पूरी नहीं होगी तब तक डाइट बैलेन्स न होगी और नतीजा यह होगा कि उस वक्त तक यहां के लोगों की हेल्थ ठीक न हो सकेगी ।

इस वास्ते मैं गवर्नमेंट की खिदमत में अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह ज्यादा से ज्यादा तवज्जह दे और इसके लिये तकरीबन बीस करोड़ रुपया खर्च करे क्योंकि इस तरह खर्च किये हुये रुपये से देश में बहुत जल्द सम्पत्ति बढ़ेगी ।

दूसरी चीज जिसकी तरफ मैं गवर्नमेंट की तवज्जह दिलाना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि अब वक्त आ गया है कि कम्युनिटी प्राजेक्ट्स की पालिसी को बदला जाय । अभी तक कम्युनिटी प्राजेक्ट्स उन जगहों पर कायम किये गये हैं जहां पर बहुत अच्छा पानी मौजूद है और लोग खुशहाल हैं, और यह पालिसी सही थी क्योंकि हम चाहते थे कि हमारा फूड का प्रोडक्शन ज्यादा से ज्यादा बढ़े । लेकिन अब हमारा फूड फ्रंट डिस्पेप्पीयर हो गया है और अब वक्त आ गया है कि हम अपनी कम्युनिटी प्राजेक्ट्स को ऐसी जगहों पर कायम करें जहां पर अकाल पड़ता है । रोज हम रायल-सीमा में अकाल की खबर सुनते हैं, महाराष्ट्र में अकाल पड़ा हुआ है, राजस्थान में अकाल पड़ा हुआ है, मेरे अपने इलाके में अकाल पड़ा हुआ है और वहां की हालत नामुफताबे है । वहां की मुश्किलत को वही जान सकता है जो कि वहां रहता है । तो वक्त आ गया है कि जब मैं दो तजवीजें गवर्नमेंट के सामने पेश करना चाहता हूँ । एक तो यह है कि एक नया फ़ैमिन फण्ड कायम किया जाय जिसमें आधी रकम गवर्नमेंट आफ इण्डिया दे और आधी स्टेट वर्नमेंट्स से वसूल की जाय और जहां भी

फ़ैमिन हो वहां पर इससे काम लिया जाय और पुराने फ़ैमिन कोड के मुताबिक यह न कहा जाय कि फ़ैमिन नहीं है । पुराना फ़ैमिन कोड लागू करने से एक तो मजदूरों को काफी वेजेज नहीं मिलतीं और दूसरे गवर्नमेंट की जिम्मेदारी भी बहुत बढ़ जाती है । इसलिये अब हम को पुरानी फ़ैमिन पालिसी को खरबाद कहना चाहिये । इस वैलफेयर स्टेट में इस गवर्नमेंट का फर्ज है कि वह एक एक आदमी की तरफ तवज्जह दे और कोई भी शरूस कहत की वजह से तकलीफ न उठाये । इसलिये यह जरूरी है कि अब पुरानी फ़ैमिन पालिसी को बदला जाय और कम्युनिटी प्राजेक्ट्स को ऐसी जगह बनाया जाय जहां पर कि फ़ैमिन कंडीशन्स हों । जिन इलाकों में कहत की हालत रहती है अभी तक उन का हाइड्रोलोजिकल (Hydrological) सर्वे नहीं हुआ है और हम को नहीं मालूम कि वहां पर सबसाइल वाटर की क्या हालत है । अगर इस सबसाइल वाटर का पता लग जाय तो थोड़े पम्पिंग से उन इलाकों का कहत दूर हो सकता है । मैं इस हालत के लिये इस गवर्नमेंट को जिम्मेदार नहीं ठहराता । जो दो सौ वर्ष के फारिन डामिनेशन के खराब असर ह वह पांच बरस में दूर नहीं हो सकते । लेकिन अब वक्त आ गया है कि गवर्नमेंट इस तरह तवज्जह दे । जिस कान्स्टीट्यूएन्सी से मैं आता हूँ वहां एक एकड़ जमीन में ८० मन जौ पैदा हुआ । जब मैं ने यह बात श्री मोर फूड ऐन्क्वायरी कमेटी की रिपोर्ट में लिखी तो यहां से अफसरान यह देखने के लिये भेजे गये और यह साबित हुआ कि ८० मन जौ एक एकड़ जमीन में पैदा हुआ । तो इस सारे इलाके में जो दिल्ली के नजदीक है उस में सबसाइल वाटर बहुत है लेकिन अभी तक इस एरिया का किसी ने सर्वे नहीं किया है

और न यह देखा है कि इससे क्या फायदा हो सकता है। एक एक जिला ऐसा है जो कि सारे देश की गल्ले की कमी को पूरा कर सकता है लेकिन गवर्नमेंट ने अभी इस तरफ तवज्जह ही नहीं दी है। मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि अब कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट्स ऐसी जगह रखी जायं जहां पर कहत पड़ता है न कि ऐसी जगहों पर जहां कि पानी बहुत है और लोग खुशहाल हैं। ऐसी जगहों में जहां पर कि लोग फुड के मामले में हमेशा से तक्रलीक में रह रहे हैं वहां इन प्रोजेक्ट्स को कायम करना और उन को फायदा पहुंचाना बहुत जरूरी है। अगर हम ऐसा नहीं करेंगे तो हमारे कान्स्टी-ट्यूशन की दका १४ का असूल बेमानी हो जायगा। मैं चाहता हूँ कि ऐसे इलाकों पर अब गवर्नमेंट ज्यादा तवज्जह दे जहां पर कि अब तक तवज्जह नहीं दी गयी है।

तीसरी बात जो मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि हमारे मुल्क में बहुत अर्सा हुआ जब कि आल इण्डिया जेल ऐन्क्वायरी कमेटी बनी थी। उसी की सिफारिशों पर हमारा सारा जेल का निजाम बना था। लेकिन इस चीज को बहुत अर्सा हुआ। उस वक्त से अब पीनोलोजी व साइकोलोजी के असूल बदल गये हैं। इसलिये अब हम को अपने जेल निजाम को बदलने की सलत जरूरत है। मैं ने अभी पिछले दिनों पंजाब की सभी जेलों को देखा है और उनके मसलों पर गौर किया है। मैं ने देखा कि जेलों की हालत निहायत खराब है। बहुत सी जेलों में एक शख्स से जो कि वहां रहता है साल भर में तीन चार रुपये की आमदनी होती है और उस पर खर्च होता है कई सौ रुपये। यह हालत ठीक नहीं है। हमारा यह फर्ज है कि हम जेलों के अन्दर ऐसे हालात पैदा करें कि जो आदमी जेल से निकले वह एक

रिफार्म्ड आदमी हो कर निकले। आज वक्त आ गया है कि गवर्नमेंट एक आल इंडिया जेल ऐन्क्वायरी कमेटी मुकरर करे जो सारे हिन्दुस्तान के हालात का जायजा ले कर अपनी तजवीजें पेश करें और उन के मुताबिक यहां पर जेल रिफार्म किया जाय।

चौथी बात जो मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ वह इनकमटैक्स के उसूल के बारे में है जिसके बारे में पहले बहुत बार अर्ज कर चुका हूँ। आज जब कि एस्टेट इयूटी बिल कमेटी ने अपनी रिपोर्ट पेश कर दी है मैं बहुत अदब से फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब की खिदमत में अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि अब वक्त आ गया है कि उस कमेटी के पीछे जो असूल की सिफारिश है उस को मंजूर किया जाय और उसको इनकमटैक्स में इनक्लूड कर दिया जाय। उसकी सिफारिश है कि अगर जाइण्ट हिन्दू फैमिली का कोई आदमी मर जाय तो उसको उसी जायदाद पर टैक्स लगाना चाहिये जो उस की मौत पर उस के पास होती हो यानी जैसा कि खानदान जुदा हो। अब वह उसूल जो पहले गवर्नमेंट नहीं मानती थी हिन्दू जाइण्ट फैमिली के मुताल्लिक, अब गवर्नमेंट ने उस पर उबूर हासिल कर लिया है। आज जब कि आपने हिन्दू जाइण्ट फैमिली को खत्म कर दिया है फिर भी एक हिन्दू पर नाजायज तौर से टैक्स लिया जाता है। मैं नहीं समझता कि एक हिन्दू फैमिली और एक नान-हिन्दू फैमिली में क्यों डिस्क्रिमिनेशन किया जाता है। यह डिस्क्रिमिनेशन अब बन्द होना चाहिये और इन्सान पर टैक्स लगाना चाहिये न कि उसके रिलीजन पर। इसके अलावा आपने फाइनेंस बिल में १,५०० रुपये की लिमिट रखी है इंडीवीजुअल के लिये। मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि बहुत कम फैमिलीज दो आदमियों के होते हैं

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव]

और जो फैमिली दो आदमियों का है वह इंडीविजुअल ही सा है। इसलिये मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर किसी फैमिली में दो या तीन से ज्यादा आदमी हों तो इस लिमिट को १,५०० से बढ़ा कर ३,००० कर देना चाहिये। इन्वेस्टीगेशन कमीशन ने पहले सुझाव दिया था कि अगर खानदान में तीन या तीन से ज्यादा मेम्बर हों तो एग्जेंम्पशन की लिमिट तिगुनी कर दी जावे। जहाँ तीन या तीन से ज्यादा आदमी हों वहाँ यह लिमिट बढ़ा दी जानी चाहिये। लेकिन इनकमटैक्स वाले तो रुपये के पीछे पड़े रहते हैं। उनको तो न लाजिक से मतलब है और न इन्साफ से। और आज भी बावजूद इन रिक्मंडेशन्स के जाइंट हिन्दू फैमिली को इसी तरह से टैक्स किया जा रहा है। मुझे खुशी है कि हमारे फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब की तबज्जह इस तरफ गयी है। हमारे फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टरसँ यके बाद दीगरे, मर जान शूस्टर से ले कर अब तक यह कहते रहे हैं कि टैक्सेशन इन्व्वायरी कमेटी बिठाई जानी चाहिये। मुझे खुशी है कि अब हमारे फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब समझते हैं कि अब वक्त आ गया है कि टैक्सेशन कमेटी इस सवाल का निर्णय करे। लेकिन जब तक वह कमेटी इस का निर्णय करे मैं अदब से गुजारिश करना चाहता हूँ कि इस १,५०० की लिमिट को बढ़ा कर ३,००० कर दिया जाय। यही इन्साफ का तकाजा है।

अब जो इसके अलावा फाइनेन्स बिल में और सवालात आये हैं उन पर मैं ज्यादा कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता। जनरल तीर पर जो ऐक्सप्लेनशन्स हमारे फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब ने दिये हैं वे वाजिबी हैं और उनसे मुझे कोई शिकायत नहीं है।

अगली चीज जो मैं इस जिम्न में अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ वह एक ऐसी चीज है जिसका बिल में जब भी मुझे फाइनेन्स बिल पर बोलने का मौका मिलता है हमेशा करता हूँ। मेरे नजदीक इस देश की तरक्की का एक yardstick (नाप) हरिजन है। अगर उसकी हालत बेहतर होती है तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हमको स्वराज्य मिला है और हम तरक्की कर रहे हैं। लेकिन अगर उसकी हालत में कोई तरक्की नहीं होती है तो मैं नहीं समझता कि हम स्वराज्य से फायदा उठा रहे हैं और तरक्की कर रहे हैं। इस वास्ते मैं अदब से यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि हम को यह देखना चाहिये कि हरिजनों की तरक्की के वास्ते हम काफी रुपया खर्च कर रहे हैं या नहीं। आया हमने अपना फर्ज अदा किया है या नहीं। हम ने दस बरस में हरिजनों को और लोगों के बराबर लाने का दावा किया है। हम को देखना है कि हम उनको काफी तालीम दे रहे हैं या और तरह से उनके साथ ऐसा सलूक कर रहे हैं या नहीं कि उन को यह महसूस हो कि हम अपना वायदा पूरा कर रहे हैं। मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि हम अपने गरेबां में मुंह डाल कर देखें कि इन तीन चार बरसों में हम ने अपना वह वायदा पूरा किया है या नहीं। मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे काम की पेस बहुत कमजोर रही है। मैं मानता हूँ कि कई मामलों में उनकी तरक्की हुई है और मैं समझता हूँ कि हमने किसी हद तक अपना फर्ज अदा किया है लेकिन काफी तौर पर हमने यह फर्ज अदा नहीं किया है। अब भी मैं कई नौजवान क्वालिफाइड हरिजनों को देखता हूँ कि जिनको नौकरी नहीं मिल रही है। अभी भी जैवा गवर्नमेंट चाहतो है वैसा सलूक हरिजनों के साथ नहीं होता। आज भी

अनटचेबिलीटी हमारे यहां किसी न किसी शकल में मौजूद है। मैं अबदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ अगर हम अपने वायदों को पूरा करना चाहते हैं तो हम को काम के टैम्पो को बढ़ा देना चाहिये। और हम को यह देखना चाहिये कि हम दस बरस बाद अपने हरिजन भाइयों से कह सकें कि तुम्हारा क्रिस्सा अब खत्म हुआ और तुम जनरल बिरादरी में मिल गये और जो स्पेशल रिप्रेजेंटेशन उनको मिला हुआ है वह उस वक्त खत्म किया जा सके लेकिन यह तभी मुमकिन हो सकता है कि जब कि सरकार इससे कई गुना ज्यादा रुपया खर्च करे।

जनाब वाला, चूकि अब घंटी बज चुकी है इसलिये मैं इस मजमून को छोड़ता हूँ और आपकी इजाजत से एक छोटे से मजमून का जिक्र करता हूँ जिसका मैं सब से अब्बल जिक्र करना चाहता था।

जनाब वाला, यह पुरानी सरकार २०० वर्ष तक हिन्दुस्तान पर राज्य कर गयी और इस ने ज्युडीशियल सिस्टम कायम किया, एक शहादत बनाया। यह ज्युडीशियल सिस्टम जो हिन्दुस्तान के वास्ते ऐसा अच्छा नहीं था, क्योंकि यहां की जीनियस के मुताबिक, न था वह सब का सब उस ने हमारे इस मुल्क में रायज किया। कई बातें उन्होंने अच्छी भी की हैं और हम अंग्रेजों के बड़े शुक्रगुजार हैं कि उन्होंने बहुत से ऐसे उसूल हमारे मुल्क में कायम किये कि जिन पर हम आज भी चल रहे हैं और जो कि यूनीवर्सल ऐप्लिकेशन वाले हैं। लेकिन साथ ही साथ, जनाब वाला, जहां तक इन्साफ़ का ताल्लुक है हम देखते हैं कि आज दिन दहाड़े लोग कत्ल करते हैं और वे सब के सब अदालतों से छुट जाते हैं। हमारे देश में कितने ही ऐसे बेगुनाह लोग हैं जिन को आज पुलिस पकड़ कर ले जाती है और उन पर जबर करती

है। आज मैं देखता हूँ कि एक बड़ी भारी क्लास सारे हिन्दुस्तान में बार रूम में बैठी बैठी मक्खियां मारती हैं। आज हज़ारों वकील अदालतों में ऐसे मौजूद हैं जिनकी आमदनी सिफ़र के बराबर है और जिनका गुजारा नहीं हो सकता और वह वहां अदालतों में बैठे हुए सुबह से शाम तक गवर्नमेंट को गालियां देते हैं।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह (हज़ारीबाग-पश्चिम) : अच्छा काम करते हैं।

पंडित ठाकुर दास भागवत : इतना हमारी इंटेल्जेंशिया का बेस्ट होता है। अदालत में एक मुकदमा है, आषे घंटे का काम है, लेकिन छः घंटे तक बार ऐसोसियेशन में बैठे हुये हैं और गप्पें मारते हैं। इस के लिये मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि मैं गवर्नमेंट का कोई क्रसूर नहीं देखता, लेकिन इस चीज का इलाज गवर्नमेंट करे क्योंकि देश की बहुत बड़ी intelligence की दौलत इस तरीके से जाया जा रही है। आज की दुनिया में हमारी अदालतों में क्या हालत है। इन्कम-टैक्स आफ़िसर के लिये फोर्जरी इस क्रदर ज्यादा बढ़ गयी है कि जिसका कोई अन्दाजा आप नहीं लगा सकते। पर्जरी इस क्रदर ज्यादा बढ़ गयी है कि जिसका आप को इल्म नहीं हो सकता। मैं आप को बताना चाहता हूँ कि यह पुरानी २०० वर्ष की उस गुलामी की वजह से ऐसी खराबियां हो गई हैं, हमारे अन्दर ऐसी खराब आदात आ गई हैं कि जिनकी दुस्ती करना जरूरी है। मैं जानता हूँ कि इन बातों को एक दम से हल करना मुश्किल है। मैं जानता हूँ कि गुनाह गवर्नमेंट के जिम्मे नहीं थोपा जा सकता कि गवर्नमेंट ने ऐसा कर दिया। लेकिन यह चीज मेरी समझ में आती है कि अब वक्त आ गया

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव]

है कि गवर्नमेंट एक ज्यूडीशियल रिफार्म कमेटी बनाये जिस में यह सवाल, इंडियन एवोडेंस ऐक्ट के उसूल का सवाल, वकीलों का जितना काम है, उन को जो काम मिलता है, उस का सवाल, उन की ज़हनियत को तब्दील करने का सवाल, मुकदमे करने वालों की ज़हनियत को तब्दील करने का सवाल, पुलिस का पब्लिक के साथ रवैये का सवाल, पब्लिक का पुलिस के साथ डील करने का सवाल, उस कमेटी के सामने ये सारे सवाल पेश हों। आज हालत क्या है। आप इनकमटैक्स आफिस में जाइये। एक इनकमटैक्स आफिसर असेंसी को अपना दुश्मन मालूम होता है कि यह मेरी जान मारेगा। इनकमटैक्स आफिसर असेंसी को देखता है तो समझता है कि मेरे सामने एक दयाबाज़ आदमी आया है। यह अपनी सारी इनकम मुझे नहीं बतलायेगा। मुझे मालूम है कि हमारे फायनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने कुछ अरसा हुआ चन्द अफ़रान असेंसीज़ को सहूलियत देने के लिये मुक़र्रर किये थे। लेकिन मैं अदब से अज़े करना चाहता हूँ कि सारी चीज़ को देखते हुए हमें इस पर अच्छी तरह से गौर करने की ज़रूरत है। हमारे मुल्क में ऐसी हालत पैदा करनी चाहिये कि इनकमटैक्स आफिस में कोई असेंसी जाय तो वह समझे कि जो इनकम-टैक्स आफिसर बैठे हुए है वह मेरा दोस्त बैठा हुआ है। वह मुझे को तक्रलीफ नहीं होने देगा। वह असेंसी भी समझे कि मुझे अपनी इनकम ठीक बतानी चाहिये और मुझे बेईमानी नहीं करनी है। इसी तरह से कोई आदमी अदालत में जाय, जो कि एक टेम्पल आफ़ जस्टिस है, तो उस को सच बोलना चाहिये। आज हालत यह है कि वह समझा जाता है कि जो अदालत में सच बोले वह मा न है। मैं निहायत अदब से अज़े करना

चाहता हूँ कि अब वक्त आ गया है कि इन सब चीज़ों की जांच हो। अदालत हो या पंचायत, उस में कोई जाये तो सच बोले। इसलिये इस सब में किस तरह की तब्दीली करनी चाहिये, इस के लिये सरकार को खास तवज़्जह देनी चाहिये।

सरकार अब तक और कामों में और और तरह की मुश्किलत में फंसो हुई थी। लेकिन अब वक्त आ गया है। अब हमारे देश में अनबनी अमान का वक्त है। हमारी माली हालत भी ऐसी खराब नहीं है और हमारे फायनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब का भी रज़ कुछ बदला हुआ है। वह जो उन की caution की आदत थी, ओवर-काशसनैस की, उस में अब उन्होंने ज़रा सी तब्दीली की है और डैफिसिट फायनेंसिंग की तरफ़ क़दम उठाया है। मैं इस को देश के वास्ते एक नेक फ़ेल समझता हूँ कि हमारे काशस फायनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब भी थोड़ा सा क़दम अब आगे उठाने लगे हैं।

मैं अदब से अज़े करना चाहता हूँ कि यह अरबों रुपये का ग़ल्ले जो हम लोग तमाम मुल्कों से मंगाले हैं, अब वक्त आ गया है कि हमारे फायनेंस मिनिस्टर ज़रा हिम्मत अपने हाथ में लें और इस सारी चीज़ को स्टाप कर दिशा जाय। इस ग़ल्ले के आने से गवर्नमेंट फायनेंस का तो कुछ नहीं बिगड़ता, आप के फायनेंसज तो ठीक रहते हैं, क्योंकि आप तो स्टेट्स से रुपये बसूल कर लेते हैं। लेकिन मेरी अदब से गुज़ारिश है कि इस से देश की बड़ी हानि होती है। अब बाहिर से ग़ल्ले मंगवाने की पालिसी को फौरन बन्द किया जाये।

में आप का मशकूर हूँ कि आप ने मुझे इतना वक्त दिया। अब मेरे पास वक्त नहीं है कि और बातों की तरफ आप की तबज्जह दिला सकूँ। इसलिये इतना ही कह कर मैं खत्म करता हूँ।

Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha (Patna East): I congratulate the Finance Minister not so much for the fact that he presented a brilliant Bill to the country, but for the fact that he made the best, out of a difficult job. A cursory reading of the Bill will convince us that he has, with one wink of his eye, created a psychological atmosphere of jubilation in the whole country. His Budget, without being extraordinary, did bring an extraordinary response. It has affected even the lay person on the street so much so that he cannot soon forget about this Budget as well as this Bill. The Finance Minister has obsessed with his Budget the minds of all the classes of people, either rich or poor with his special trick, because he casted his Budget proposals in such a mould, that he managed to put his visible and invisible audience in a state of semi-mesmerism. It has always been a knack with him that he takes the individual unawares, and by the time the individual wakes up and takes note of a bomb or two he has hurled at him, he realises that he has got over the explosive third of his peroration and reached the soothing finale, and only then the Finance Minister starts purring again.

Here also like an ace businessman, every word of his, every action of his, is a good investment, and I do not exaggerate when I say that even this time he has presented us with Re. 0/14/0 in expectation of getting one rupee in return. I think the Finance Minister should feel flattered by this remark because this is the highest compliment that anyone can pay to a good Finance Minister.

For example, take this Bill. By raising the exemption limit to Rs. 4,200 for individuals, and Rs. 8,400 for Hindu undivided families, he has played the same great little trick. The loss of revenue to the Government is not much. It is only Rs. 82 lakhs, and so it does not mean much, to the Government. But the gains in the shape of creating public enthusiasm in the poorer section and increasing business activities, have been manifold. And even this loss, in the long run, in the words of the Finance Minister himself, will be more than made good by the improvement in tax collection, as, the changed propo-

sals will give some relief to the Income-tax Department, so as to enable it to devote more time to examine the cases of bigger assesseees.

Then, secondly, clause 2 of the Finance Act, 1951, which has been slightly modified—and that is that—the super tax rebate admissible to a public company, which does not declare and distribute dividends in India, has been retained at one anna in the rupee, in respect of dividends received by it from a wholly subsidiary Indian company and has been reduced from one anna to six ptes in the rupee on any other income. This is a welcome change to the business world because it reduces the disparity between a foreign company which is operating through Indian subsidiary companies, and a foreign company which is operating directly through its own branches.

Now I come to Section 3(d) of the Indian Income-tax Act of 1922 which restricts the setting off, of speculative losses against speculative profits only and not against any other incomes. It has been received with some misgivings in the market circles. Because, perhaps, they are afraid that it will reduce the already limited flow of funds into the market. Their argument is that people will not be inclined to come to the Stock Market because their capital resources will be exhausted if the loss they suffer is not allowed to be set off against their other incomes, and secondly, it will affect the brokers' business because the freedom of their doing business whenever and wherever profit exists will be taken away from them. But, I feel that this proposal is rightly going to remedy the evil of buying up speculative losses, frequently practised by tax-dodgers. Freedom is good, but unrestricted freedom becomes a curse. So, the hon. Minister of Finance must deserve praise for making provision in the Bill for restricting unchecked activity in the speculative business world. But I think there are certain drafting irregularities in the Bill. For instance, though the amendment provides that the speculative loss can be carried forward it does not make it clear whether such loss can be set off against the profit in the same trade only or in other trades as well. Then I would really like to know whether the proviso to Explanation 2 on page 3 will really cover all *bona fide* hedge contracts or not. Another notable provision in the Bill relates to the increase in import duties on motor cars, to let requisites and crockeries, and provides that only a limited quantity will be allowed to be imported. This will benefit our country in two ways; firstly it will bring additional revenue to the

[Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha]

public exchequer, and secondly, it will raise the prices so much that it will reduce undue expansion of its consumption.

Now I come to the duty on betelnuts. As mentioned by the hon. Finance Minister himself, this is a great solace to those betel-nut growers, who are indigenous growers, and who do not find remunerative market for their crops. The raising of this duty will certainly go a long way in helping these small traders.

But the most welcoming news regarding the import policy of the Government is that they have decided to reduce the import duties on penicillin, anti-biotics, sulphur drugs, milk foods for infants and invalids, scientific instruments, and appliances etc. Really speaking, these are the little tricks that the hon. Finance Minister has played, which have created a great effect in raising the morale of the country.

Then, the tax relief contemplated in part (f) of clause 3 will benefit a number of companies engaged in the manufacture of vital parts. Some difficulty has been experienced by those companies which invest their surplus funds in another company, because the investing company had to pay corporation tax on those investments. The proposal in the Bill is very welcome, because it seeks to give relief to those companies who used to pay corporation tax. Now they will not be required to pay corporation tax.

All these reductions in taxes would involve a loss of Rs. 4.95 crores. The income from the import duties on other things will no doubt compensate this deficit to the extent of Rs. 3.50 crores, but still there remains a deficit of about Rs. 1.45 crores, and so the Finance Minister was compelled to increase the postal rates, which will bring in an additional revenue of Rs. 1.90 crores, leaving a surplus of Rs. 45 lakhs on revenue account. Strong criticisms have been made against this proposal on the ground that this is a tax on the knowledge of the common man. Though I feel that this tax is going to affect the common man, but I would not be so unreasonable as to go to the extent of saying that the hon. Finance Minister was wholly unjustified in increasing these rates. The common man has also some duties towards the country, and so he should not grudge against these little sacrifices which he has to make for the public exchequer.

But I do feel that this increase should not have been applicable to those essential things such as books etc., which are a necessity to the life of the country.

For instance, take the case of books. It is the poor students who are really going to be affected by it because by far the largest consumer of books are the students reading in different schools, and colleges, and the pity is that they have no income of their own, and yet they will be liable to pay these taxes, because the publisher will charge these postal rates from the students themselves. Most of the Members of this House do realise the hardship the students in general have to undergo in these hard days, because they themselves have had the experience of being students at some time or other, and even now their children are studying in schools and colleges. So the House will certainly sympathise with the fate of the poor students, and I hope, will cooperate with me in my appeal to the Finance Minister, for abolishing this tax on books, by deleting part (i) in clause 9, which deals with books, from this Bill. If this suggestion will materialise, I am sure it will generate a new energy and a new inspiration among the students because they are the most neglected class, and in general they feel that the Government are not very sympathetic to them. If this suggestion materialises, it will generate a new spirit among the students, whose potential and real value to the country's welfare cannot be denied.

Now I come to that point, which I think, is the only big fly in the ointment of the Finance Minister's Budget, and that in my opinion is the inclusion of those debts of doubtful nature, which he is hoping to realise from Pakistan, in the surplus revenue accounts. I am definite that he cannot be unaware of this. But in framing the Budget he has intentionally made up his mind to make this provision because he does not want to scare the public by showing a heavy deficit. But I must say that in this he has played a bad game, because we are not living in day-dreams as to be fooled by this impression of surplus revenue. The Finance Minister says that he hopes to realise Rs. 18 crores from Pakistan as the first and second instalments of her pre-partition debt to India. But as matters stand, it is really doubtful whether Pakistan has either the intention or the ability to pay this sum next year. Then the fact that this was there in the last year's Budget is no argument that it should be repeated this year also. Here, the Finance Minister is sure to argue that if the annual instalments due from Pakistan are not taken into account, the Pakistan Government may feel that the Government of India are not keen on recovering this debt. But I would suggest to the Finance Minister that the

purpose could very well have been served by including that amount in the capital account, without leaving any loophole in the Budget.

Now, Sir, I come to the Report of the Finance Commission itself. I think I shall be doing an injustice to myself as well as to the House, if I do not pay my humble tributes to the members of the Commission for the workmanlike job they have done. Their recommendations have certainly improved the lot of the States which were in dire need of funds, and secondly they have gone a long way in lessening the regional inequalities. As against 50 per cent. receipts of the income-tax allotted previously, it has now been raised to 55 per cent. In this way we see that the net effect of their recommendations requires a transfer of about Rs. 20·81 lakhs of annual revenue from the Central to the State Governments. With the exception of Bombay, every other State has gained to a larger or smaller extent, thus being in a position to relieve some of the burdens on itself. But the highest credit must go to the Finance Commission for the fact that whereas previously the collection constituted a major principle of allocation, the principle which has now been adopted by them is that only 20 per cent. will be allotted on this principle of collection, while the remaining 80 per cent. will be allotted on the basis of population. Thus it has removed the regional inequalities existing between the different States.

I would not take the time of the House any more, but before I sit down I would wish to thank the Finance Minister, who is in charge of the oven, the fire and fuel of the country's bakery, for nicely baking the welfare loaf, and I assure you—the baker of the additional bread: that the country has received you as well as your Budget with open arms, because it is realised that an additional loaf, even half-baked is better than no loaf at all.

Shri Meghnad Saha (Calcutta—North-West): My fellow parliamentarian **Sri Harihar Nath Shastri** spoke of the menace of growing unemployment, and **Dr. Lanka Sundaram** of the mishandling of Government enterprises. It appears to me that both evils are results of the same policy. The growing unemployment is due to the incapacity of the Government in providing creative work, and whenever they start a public enterprise for being employment to the people, it is being mishandled either financially or technically.

We cannot agree that when the mantle of favour of some Minister falls upon a certain fortunate person, we can

convert him from a carpenter to a blacksmith, or a blacksmith to a goldsmith. This is exactly what is happening in this country in Government enterprises. It is apparent that the Government finds it very difficult to find out sufficient capital for creative work. They say that in the five years which started from 1950, we should spend at the rate of 400 crores of rupees per year for creative work. The Central and State Budgets are expected to provide 738 crores, all kinds of savings 520 crores and foreign loan 800 crores (of which they have already got 158 crores).

Now, opinions have appeared in the papers of many eminent economists that the expected Budget surplus will not materialise; it is very doubtful. And many friends on this side think that the expected foreign loan is problematical and its acceptance is highly controversial. But the most important point is that the amount of capital investment which is proposed to be made is too small to effect any change in the rate of industrialisation of India or for providing employment to the people. It is barely 4·5 per cent. of our national income. Every country which has been forced to do planning for one reason or another has found this rate of investment to be too small.

Now, let us take the country with which we have been associated in the past, Great Britain. Now, Great Britain was a country with a very high standard of living. But her economy was completely shattered in course of the Second World War. Production fell, many of the industrial concerns were destroyed and she lost her most important possession, India, which has been her economic shock-absorber, and her standard of living fell to a dangerously low limit. Now, what have they done? Of course, the Conservative Government which was in power in 1944 issued an election manifesto that there should not be much public spending and all tasks of industrial reconstruction should be relegated to the private sector. Fortunately they were not returned to power, but Labour. They embarked on a scheme of reconstruction of the country. I have just got a book by **A. D. Warswick** and **Ady** published by the Clarendon Press, which gives the amount of capital investment in Britain during the six years of Labour Government. It comes on the average to 20 per cent. Britain's national income was £7,000 million in 1947, but it was found to be too small and by practising austerity, which meant forcing austerity on everybody, they have been able to plough back on the average 18 to 25 per cent. of their national earnings into productive en-

[Shri Meghnad Saha]

terprises. Well, now their production has risen after six years, in 1952-53, to about £13,500 million. Of course, this is in devalued pound, but even if you account for the devaluation, their income comes to £9,500 million a year of pre-devaluation pound. It means a 30 per cent. increase in the national income in the course of six years, compared to the 30 per cent. increase which is contemplated in the Plan within the period of 27 years.

This shows that if we want to increase our productivity, the Finance Minister must be able to find out more money than this meagre sum of 4.5 per cent. for capital investment. To give you one example of how Britain has forced up production in Great Britain in 1947, the production of steel fell from 13 million tons during the war to about nine million tons, and the Labour Government embarked on a proposal of nationalisation of the iron and steel industry. And they have been able, by spending about £200 million on the steel industry to force up the production from nine million tons to about sixteen million tons last year, which means an addition to their national income of about £400 million every year.

Now, France also has been very badly shattered by the World War and they had to resort to planning. Both these countries—England and France—were highly industrialised with a very high standard of living, but the World War lowered the standard dangerously low. Now, France did not resort to planning on all sides; it was restricted planning. They wanted to force up their production of the main instruments of production—iron and steel, coal, power, transport and heavy chemicals—only six items in all. The French Plan says that for the last six years they have been spending 20 to 25 per cent. of their income on capital investment. If we take that rate, the capital investment per year in this country ought to be about 2000 crores. Now it is only 400 crores. The Planning Commission is aware of this state of affairs, but they say that on account of the grinding poverty of India, it is not possible to plough back more of our national earnings to productive investment. But it appears to be a counsel of despair. If we cannot invest more and if we do not invest in profitable enterprises—but in wild-goose-chase schemes—then there is no chance of our ever meeting the problems of poverty, unemployment, malnutrition, defence and others. So I think there must be a radical change from the point of view of accumulation of investment finance—how to

raise more finance in this country? And however much we might dislike the comparison, our present economic position is quite similar to that of Russia in 1927-28 when they started their great Five Year Plans. It is generally thought that that Five Year Plan sprang from the brain of Lenin just as Minerva sprang from the brain of Jupiter, fully armed and fully accoutred. It is not so. They took about eleven years to find out what should be the proper pattern of Plan—from 1917 to 1928. Now here a Plan has been compiled very hastily and it has been thrust down our throats in spite of protests on this side. We have not been given sufficient time to consider its merits. To continue the story of Russia—there were very important differences even within the ranks of the Bolsheviks themselves about the pattern of planning. As a matter of fact, their State Planning Commission did not recommend planning on an ambitious scale. They wanted to concentrate their attention on the consumer goods industries, as the Government plan had done in our country. And at one stage the Russian Government requested their private capitalists to come to their aid, because on account of hasty nationalisation, and expropriation of their owners of industries, they could not run any industry on account of want of experience. So the whole economy collapsed in 1919. Then they also tried to raise foreign loans. When both these sources failed, they were severely thrown back on their own resources. Apart from ideologies, it is very important to know how the Russians raised huge sums of money amounting to 50,000 crores of rupees (in our pre-war rupees) during a period of twelve years for financing their great schemes, the schemes which have raised Russia from a feudal agricultural State to one of the most highly developed industrial States. You see that in the fact that their standard of living, which was no better than that of India at the present time, has been raised, according to their claims, to that of France, and, if the war had not interfered, they say it would have been raised to the standard of Great Britain. More than that, they were able to meet the greatest military machine of all times very successfully and save themselves.

Now, we require planning not only to raise our standard of living but, as the Prime Minister said the other day, for our problems of Defence also. Problems of Defence require that the country should be industrialised at a very

rapid rate. But, what do you find in the Plan? You will increase your production of iron and steel; but at what rate? You will double it in about ten years. That rate of enhancement of production is very small. We have been producing one million tons of iron and steel twelve years ago and are still producing one million tons. We must therefore find out methods by which more capital could be raised.

As I told you, in Russia there was first a Plan which aimed at the doubling of the income in 15 years. This was discarded. They adopted a more ambitious one in which the productivity was to be increased to double the amount in eight and a half years. They successfully achieved it. The State Planning Commission wanted to lay emphasis on consumer goods industries but the Supreme Economic Council put emphasis on the capital goods; iron and steel power, heavy chemicals and so forth. It was the supreme Economic Council whose views ultimately prevailed.

Now, let us see how they got more capital. In our country we want to raise our capital—most of it—from taxation and some from foreign loans. Now, it is found on analysis that taxation gave only a very small part of the capital which the Russians invested. It formed only eight to ten per cent. But, there are several other sources of investment which they adopted very successfully. One was savings on a national scale. In this country, we have got post office savings, we have savings like National Cash Certificates and all that. We also know that the amount of capital that we obtain from these sources is very small; it is a negligible amount. In Russia also it was so; but the Government started a vigorous savings campaign on a nation-wide scale and they were able to find about eight to ten per cent. of their capital invested from these savings. There were compulsory savings; there were also voluntary savings and so forth. In our country, we find—I do not have the actual figures, the Finance Minister may be able to tell us—it is a very small amount.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: It is eight to ten per cent.—45 to 50 crores on an income of 400 to 500 crores a year.

Shri Meghnad Saha: It was eight to ten per cent. of their total national income. Our national income is ten thousand crores and a saving of two per cent. gives us 200 crores.

Shri C. D. Pande: You are quoting national wealth and not national income.

Shri Meghnad Saha: Ten thousand crores is the total national income of this country according to the Planning Report, and two per cent. of that is 200 crores.

In the Russian Plan a great deal of their resources came from gold and jewellery of the princes, the Czar and others. The Bombay Plan also said that we can get about 300 crores of the pre-war money from these hidden sources. But, no steps have been taken to tap these hidden sources. We find that there are enormous amounts of gold and jewels and other things lying with the Indian princes, as the Bombay Plan remarked. What is going to happen? No attempt has been made to tap these resources and turn them into investment capital. After all, this is people's money, obtained from the people's sweatings. If you do not tap them now, you may find that these princes might vanish into thin air some day with their gold and jewellery as did Mir Laik Ali a few years ago. I do not say that you should expropriate them. They should be invested in profitable capital investments, for they are easily negotiable.

But nearly 60 to 70 per cent. of the capital invested in Russia came from a new kind of taxation—it is not entirely new—which is called turnover tax. We find that this turnover tax has been dismissed in our Planning Commission's Report in a single short sentence. They consider that this turnover tax is not applicable to this country. Now, what is turnover tax? I find that later on the Planners have recommended this turnover tax in the case of the iron and steel industry, in a very peculiar way. They say that the Central Government have increased the ceiling price for iron and steel, as a result of which additional funds would accrue every year and a part of this money is to be paid to the main producers as payment for increased capital costs and increased retention prices. It is recommended that the additional resources resulting from the increase in the selling price of steel should be utilised for assisting the expansion of projects. These, according to their calculation will amount to 20 crores. This is turnover tax in a way. Our cost of production after giving a fair retention price to the manufacturers is Rs. 35). The price of foreign steel is Rs. 600 per ton. If the price of Indian steel is raised to Rs. 550, we find that Rs. 200 per ton is available for further investment in the steel industry and a production of one million ton will give us 20 crores and that is what they want to do. But, they have made a strange proposal that all this money should be handed over to the iron and steel magnates to be used

[Shri Meghnad Saha]

by them for expansion of their steel industry. But, who is going to see that they spend it just for that purpose and do not throw dust into the eyes of the Government as they have been doing for the last 25 years? For the last 25 years, the iron and steel industry magnates in this country have been making enormous profits and instead of investing all that money in expansion of the activities of their own industry, they are using it for their private purposes. They are buying estates and luxury goods. Therefore, I think that this is a dangerous proposal to hand over all this money to the iron and steel magnates. I think the Government should devise methods to give effect to the resolution of the Industries Ministry in 1949, which recommended that two iron and steel factories, each producing a million tons, should be installed within a year or so. I do not know why this resolution was not given effect to. If, instead of investing the money on the steel companies, we had installed the iron and steel factories, at least one factory producing one million tons, for the last four years, the national income of this country would have gone up by 100 crores per year.

I find that salt tax, with which we have been familiar and which has now been abolished, is a turnover tax. Though it may not meet with the approval of all sections of people, I think the salt tax should be reintroduced. It will give us Rs. nine to ten crores, and this money should not be absorbed in the general revenue, but should be earmarked for the establishment of heavy chemical industries in this country for which there is great need today. On another occasion, I told this House that our consumer industries like the glass industry, the soap industry and a lot of others are in a state of collapse, because we have to buy the raw material, viz. soda ash, from the I.C.I. and other foreign companies at exorbitant prices. If we can raise Rs. nine or ten crores from salt tax and earmark it for the establishment of a number of soda ash factories and so on, the consumer industries can take care of themselves. They will flourish as no other measure of the Government can make them flourish, because all the protective tariffs which we have been imposing have not helped these industries. As a matter of fact, the sheet glass factory has almost stopped production. They were producing 5000 tons of sheet glass though the installed capacity is 12,000 tons. They have now stopped production because manufacturers find it more profitable to get permits for sheet glass from outside and sell it at four times

the price in this country. I think the turnover tax is an important item to which the Finance Minister should pay more attention. The Russians had turnover tax on almost every item of consumption, even on foodstuff? (*An Hon. Member:* But this is not Russia.) Of course, this will impose austerity on everybody. We would have to lead very austere lives and life of privation for a number of years, but it will accelerate the industrialisation of the country. Mind you, time is the essence of everything and if you leave everything to eternity, no problem can be solved.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA *in the Chair*]

I would also suggest to the Finance Minister another important item. Our Budget is the Finance Minister's Budget. It is an orthodox Budget which we have inherited from the British days. But in all other countries they have found it advantageous in addition to the Finance Minister's Budget another kind of Budget called the economic Budget. This was first introduced by the Russians, but even England and France found it profitable to introduce what is called the economic Budget. This will give the whole nation's earnings under different headings, so much of foodstuffs, so much of power in kilowatt hours, so much of iron and steel, so much of soda ash and so on. It will tell us in quantity and also in money value what the country is producing. Without an economic Budget, it is very difficult to form a Plan. Planning becomes planning in vacuum as our planning has been.

If you want to draw up an economic Budget, the labours of the Economic Section of the Finance Ministry, the Finance Departments of the different State Governments, the Statistical Institute, the Tariff Commission etc. have to be integrated, and I think that that would be for the interest of the country, because economics is very much like the science of Meteorology. You cannot make long term predictions. You have to depend on accurate intelligence which you receive from all parts of the country as well as from other countries and make day to day decisions. Therefore, you should introduce what is called a supreme economic survey just as they have in Russia and this should be managed by the State Planning Commissions. You should have a number of workers all over the country, giving you the production and the imports from outside, so that at one place you can find out what is happening in this country and in other

countries in the economic sphere. Without this economic Budget, it is not possible to do anything in the nature of proper planning.

11 A.M.

I have read the Planning Commission's manifesto very carefully from beginning to end. I find that in many of its opinions, the Planning Commission has been guided by and derived its inspiration from Mr. Winston Churchill. In 1944, Mr. Winston Churchill issued a party manifesto in which he discouraged all kinds of public spending. He said that all industrialisation should be left to the private sector. I do not know whether our Planners were guided by his opinion, for I find that industries have not only not been neglected but have almost been completely left to the private sector. The amount of control exercised by the Government is too limited and inefficient. Either the Government have not got the machinery to exercise the control, or they do not want to do so. Of course, I do not suppose that our Government will travel as far as Soviet Russia, but at least I did not expect that they would be fellow-travellers with Mr. Winston Churchill. They should travel at least with Mr. Attlee or Mr. Bevan. My analysis shows that our Plan has got two legs of clay. One is the industrial policy of 1949—a very pernicious policy which is responsible for the retardation of industries in this country. This should go. The other is the mentality which has been shown in the formation of capital. That should be entirely changed. These legs of clay must be substituted by solid legs if we do not want the planning colossus to collapse.

Shri T. S. A. Chettiar (Tiruppur): I heard with great interest the last speaker. While we agree with many of the things he said, I was amazed when he said that Russia took seventeen years to formulate a plan and we must take a similar number of years. My own belief is that this plan has not come one day too early. We are not starting with a clean slate. We had a policy even when we were in the opposition. We had an idealism and this is the time that we should put into effect that idealism. I am glad that the plan has come. There may be mistakes, but we shall learn and improve and that is the only way we can do it.

If there is any failure in the Plan, I am sure that, as with all other plans, it will be due to the lack of finance. As we know, the plan contemplates an expenditure of Rs. 2,069 crores, of which the Government of India have

agreed to accept responsibility for only Rs. 1,400 crores and the rest must come from the State Governments. I wonder whether the Finance Minister has made sure that that part of the fund is coming. I hope he has read the Budget speeches of his counterparts in the States. I would like to quote what the Minister of Finance in my province has said. What he has said is very revealing and I hope the Finance Minister will make a note of it, if he has not already done so. I quote:

"The Five Year National Plan relating to this State envisages an outlay of about Rs. 141 crores during the five years. Of this sum, Rs. 85 crores cover capital works on irrigation and electricity, such as the Tungabhadra, the Lower Bhavani, the Machkund, etc. The balance of Rs. 56 crores is to be spent on social services.....The capital expenditure of Rs. 85 crores was expected to be met by withdrawal from the reserves to the extent of Rs. 30 crores....."

but the reserves do not exist any more—

"by Central assistance to the extent of Rs. 30 crores, by open market loans to the extent of Rs. 20 crores and by the surplus from deposit transactions to the extent of five crores. The outlay of Rs. 56 crores on social and other services was to be met from current revenues."

Now I come to the actual state of things.

"On the resources side of the Plan, the Revenue Budget of the State for that year, far from being balanced showed a deficit of Rs. 5 crores. In 1952-53 the figures are Rs. 18 crores on irrigation and power and Rs. 11 crores on other schemes, making a total of Rs. 29 crores. The outlay has thus exceeded the average by about Rs. 1 crore but here again the Revenue budget has a gap of about Rs. 5½ crores and that too after taking into consideration the additional receipt of about Rs. 3 crores from the Centre, on the award of the Finance Commission.

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The Government had raided the reserves for three years in succession, to balance Revenue budgets, instead of balancing them, with additional taxation. The National Plan as far as our State is concerned, appears to be breaking down on the side of resources.

[Shri T. S. A. Chettiar]

But it is largely due to the famine, which has deprived our reserves to the extent of about Rs. 10 crores. . . . The recent pronouncement made by the Central Finance Minister on deficit financing gives us hope that further assistance may come from the Centre."

These are extracts from the Budget speech of the Finance Minister of the State of Madras. I believe some of the other States would be in the same position. I would like the Finance Minister of the Government of India to consider this situation and see how best these States can be helped.

Just one word about deficit financing which has been mentioned by the Finance Minister of the Government of Madras. This has raised large hopes where they should not have been raised. We are already planning for deficit financing of Rs. 140 crores and if we are not to have deleterious effect, we must take care to limit the extent of deficit financing.

To my mind even the income-tax receipts which the Government contemplates for this year will not be as rosy as it is represented in the Budget. With a 66½ per cent. cut of electricity, production in South India has been cut down by two-thirds, that is 66½ per cent. of the original production. The result is in textiles and in almost every industry, production is bound to be less and the income-tax that the Government of India will be getting will be correspondingly less, at least from that area. So, I do not think that the income-tax which the Government of India expects will be collected, because there has been a general fall in production throughout South India.

To this I suggest one alternative. I had put before this House on an earlier occasion the suggestion of levying labour taxes. In this country we are poor; our economic resources are not very high; our taxable capacity is very low. Considered from the point of view of money our resources are very limited. But labour is wealth. We have this tremendous humanity, ever increasing, with no employment. They cannot give money; but they can certainly give labour. All those schemes which we have of building schools, building roads and other things in our villages can be implemented by a levy of labour taxes. For one week or two weeks in a year everybody should work. Graduates before they are awarded degrees should be asked to put in one year's service. This may not get money; but this will cer-

tainly mean achievement of our objective. This scheme requires to be worked out in detail. I know and it has many limitations. But in the situation in which we are placed, when we are not able to raise capital, labour tax is one which we can resort to. This is not a new idea. Big temples in South India have been constructed by labour tax. Even today canals are being maintained by labour tax called (*Kudimarawath*). I hope this suggestion of mine will be properly examined. Orthodox economists may not accept it. I do not know whether we have examples of this in other countries. But the special conditions of our country demand special procedures and special ways of life. This is a matter which requires detailed examination at the hands of the Government of India.

Now I come to another matter of very great importance. It has pained, as it would have pained many others, to see many remarks made in the reports of the Public Accounts Committee. We have seen examples of corruption; we have seen cases where some people who are responsible for corruption are being promoted. This is not good for the establishment of sound morale in this country. We have seen in detail cases against certain civilians. A time there was when we could never think of corruption, particularly in the higher rungs of the Civil Service. But certain things coming in the newspapers have made me ashamed. I come from a province which was famous, which was marked for integrity in its Civil Services. I am ashamed that some of them should now be corrupt and dishonest. But the point is how to prevent it. As to the necessity of abolition or eradication of corruption there are no two opinions. In my opinion, these judicial examinations, these judicial trials in matters of corruption are not quite in place. Quick executive actions, strong actions, immediately taken is what we want, and they will prove to be a deterrent. Judicial tribunals are good in their own way; but many a time the elaborate procedure involved by the Evidence Act helps the accused. What we want is executive action, prompt action, and I would suggest that the Government of India should establish tribunals, on the lines of my own province, which can take quick and immediate action. One of the Ministers of the Madras Government told me that one officer who was suspended was for eleven months receiving a fat salary without any case being put up against him. These delays create demoralisation which is not good. Previously when the British Government was here

there was fear of the Government and people acted out of fear. But today that fear has gone. I have had occasion to discuss this matter with many officials. The fear of Government has disappeared, but the devotion which is necessary to keep up the tempo of work has not come. We should find ways and means to see that our public servants are really devoted to their work—not devotion out of fear, but devotion out of love for the country. But these things come out of inspiration from a higher level.

Shri S. N. Das (Darbhanga Central): How will it come?

Shri T. S. A. Chettiar: That must come from out of inspiration from above.....

Shri S. N. Das: From heaven?

Shri T. S. A. Chettiar: From you and me

I come to the next point. My part of the country is in the grips of a famine. There has been a terrible famine the like of which has not been seen for the last twenty-five years. The rains have failed continuously and the conditions of the people are terrible. We do not know the reasons for the failure of the rains; but one of the reasons undoubtedly is the cutting down of trees and the denudation of the forests. Usually we are out with plans the results of which we can see ourselves. But we are unable to spend money for things the results of which will be seen in the next generation, twenty years hence, or thirty years hence. Reafforestation of the areas which we have denuded of trees will take fifty years or more. But unless we do it, I am afraid the rains which have been becoming less every year will become less and less, and large areas will become a desert, as the Rajasthan desert. So it should be the policy of the Government to replant forests in a much larger measure than we have done up till now. We must also explore the possibilities of artificial rain about which till now not much has been done.

I do not want to take much more of the time of the House except to say a word about education. In giving a reply on the Demands of Education we were told that the Government of India did not take article 45 of the Constitution seriously, and since it was not tackled seriously in consultation with the Provincial Governments, nothing was planned to provide compulsory elementary education for all the children in this country. That reply was far from

satisfactory. I would like to suggest to the Government of India that if we want permanently to increase efficiency of production, increase the normal efficiency of every ordinary man and woman in this country, education must get a priority. And I hope plans will be made, in consultation with the Provincial Governments undoubtedly, by labour taxes, by requesting and persuading and by making it a condition that everybody entering government service must give a year of service in schools and colleges and such other measures, so that this article will not remain a pious wish but will become true. And that will be one of the most glorious of our achievements.

Pandit Lingaraj Misra (Khurda): I would like to take this opportunity of placing and pressing before this House the claims of Orissa in the matter of location of the proposed iron and steel factory at a convenient distance from the Hirakud power station. I believe the calculated factual findings of experts carry better conviction than the interested pleadings of a layman. So let me quote some facts and figures from the official reports of the Geological Survey of India to prove how the western region of the Orissa State will be the most suitable place for the location of the iron and steel plant.

Mr. J. C. Brown, Superintendent—D.Sc. of the Geological Survey of India, writes in his book "India's Mineral Wealth, 1937":

"Subsequent explorations by various geologists led to the realisation of the fact that in parts of Singhbhum district and in the adjoining States of Keonjhar, Bonai and Mayurbhanj, a region lying some 150 to 200 miles from Calcutta, there exists one of the major iron ore fields of the world in which enormous tonnage of rich ore are readily available. It usually occurs at or near the tops of hills and the most important range runs from near Rothna in Bonai State in a north and north-easterly direction rising 1,500 ft. above the surrounding country, where haematite averaging over 60 per cent, of iron occurs along practically the whole length with a few negligible breaks. Smaller ranges also contain good ore and follow a direction roughly parallel to the main one."

Again, in 1934, Mr. S. C. Jones estimated the minimum quantity of ore then known and averaging not less

[Pandit Lingaraj Misra]

than 60 per cent. of iron as follows: "Bonai State 648 million tons. Keonjhar 988 million tons."

Mr. Fox in his publication "Records of the Geological Survey of India, Volume LXXVI, No. I, Mineral Wealth of India" published in 1942, writes:

"I think it is unnecessary for me to say that the iron resources of India are as much in quantity and superior in quality to even those of the United States of America. In one tract alone, comprising the areas of Singbhum, Bonai, Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj, the resources of iron ore with upwards of 60 per cent. of iron content are computed at not less than 3,000 million tons by one careful geologist, and probably as much as 20,000 million tons of high grade iron ore by an experienced American iron master. When supply of cheap electrical power is made available, there will come a great era in steel making in India. But there is no reason why India cannot now become one of the greatest producers of pig iron and ferro manganese."

These are the findings from official reports. It is not only iron ore alone but all the other necessary raw materials, namely manganese ore, limestone and dolomite, chromite, fireclay, quartzite and coal are also available in inexhaustible quantities within a distance varying from 16 to 85 miles from Borakote in the ex-Bonai State areas of the Sundargarh district. This was considered to be the most suitable site for the proposed iron and steel plant by the Japanese specialists who had recently visited different parts of India for the purpose. I understand that the Japanese industrialists had been so much enamoured of this particular site that they were even prepared to build a port and harbour on the Orissa coast and to connect it by railway line to this site as a part of this iron and steel project for the more economical export of finished products.

But I must confess that the coal available in this part of the country is of a lower grade and is not at present quite suitable for metallurgical purposes. But even in this respect there is no cause for discouragement as the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research is quite alive to this position and has been exploring ways and means for the utilisation of such low grade coal for the purpose of the iron and steel industry. From the

proceedings of the meeting of the Council held at New Delhi on the 12th of March last, I find that they have taken up a project costing over Rs. 15 lakhs for smelting of iron ore by low shaft furnace process with the use of coking coal. It would facilitate the establishment of iron and steel industry in parts of the country where iron ore of the requisite quantity is abundantly available, but the coking coal resources are deficient. Investigations on the project of coal blending now under way at Jamshedpur have shown that India's coking coal resources could be considerably extended by the blending of non-coking coal. The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research have recommended that in the projected iron and steel works, blending facilities should be provided, and the plant designed for the use of blended coal and railway transport arrangements should be made on an adequate scale for the blending practice to be introduced.

From these facts it is unquestionably established that Borakote in the Sundargarh district of Orissa State would be the most suitable site so far as all the necessary raw materials for the industry are concerned. As regards power, that also will be adequately and cheaply available from the Hirakud power station. Hirakud is expected to produce 300,000 K.W. of power and its ready utilisation is one of the main problems facing the Governments of Orissa as well as of the Centre. Unless the power produced at Hirakud is readily consumed by such big industries, the Hirakud Project will not immediately pay and so the Government of Orissa will not be in a position to start paying back the heavily accumulating loans which are accumulating with compound interest every year. Hence it is in the interest of the creditor as well, I mean, the Central Government, that a big project like an Iron and Steel Factory should be established at or near Hirakud.

One more point that I would like to urge is that our mineral resources are a big potential source of wealth to the State. Our minerals are being sold at very high rates in the market, as would be evident from one illustration, that manganese is selling at Rs. 120 per ton. When the State Government gets as royalty only rupee one to rupees two per ton, the middleman is allowed to make a profit of about Rs. 80 to Rs. 90 per ton. The State is not allowed to levy any sales tax nor to enhance the rate of royalty which is fixed by the Centre in the so-called all-India interest. This

is only one instance—I can multiply it. Are we to suffer in this way at the cost of our existence and at the cost of peace, tranquillity and development of the country as a whole?

I should frankly disclose to the hon. Finance Minister, who unfortunately is not present in the House, that an apprehension is growing in some quarters that he is no longer able to maintain that attitude of disinterestedness and impartiality between the various States, after his being elected to this House as a representative of a particular territorial constituency. He is now inclined to have savings from big approved projects, so that he could find some money for some projects in constituencies or States in which he has become interested. At least the people of Orissa see the hidden hand of the Finance Minister in the slowing down of the execution of the Hirakud Dam Project.

Although some classes of consumers like the pan chewers to which fraternity I claim my own allegiance, have reason to be sore with the Finance Minister for having further raised the already high price of betel nut. I must unreservedly congratulate him for the successful way in which he has adhered to the very sound principle and policy of taxation which he had himself enunciated last year, namely:

पुण्यं पुष्पं विचिन्वीत मूलच्छेदं न कारयेत् ।

मालाकार इवारामे न कदाङ्गारकारवत् ॥

Shri Deogam (Chaibassa—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): I come from an area mainly inhabited by tribes, the most ancient sons and daughters of mother India and whom I have the proud privilege of representing in this august House. I consider that the more backward a place is, the more is the responsibility of the Government to help it. I, therefore, am very thankful to you Sir, for having given me a chance for the first time to ventilate in this august House the various disadvantages and disabilities under which the Scheduled Tribes of Bihar and Orissa are smarting. In such a short time I will have to be very brief.

Education is the most urgent need of our people but the primary education is not given through the medium of the mother tongue and a large number of students, I mean the tribal students, who discontinuing after completing their primary education, fall back to illiteracy. Had there been teaching in tribal languages and had there been books and literature in tribal languages, there would have been continuity in the education of these tribal students. Our President, the Prime Minister and the Planning Commission have all admitted that

the medium of instruction should be the mother tongue of the child but there is a great dearth of textbooks in tribal languages and the State Governments are not encouraging publishing literature in tribal languages. I should not be misunderstood, I am not against Hindi which every Indian must learn and so also the tribes. The best way to inculcate education among the tribes is by appointing qualified tribal people to posts in Educational Departments such as Sub-Inspectors of Schools, and Superintendents of Hostels in which mainly tribal students live. In the hostels special coaching classes by Superintendents or House-masters will be necessary and for this more Superintendents and more House-masters should be appointed so that special care may be taken of the Scheduled Tribes children in preparing their lessons.

Reform in education is urgently needed. We should not continue to impart education in such a way as can only turn out clerks. Arts, handicrafts, vocational teaching such as carpentry, agriculture, nature study etc., should find a place in our school curriculum. Teachers are nation builders and as such, much should be done to ameliorate their conditions by giving them adequate salary. I visited several schools and hostels during January last and I found that everywhere the teachers were ill-housed and ill-paid. We cannot expect such a big task of nation building from such a class of people. Health is wealth. This applies not only to an individual but for a nation. What is the real wealth of a nation? A nation is rich if her people and children are healthy. To gain this end of national health, we must take care of our children who will be the future citizens and on whom depend our honour, independence, and other things. Hygiene should be a compulsory subject at least upto Matriculation standard. Doctors and nurses should be available in greater numbers but their duty should not be confined to medical care only; in addition to that they should teach hygiene, sanitation and first aid to our illiterate people. Homoeopathy is the cheapest and best system and is most suited to a poor country like India. So, homoeopathic colleges and doctors should receive aid and encouragement. On account of the cheapness of the medicine, homoeopathic doctors have better chances of serving the poor people even gratis than any others. The Ministry of Health should give equal chances to this homoeopathic system as no one can deny the great truths of homoeopathy which are confirmed by quite satisfactory results.

Our health depends on good food. It is shameful for us that a vast land

[Shri Deogam]

like India at present is unable to feed its people. There should be more out-door field work for the Grow More Food officers than table work. I am told by some Grow More Food officers that they are required to do more table work than field work. Our vast country should be utilised so that not an inch of land will be left unused. All the useless and wild growth should be removed and replaced by useful crops, fruit-bearing trees and timber. Even very small countries can produce more than what we can do. If we could only educate our masses and get their co-operation in producing more food, then only, we can have enough of nutritious food for a strong and healthy nation. The cultivator should not only depend on producing foodgrains. Mixed farming, including sheep and goat farming, dairy farming, cattle breeding, pisciculture, bee-keeping, and poultry should be taught. We cannot think of the Indian nation without our cattle wealth, and without the cow which gives us milk. This work should not be left to illiterate poor farmers as has been the practice hitherto. As all these require a good deal of learning, our educated youth must take to farming and mixed farming. For village uplift work, Government pension-holders should be encouraged to live among the villagers by giving them an extra allowance so that they may use their ripe store of knowledge in the uplift work, and thus serve a real need.

Once again I would remind the House that I come from a hilly rugged region of our country, covered with hilly vegetation. We cannot produce much food without irrigation facilities. In our region, our good old grandmother, nature, has given us very deep and immense wealth. We, by clearing the jungles, made it habitable and made it easy of access to other much organised outside forces who are daily taking our iron, copper, manganese, coal, soap-stone, limestone, bauxite, etc. We have the biggest iron and steel factory in Asia. We have the only copper mine in India, a very big cement factory in the centre of a vast area of limestone.

An Hon. Member: What is your region?

Shri Deogam: In Singbhum. But, we the children of the soil, the real explorers and pioneers, are the poorest in a land of plenty, amidst hidden treasures of nature. What an absurdity? What a big paradox? We are mere labourers and poor cultivators of land. By our toils and sweat, we are enriching the capitalists and organised external forces. We are losing our lands, for, unfortunately, they

have hidden treasures beneath. We are being reduced to the position of landless labourers, to live in cottages which are over-crowded, dirty and ill-ventilated. During December-January last, I visited Cheria Duiya, an industrial area of my constituency. I found that cultivators of the land and the labourers are not taken care of at all. What is the real capital of an industry. Not money indeed. It is the man-power, and so the capitalists must improve their conditions immediately and bestow on them more care than they do on their treasure. The Damodar Valley Project may be a wonderful display of engineering skill; the Hirakud Dam area may be turned into the Ontario of India; Chota Nagpur may become the Switzerland of India. But, these big industries and big schemes have deprived the poor Adivasis of their land, their hearth and home. May I remind the House that the aboriginals stand or fall with their land? Once you displace them from their land, you cannot make good the loss by any amount of monetary compensation. Here, I cannot check the temptation to quote the famous lines of Oliver Goldsmith:

"Princes may flourish or may fade
A breath can make them, as a

breath has made.

But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,

Once destroyed can never be supplied."

Do not bait them to accept money, for money is volatile and trash in comparison to land. With all the emphasis at my command, I say, land for land, house for house must be given to the displaced persons wherever they may be in India. On the completion of big schemes, these poor people must not be lost sight of. Proper and careful attention must be paid to their all round progress.

I could not complete my speech. I shall sum up in a few minutes what I have to say.

Mr. Chairman: The second bell has been rung. The hon. Member has been reading from a manuscript. He has already taken 13 minutes. If he wants a few more minutes, I do not know how long he will take. I would request the hon. Member to bring his remarks to a close.

Shri Deogam: To sum up, I would request the Central Government and through it the State Governments, to give special attention to the all round development of the Scheduled Tribes, specially on the subject of education

through the mother tongue, by providing more aid, and by seeing that land does not pass from their hands and fall into the clutches of the exploiters, by fighting out corruption which is rampant in the tribal areas, by allowing them to exploit more and more the industrial and forest resources, and by appointing them to important posts.

Shri S. C. Deb (Cachar-Lushai Hills): Sir, I am very thankful to you for giving me this opportunity after eleven months.

I welcome the policy of the Government for a higher level of food production and higher production in the industrial sector, for a favourable balance of trade, for the shaping of the industrial policy and supply of finished goods to the consumers at reasonable prices, and also for the special attention to tea industries. Our financial proposals are based on planning and are for planned economy. I humbly suggest that for a planned economy to bring about a welfare State, the economic life of the whole people should be taken into consideration. And for that, large-scale industry, either in the public sector or private sector, should be co-ordinated with small-scale industries and cottage industries. I also suggest in this connection that Government should undertake a survey of cottage and small-scale industries in the whole country to see how they can be developed, so that the standard of our people in general can be raised.

Many hon. Members in this House raised the question of unemployment. I join hands with them in their feeling and expression. There are unemployed youths, landless labourers, and also industrial labourers unemployed about whom my hon. friend Shri Shastri spoke in a very able manner. I think we should have a definite plan of employment. We are giving special attention to big industries, but small-scale and cottage industries should also be co-ordinated in the economic life of our country.

Our Prime Minister, in welcoming the Plan, has suggested that the Government has made a small beginning. In this connection, I would like to suggest that it should not be a small beginning. It should be a beginning for planned economy of the whole country, taking its whole population and the unemployed into consideration. It is our primary duty to see from now onwards that our country's economy is built up on a sound basis and that the standard of life of our people is raised. For this, planned economy is necessary.

I welcome the idea of the Government to form the *Bharat Sevak*

Samaj. I like the idea very much, and I urge upon the Government to form such units in every part of the country to foster the Plan to its success.

So far as my area is concerned, I would like to say one or two words about planning. It is the Cachar District in the State of Assam. In the post-war plan, there was a proposal for developing a Barak hydro-electric project to control floods there and also for feeding the small-scale and large-scale industries in that area. Alongside of Cachar District, there is Manipur State, and its neighbouring district is Lushai Hills. And it is almost cut off by hills from the other parts of the State. A project had been planned for this area. Once in every two years or so, there is flood in this area. Last year, we had two consecutive floods. The crops were damaged. Unless a dam is constructed there and power is generated, the area cannot be made economically sound, because where the work is being concentrated, there is every chance of this flood inundation every two or three years. I asked the people who are in charge of planning there whether there was plan to absorb the refugees, their number being almost two lakhs and labour population in the project, but they could not give me any satisfactory answer. I would draw the attention of the Government to the need for developing industries so that the unemployed people there could benefit.

Now, I come to the subject of the crisis in the tea industry in our area. In this House, on several occasions, our Industries Minister has made statements regarding unemployed labour and also about saving the industry as a whole, and many hon. Members also raised this question and expressed their concern for this industry and also for labour. The labour there is drawn from different parts of India, from U.P., Bihar, Madras, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. For almost three generations they have been there, and they want to settle there. The labour that becomes surplus tries to settle there and does not want to move away from there to their place of origin. So, this crisis has created a problem there.

After nearly 11 months, I have got a chance to speak, and may I crave your indulgence for two minutes more?

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member can have two minutes more.

Shri S. C. Deb: In this connection, the hon. Minister of Commerce and Industry told us that over-production, and the consequent adoption of bulk buying and the reopening of London

[Shri S. C. Deb]

auctions have been responsible for this crisis. If only our Government had taken a longer view of the problem, this situation could not have arisen at all. While the price in the wholesale market became low, the price in the internal market remained the same. If this aspect had been considered by the Government in a concrete manner, such a crisis could not have arisen. However, I congratulate the Government for having taken a special interest in the matter, in order to save the industry. They have already given some benefit to the industry. But still my concern is that there are about 40,000 workers lying unemployed, and some of the tea gardens are closed. When the market for tea is growing up, why should these gardens be closed? The Government should take special notice of this and take suitable measures to keep the tea gardens open in this season when plucking activity is in a high pitch. I look at this problem not only from the point of view of labour, but from the point of view that the tea industry is a very essential industry for earning us foreign exchange next to the jute industry. The Tea Bill which will be coming up before the House very soon, does not give adequate protection for the industry. There are some lacunae there, and something is wanting, which makes the industry depend upon the mercy of the employers.

There is one other point which I would like to emphasize here. Our internal market in tea should be created on a sound basis. The usage of waste tea should be penalised, for, it is prevalent at present in the market, and it is detrimental to the health of the country as a whole. If all these problems can be properly gauged by the expert committee that will come into being, and a proper legislation is undertaken, I hope this industry can be saved.

12 Noon.

Shri Siddananajappa (Hassan-Chikmagalur): Sir, I thank you for the opportunity you have given me to participate in this debate. At the outset, I straightaway congratulate the Finance Minister for the marvellous way in which he has handled the finances of the country and has taken us these two years towards the fulfilment of the Five Year Plan, and we have stepped into the third year of the Plan. It is only recently that this Five Year Plan has been finalised, and the country is proud of it. But there is one difference between the Plan we have before us, and the Plans that other countries have adopted and executed, and that

is, that this is a Plan which has to be executed in a democratic country in the most democratic manner possible. That is not an easy thing. But I am sure the country is determined to make it a success, and I hope it will prove a success.

I welcome the Finance Bill, and the various proposals embodied in it. This Bill has inevitably to fit itself into the background of the Five Year Plan, and I am sure that our Plan, being piloted by so able a person as our present Finance Minister, is sure to take us to the desired end.

I particularly welcome the increase in the import duty on betel-nut—I come from a State where a large area is under betel-nut cultivation. No doubt, it means an increase in the burden on the consumer. But I am sure the consumer will bear it in the interests of the development of this indigenous industry.

In the Five Year Plan, the first priority has been given to the improvement of agriculture, and rightly so. But all the time we talk of improvement of agriculture, we neglect the interests of the person who has to produce the food requirements of the country—I am referring to the agriculturist. The majority of the population, nearly 70 per cent. of the population of the country consists of agriculturists who reside in the rural parts. It is common knowledge that the Indian agriculturist is proverbially poor. And what is it that the Government of India are doing to ameliorate his condition? We talk of making India self-sufficient in agriculture and it is this poor agriculturist whom we hold responsible for achieving that object. But have we tried to improve his condition? Whenever Government tries to make the foodgrains he produces available to the public at large, it comes forward with the control of prices. In doing so, I am sorry to say, it is only the interest of the consumer that is paid heed to, neglecting the interest of the agriculturist. We have not at present got reliable statistics relating to the actual condition—the economic condition—of the agriculturist, and also relating to the cost of production of the foodgrains. It is of paramount importance that we should try to have these statistics. Without these, it is not possible to assess what return the agriculturist should reasonably get for the produce for which he is responsible. I, therefore, urge upon the Government while determining the price of the agricultural produce to have the interest of this agriculturist foremost, and to see that he gets proper return for the foodgrains he produces.

Now I come to some problems which affect my State. There is a persistent feeling in the South that the South has been neglected in many respects, and this reminds me of the common saying that whatever is out of sight is out of mind also. Probably the distance is responsible for the comparative neglect of the South at the hands of the Central Government. As everybody is aware, the Mysore State is reputed to be a model State and it has been so for the last several years. The State is fortunate in having a succession of enlightened rulers with broad outlook and democratic traditions. The Mysore State before it was integrated with the Centre had many sources of revenue and it had embarked upon very ambitious programmes. After its financial integration with the Centre, it lost a greater portion of its revenue and now the programmes that are embarked upon and which had been executed in part are held up for want of sufficient finances.

In this connection, I would like to refer to one particular project which is included, no doubt, in the Five Year Plan, but which the local Government is finding it not possible to proceed with—the Bhadra Reservoir Project. It is a very important project for the State. It is a multi-purpose project and it is estimated to irrigate 2,24,000 acres of land and to generate 13,500 kilowatts of electrical power. This electrical power is very important from this point of view, that it is very near the well known Bhadravati Iron Works. If this electrical power is made available to those Works, the production of steel and iron can be speeded up. So, I urge upon the Government to come forward liberally to help this project to be executed and completed.

Then, there is another peculiar problem of Mysore, that is, the problem relating to certain hill tracts called *Malnad*. A few years back the Central Government recognised the importance and urgency of improving those parts and it set up a Committee. That Committee worked for sometime, and I reliably understand it submitted an interim report. But after a few months that was shelved—I do not know for what reasons. But the problem is there staring us in the face. It is a very backward area but rich in forest and mineral wealth. I request the Central Government to take up this question, pursue it, and to see that necessary arrangements are made or a scheme is evolved to improve the condition of those parts.

One minute, more, Sir. I come to the reorganisation of States. We welcome the idea of the formation of

Andhra State. That satisfies a natural and legitimate desire on the part of those people to have a State of their own, and we are glad that the Government has announced the formation of the Andhra State. But the formation of the Andhra State has encouraged the other parts of the country which are likewise agitating for the formation of their provinces, and the agitation has increased. In this connection, particularly, I would like to mention the injustice that is being done to Bellary *taluk*. According to the latest census enumeration, Bellary *taluk* has a greater number of Kannadigas and it must rightly be joined to the Mysore State along with the other six *taluks* of Bellary district and there is a strong agitation going on in that *taluk*.

Shri Velayudhan (Quilon *cum* Mavelikkara—Reserved—Sch. Castes): What is the difference between the two?

Shri Siddananjappa: I hope the Government will soon come forward with the statement joining the Bellary *taluk* with Mysore along with other six *taluks*.

Shri V. G. Deshpande (Guna): I must express my inability to join my hon. friends in congratulating our worthy Finance Minister for little concessions here and small relief there, particularly when the night-mare of deficit financing is confronting us constantly. I will draw the attention of the House to one particular clause, I mean, the amendment to section 15-B, where exemptions to the assessment are given, and our Finance Minister has amended his own amendment, where he says, 'which is not expressed to be for the benefit of any particular religious community'. I never knew that, just like his other colleagues, our Finance Minister is also obsessed with the idea of secularism. In this, our national Government, everything that pertains to a community is taboo, and, on account of this complex, I am sometimes afraid they may drop the Community Projects also and might undertake some non-communal projects. Our object in establishing a secular State was never to discourage any religious activities or religious charities. What we meant by secularism or non-communal State was that we shall not discriminate against any community. But, in this country, we are finding that in charities also our Government has got the courage to come forward and say that any charity done for any religious purpose or for a religious community may not be encouraged and it would be an offence. I was really very much shocked at this suggestion. From times immemorial we have been devoting large portions of our wealth for religious purposes. It may be said

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that we are not opposing religion but only anything done for religious communities. I feel that this is even more objectionable. Suppose, I construct a temple, say at Somnath, it will be a charity for a particular religious community. If I construct a tank or if I devote a certain sum for having *Ved paths* at certain temples or shrines, that would be discarded and that would never be included in the list of exemptions. I find that its implications are even more serious. Nowhere have they defined what is a religious community. According to me, the depressed classes are a religious community. Any Christian or Sikh can be a Harijan. A donation given to the Harijan Sewak Sangh would be excluded and would not be included in the list of exemptions. Still, if I start a school for Anglo-Indians that would be exempt because that is not a religious community but a racial community and Mr. Anthony may be perhaps pleased by this. Suppose the Princes start a school for giving special education for the sons of *ex-Rulers* and maintaining good accounts, any donation given to that school will be exempt. The mill-owners' sons, if they start a school for giving training in Managing Agency, that will also be exempt. But, if I start a school, specially for Harijans, that would not be exempt. I feel all this is being done on account of the complex regarding secularism from which our country is suffering and we find that this complex is leading to such disastrous results that unless the House rises in protest against this policy, the country would be ruined to a great extent.

Every Member is doing his duty while speaking on the Finance Bill. My hon. friend, Mr. Shastri did his duty of paying a glowing tribute to our Prime Minister for his imagination. Our Prime Minister is really a man of imagination, but sometimes his imagination runs riot. I found that yesterday, our Prime Minister while speaking on communalism, said that "the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jan Sangh and others are conducting their agitation and I know from where they get the money!" I do not know what he knows. If he has got any evidence, he should come forward. By making these suggestions and insinuations, I do not know what he means. If he says that he knows from where we are getting the money, we know where the money for the Congress comes from. I know that the Rajpramukh of Madhya Bharat, the Maharaja of Indore donated Rs. 10,000 for the holding of the All India Congress Committee session at Indore. The Maharaja himself admitted it to me. If we

go on with this controversy regarding the sources of money, I think it will have no end.

I really admit it and I really plead guilty to the charge of communalism. But our friends and our opponents, in saying that they are above communalism and nationalism, they have left even humanity and the human touch. This morning we had asked certain questions about the treatment to the prisoners. I found those answers given which we could contradict with the greatest authority. I asked a question whether trials are held in jails and police stations. The answer was, 'No complaints were being received'. I could not understand that. He should have said that the trials are held in open courts. Now, I do challenge any hon. Minister who says that the trials are not being held either in police stations or in jails. Very respectable persons are handcuffed. Persons, after they are arrested, are beaten and man-handled. Complaints in writing have been made and with all this the mighty show of great strength and the mighty power of the Congress Government is being displayed in this capital city of Delhi.....

Shri S. V. Ramaswamy (Salem): On a point of order, Sir, is all this relevant to the Finance Bill?

Shri V. G. Deshpande: when Members of Parliament are not being allowed to visit Jammu and Kashmir under the pretext that it will affect the security of Jammu and Kashmir. I want to ask what is the law and order situation in the country. I represent Madhya Bharat. The other day I received an urgent wire from my constituency. I visited that place. Reports have come and I have seen with my own eyes that the dacoits' menace has increased very much in Madhya Bharat, that the dacoits had the courage to attack a police station at a *tahsil* headquarters in open day and after looting the armoury, they took away six rifles and a large quantity of ammunition after having shot down two police constables. The atrocities have not ended there. The other day we were receiving reports that two miles from Gwallior, near Moti Jhara, there was a big case of dacoity. Not only that. From Morena also six rifles were stolen. I went to my constituency because I received a complaint that in the distant part of the border of Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat in the village of Lapchora near Bamori, one man was burnt at 20 places, property worth 32,000 rupees in Victorian coins and 10,000 rupees in currency notes and 80 tolas

of gold were stolen and the man from whom this property was stolen went to the Superintendent of Police and other officials and complained to them, that these dacoits were not big men like Man Singh or Amrit Lal. They say that these big persons do not attack small people. They said that the Police Inspector of thana Bamori was himself involved in that dacoity and was present there. The man who made this complaint came to Delhi and had a seat in the gallery. I took him to Dr. Katju, our Home Minister and this matter was brought to his notice not only by me but by other Congress Members also. I have to point out that I made a representation to the Home Minister of Madhya Bharat and you may be surprised to hear that he has given the names of eleven persons whom he identified but not one of them has been arrested as yet. This is the law and order situation in this country and we are being told that we are in this wonderful *Raj* where a man, because he utters a slogan, because he is suspect of being a communalist, is given the harshest treatment and an inhuman treatment. You are neither communal, nor national, nor even human. This is the position of law and order. While lawlessness prevails, you have not got the resources to arrest even one man. That is the position we are finding ourselves in.

Sir, you yourself congratulated the Congress Government for its progressive policy in regard to protection of cattle wealth. I do not know what guarantee our Constitution has given, but only two days ago the ex-Congress President, Babu Purshottamdas Tandon, accused the Congress of not fulfilling its pledges solemnly given to the country that cow-slaughter will be stopped completely. No legislation has been brought forward, and the argument is put forward that unless you give more attention to the breeding and maintenance of the cow, what is the use of stopping cow slaughter? This argument is fallacious. Supposing there is no food and our Government is unable to supply food—and this has happened in Shivpuri where although there is plenty of wheat crop, no wheat is available in the open market, because the contract has been given to one Congressman for supplying wheat—supposing you cannot feed the people, would you allow murders? Would you remove section 302 from the Indian Penal Code because people are not properly fed? In the same way, if you cannot feed the cow and cannot improve its breed, should you allow cow slaughter to go on? I want to ask a straight question. Is Government not maintaining slaughter houses where cows are slaughtered? Have you stop-

ped the slaughter houses owned by Corporations. Beef is being sold in the city of Delhi. You may condemn me as a communal man. To be religious is a crime in this country. My point is that our Government has miserably failed in fulfilling its promises. As such, I am not in a mood to congratulate the Finance Minister for the wonderful prosperity he has brought to this country.

Dr. M. M. Das (Burdwan—Reserved—Sch. Castes): One of the previous speakers, Mr. Chettiar, suggested that a labour tax should be imposed. I am sorry I cannot even entertain the idea of such a tax. It is nothing new. In U.P., East Punjab and Madras, you find that a labour tax has been imposed on scheduled caste workers engaged in digging canals etc. The way in which legislation for the levy of labour tax is implemented speaks glaringly of the oppressions and exploitations to which, under its garb, the poor and helpless scheduled castes and tribes are subjected. If my hon. friend goes through the Scheduled Castes Commissioner's Report, he will find many examples which will prove how such laws have been implemented. This is the reason why the very idea of a labour tax is repugnant to me.

Now, I would like once again to place before the House the desirability of revising our present jute policy. My province, West Bengal, is vitally interested in the jute trade. The economy of my State is intimately connected with the jute industry. Whenever something goes wrong with this industry, we feel perturbed. The present condition of the jute industry is as follows.

Firstly, the price of raw jute continues to remain below the production cost.

Secondly, Government refuses to accept any proposal for the fixation of minimum price of jute. The recommendation of the Agriculture Ministry to this effect has been turned down by the Commerce and Industry Ministry.

Thirdly, the removal of ban upon export of jute has not been effected and in Government's own words it is considered "unthinkable".

Fourthly, Indian jute mills are purchasing Pakistan jute in preference to Indian jute because of the superior quality of Pakistan jute and for some other unknown reasons.

Fifthly, the jute mills propose to reduce their production by the ceiling of a further percentage of jute looms.

[Dr. M. M. Das]

Sixthly, both the West Bengal and the Central Government have emphatically turned down this proposal of the jute mills.

Seventhly, the proposal of the Commerce and Industry Ministry to set up a Committee which will investigate into all the different facets of the jute industry has not materialised.

Eighthly, an Expert Committee has been set up by the Central Government to suggest measures to improve the quality of jute grown in India.

The most important consideration before our Government is how to give relief to the growers of raw jute and here suggestions have come from many quarters. I claim no originality for my suggestion, but it is that Government should remove the ban on raw jute and at the same time keep a keen watch on subsequent developments. Whenever the necessity arises, they can reimpose the ban.

Secondly, I suggest the setting up of a Board in consultation with the Indian Jute Mills Association. This Board should ensure the absorption of Indian grown jute and it should also distribute Pakistani jute imported into this country.

Thirdly, a publicity campaign should be arranged in all the consumer countries on similar lines to what we have done in the case of Indian tea, in conjunction with the dealers of Indian jute goods in those consumer countries. Such a campaign should be financed both by the Central Government and by the Jute Mills Association.

Lastly, the proposed Enquiry Committee to investigate into the different facets of the jute industry should be set up immediately. Further delay is dangerous. No national Government worth the name can sit tight and be a silent spectator when a substantial portion of the agricultural community is facing ruin and disaster, as the jute growers are doing today.

Now, I come to the proposed changes in some of the postal rates. Frankly speaking, I do not like the changes proposed in the Finance Bill, but considering the difficulties of our Finance Minister in balancing his Budget and considering the huge losses suffered by the Postal Department in postcards, registered letters and letters, we have no other alternative but to support the enhancement of the rates. Before I do so, I would like to point out the

partiality shown to the newspapers. The same old rate of three pies per ten tolas for the newspaper is continuing since 1937. Meantime, postal rates on letters have doubled; from one anna, the cost has gone up to two annas. Post cards have increased one and a half times, i.e. from six pies to nine pies. Even the prices of newspapers have increased. English dailies which were being sold at one anna now cost two and a half annas. I know that probably I am disturbing the hornets' nest by my suggestion. Also, I know that this matter has not escaped the discerning eye of our Finance Minister. But regarding this particular matter about rates of newspapers our Finance Minister has been guided more by prudence than by a sense of justice. I appreciate the great necessity for a democratic Government and for a democratic party to please and satisfy the Press of the land. But will it be too much for us to expect that the Press of our land should also be reasonable?

Regarding income-tax I beg to say that many welcome changes have been proposed in the Finance Bill and in the Income-Tax (Amendment) Bill that is pending before the House. But I must admit that I am greatly disappointed not to find either in the Finance Bill or in the Income-tax (Amendment) Bill that is pending before the House some amendment which will permit the disclosure of names of the tax-evaders. The House will remember that the Income-tax Investigation Commission recommended the disclosure of the names of the tax-dodgers in their report, probably of the year 1949.

Now, I come to a strongly felt grievance of some of the people of this country and the great injustice that has been done to them by the action of our Defence Department. My hon. friend the Deputy Defence Minister is sitting in front of me and I would invite his attention to the following points. The House knows that during the last war huge areas of land, sometimes comprising a large number of villages were requisitioned and taken possession of by the then Defence Department. In a large number of such cases, about nine to ten years have passed and yet no compensation has been paid to the unfortunate owners of these lands. I can speak with authority about a number of such cases of my own province of West Bengal. You can easily imagine the condition of these unfortunate people whose

lands and houses were requisitioned and taken possession of by Government ten years ago. They are now a floating population—well-to-do cultivators have been turned into landless labourers. Personally I know a large number of such people within my constituency and outside my constituency also. They have become bitter by the sufferings and poverty that have been imposed upon them by the action of our Government. These people, most of them illiterate, do not understand the intricacies of the files of our Government officials in offices. The only thing they know is that Government has taken from them their houses and their lands and they are not being paid for them during the last ten years. Some amount of compensation for their property has been given to them, but that is very meagre and not at all sufficient.

Now, I come to another important matter which concerns my own State of West Bengal. This is the inclusion of the Ganga Barrage Scheme in our First Five Year Plan. The rivers of Bengal have been a matter of great concern to the West Bengal Government for the last few years. A great deal of silting up of the river-beds of these rivers has been responsible for the woes and sufferings of these parts of our State. They have been mainly responsible for lack of irrigation, for malaria, chronic ill-health and also for decline in food production and consequent poverty of the people. Considering all these different questions the West Bengal Government asked the Central Government to investigate into the construction of a barrage over the Ganges which will supply sufficient amount of rain-water both to the river Hooghly and the other system of rivers. After four years of hard labour, the Central Water and Power Commission gave the opinion that this project of Ganga Barrage is both financially sound and technically feasible. The people of West Bengal entertained high hopes in their minds of this project of Ganga Barrage being included in the First Five Year Plan. But to our utter disappointment, we find that this project has not been included in the First Five Year Plan. Our earnest appeal to the hon. Minister of Finance and to our Government is that this very important project which will save West Bengal or at least part of it from ruin and destruction should be included in the First Five Year Plan.

श्री ए० एन० विद्यालंकार (जालन्धर) :
उपस्मापति जी, किसी देश के बजट या

किसी देश के फाइनेन्स के लिए यह जरूरी है कि हम देखें कि देश के धन का विभाजन किस आर्थिक नीति के अन्दर कैसे हो रहा है।

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

हमारे देश के लिए इस वक्त यह जरूरी है कि हमारी फाइनेन्स की पालिसी इस तरह की हो कि पहले तो हमारे देश के धन का नये प्रोडक्शन के लिये, ज्यादा पैदावार के लिए, इस्तेमाल हो सके। दूसरी बात यह कि उस धन का विभाजन ठीक हो। अगर हमारे देश के अन्दर धन ज्यादा उत्पन्न होगा तभी हम उसका ठीक विभाजन भी कर सकेंगे। अभी मुझ से पहले डा० मेघनाद साहा साहब ने इस बात पर विचार किया था कि हमारे देश के अन्दर कितना सरमाया उत्पन्न हो रहा है और कहां तक हमारे देश की फाइनेन्स की पालिसी इस बात में मदद देती है कि हमारे देश के अन्दर सरमाया ज्यादा पैदा हो। फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब ने पिछली मर्तबा अपने भाषण के अन्दर एक संस्कृत का श्लोक पढ़ा था जिसमें उन्होंने कहा था : "पुष्पं पुष्पं विचिन्वीत" यानी फूल फूल को ही चुनना चाहिये, लेकिन "मूलच्छेदं न कारयेत्" ऐसा न हो कि पौधा जड़ से उखड़ जाये। यह तो ठीक है कि पौधा जड़ से न उखड़ना चाहिये, लेकिन अगर आप दरख्त के सब फूलों को तोड़ ले जायें तो उस में फल न लगेंगे। इसलिये आपको कुछ फूल भी छोड़ने होंगे। ऐसा न हो कि आप सारे फूल चुन लें और फल के लिए बिल्कुल न छोड़ें। अगर आप इस तरह से विचार करें तो हमारा जो भी बजट है उस में नेशनल इन्कम अर्थात् देश की राष्ट्रीय आमदनी का बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा गवर्नमेन्ट के पास चला जाता है और वह सब हिस्सा अगर 'फर्दर प्रोडक्शन' के लिए, और अधिक पैदावार बढ़ाने के काम में आता है, "प्रोडक्टिव" कामों में खर्च होता है, तो हम उसका स्वागत करेंगे। हम कहेंगे कि यह धन ठीक से खर्च

[श्री ए० एन० विद्यालंकार]

हुआ। हमारे देश में गरीबी बहुत है, लोगों की जरूरतें पूरी नहीं होतीं, देश की राष्ट्रीय आय का बहुत-सा हिस्सा "कंजम्पशन" में जाता है, लेकिन जो धन बाकी बचता है जिस को सरमाये के रूप में बदलना चाहिये था, और उस का फर्दर डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन होना चाहिये था, वह धन फर्दर प्रोडक्शन के लिये नहीं बचता, बल्कि सरकार के पास आता है और अगर सरकार के बजट को आप देखें, तो हमारे बजट का बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा, हमारी सरकार की आमदनी का कोई चालीस या पैंतालीस प्रतिशत हिस्सा, सरकारी नौकरों और अफसरों की तन्व्वाहों में खर्च हो जाता है।

जहां में यह कहता हूं वहां मुझे इस बात की शिकायत है कि सरकार के जो अदना मुलाजिम हैं उनके पास काफी रुपया नहीं जाता। उनको गुजारे के लिए काफी नहीं मिलता। लेकिन मेरा एक यह जनरल एतराज है कि जो भी गवर्नमेन्ट के खर्च हैं वह इतने ज्यादा हैं और हमारी मैशिनरी इतनी खर्चीली है कि देश का ज्यादातर रुपया कंजम्पशन में खर्च हो जाता है और बहुत सारे रुपये का "कैपिटल फारमेशन" नहीं हो पाता। हमारी पालिसी का पहला उद्देश्य यह होना चाहिए कि जितना रुपया हम इकट्ठा करें उसका बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा प्रोडक्टिव कामों में लगना चाहिए और इस धक्त जिस तरह से गवर्नमेन्ट का धन खर्च हो रहा है उस तरह से नहीं होना चाहिए। इस वक्त अनेक महकमे लगातार बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं। एक रिवाज-सा बन गया है कि जब एक महकमा बनता है तो उसके लिए बहुत से अफसर और क्लर्क रखे जाते हैं और वह एक सम्बा चौड़ा महकमा बन जाता है जिस पर काफी रुपया खर्च होता है और जब आम लोग यह देखते हैं तो वह हैरान होते हैं कि किस तरह

से हमारा रुपया दूसरी तरफ जाता है। आप कह सकते हैं कि एक तरफ तो हम कहते हैं कि अदना मुलाजिमों को ज्यादा रुपया मिलना चाहिए क्योंकि उनका गुजारा नहीं चलता और दूसरी तरफ हम कहते हैं कि खर्च कम होना चाहिए। मेरा अभिप्राय है, कि अगर अदना मुलाजिम को यह यकीन हो जाये कि जो ऊपर के आदमी हैं मिनिस्टर्स से लेकर तमाम अफसरों तक, वह बहुत कम में गुजारा करते हैं और वह "आस्टेंडिटी" के उसूल पर चलते हैं और देश के धन को कम से कम निजी इस्तमाल में लाते हैं तो वह अदना मुलाजिम भी कम लेन को तैयार हो सकते हैं। अभी तो छोटे मुलाजिमों को यह शिकायत है कि जब वह दो चार पांच रुपये की वेतन वृद्धि चाहते हैं तो उनसे कह दिया जाता है कि रुपये की कमी है। लेकिन जब वह देखता है कि बड़ी बड़ी तन्व्वाहें मिल रही हैं, दो दो तीन तीन हजार रुपया लोगों को मिल रहा है, बड़ी बड़ी कोठियों में बड़े बड़े अफसरान खस की टिट्टियों में रह रहे हैं और आसानी से जिन्दगी बसर कर रहे हैं तो उन लोगों के दिलों में भी बजा तौर पर यह शिकायत पैदा होती है कि जब ये लोग काफी आराम के साथ जिन्दगी बसर कर रहे हैं तो हमें भी क्यों न इतना आराम मिले। इसलिये उनकी मांग बढ़ती ही जाती है और उसको आप "सैटिसफाई" नहीं कर सकते। वह लोग जो कि देश के नेता हैं और देश को आगे बढ़ाने वाले हैं उनको सबसे कम फायदा उठाना चाहिये और सब से ज्यादा त्याग करना चाहिये। और हम अपना "स्टैंडर्ड आफ लिविंग" बढ़ाते हैं और जनता का "स्टैंडर्ड आफ लिविंग" नहीं बढ़ा सकते हैं तो हमको कोई हक ऐसा करने का नहीं है। इसलिये मैं समझता हूं कि हमारी यह "फाइनेन्शियल पालिसी" होनी

चाहिये कि आम तौर पर हम तनख्वाहें कम करें और थोड़े में गुजारा करें, ज्यादा मेहनत करें और ज्यादा काम करें। अगर हम उम्मीद करते हैं कि आज हमारे मजदूर कम वेतन ले कर ज्यादा से ज्यादा समय देकर मेहनत से काम करें, जैसा कि दूसरे देशों में होता है, जिसकी मिसाल हमारे माननीय सदस्य मेघनाथ साहा ने दी, तो वह तभी हो सकता है जब कि हमारे मजदूर को यकीन हो जाय कि सभी लोग, अर्थात् ऊपर के अफसर और देश के नेतागण वंसा करनेको तैयार हैं। रूस में लोगों से अपील की गई कि ज्यादा काम करो और इस तरह से वहां मूवमेंट चलाया गया। हमारे देश का काम करने वाला भी काफी काम करता है लेकिन उस के दिल में उत्साह नहीं है। जब वह दो चार रुपये की तरक्की के लिये मांग करता है तो उसे जवाब मिल जाता है, लेकिन दूसरी तरफ दूसरे बड़े बड़े अफसर काफी काफी तनख्वाह ले रहे हैं, तो उसके दिमाग में यह बात नहीं आती है कि यह कैसा "लाजिक" है। जब तक हम इस "लाजिक" को ठीक नहीं करेंगे तब तक हमारे देश का बहुत ज़रूरी काम रुक जाएगा और ज्यादातर रुपया "कंजमेशन" में चला जायगा, और बहुत कम "कैपिटल फारमेशन" होगा। अगर मेरे अंक गलत हों तो फ्राइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब मुझे "करेक्ट" कर दें, लेकिन मेरा यह अन्दाजा है कि हमारी गवर्नमेंट के सालाना तनख्वाहों में हमारी नेशनल इनकम का ९ परसेंट रुपया चला जाता है।

दूसरी बात जो मैं अज़ब करना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि हमारे कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट्स हैं और जिन्हें इस वक्त एक तरह से हम अपनी पंचसाला योजना की मिसाल के तौर पर रख रहे हैं, उसके सम्बन्ध में मेरा निवेदन यह है कि जहां तक जनता का ताल्लुक

है उसके अन्दर काफी उत्साह है और वह काफी उत्साह के साथ काम कर रही है और काफी सहयोग देने को तैयार है। लेकिन जिस तरह से हमने आफिसर्स रखे हैं और जिस तरह से हमने उनकी लम्बी चौड़ी तनख्वाहें रखी हैं उससे लोगों में असंतोष है। मुझे देहातों के अन्दर जाने का मौका होता है। लोग कहते हैं कि हम से तो फ्री काम करने को कहा जाता है लेकिन आपने इतनी बड़ी बड़ी तनख्वाहें देकर लोगों को रखा है। ये दोनों चीजें साथ नहीं बैठती हैं। अगर हमको अपनी पंचसाला प्लान को पूरा करना है तो हम को उसके लिए एक 'स्पिरिट' पैदा करनी चाहिए। उसके लिए जो "साइकोलोजी" हम पैदा करेंगे उसी पर बहुत कुछ निर्भर होगा। अगर वह साइकोलोजी पैदा न हुई तो और बाकी तमाम बातें रह जायेंगी।

एक और बात मुझे कहनी है वह पाकिस्तान की जो सिक्कोरिटीज हमारे यहां हैं उनके बारे में है। मैंने फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब से इस सम्बन्ध में निवेदन किया था और मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि उन्होंने काफी बातों का बहुत संतोषजनक जवाब दिया। मुझे अब जो कहना है वह सिर्फ यह है कि वह एक बात को भी स्थान में रखें कि हमारे जो भाई पाकिस्तान से आये हैं उनमें से कुछ के पास ऐसी सिक्कोरिटीज थीं और कुछ ने ऐसी सिक्कोरिटीज को खरीदा था। उन सब को इस बात का इत्मीनान होना चाहिए कि अगर वह उनको बेचना या हिन्दुस्तानी सिक्कोरिटीज के साथ बदलना चाहें तो वैसा कर सकते हैं। उनको इस बात की फ़िक्र नहीं होनी चाहिए कि वह १७ सितम्बर १९४९ की तारीख से पहले वाली सिक्कोरिटीज तो बेची या बदली जा सकें लेकिन उसके बाद की नहीं। खुद तो बहुत कम लोग इन सिक्कोरिटीज को ऐक्सचेंज कर पाते हैं ज्यादातर दलालों

[श्री ए० एन० विद्यालंकार]

के जरिये करते हैं। इस वजह से अगर कोई आज ट्रांसफर करेगा किसी दलाल को तो वह १७ सितम्बर १९४९ तारीख के बाद की 'ट्रांसफर' गिनी जायगी। इसलिए उनको यह सुविधा भी देनी चाहिए कि वे १७ सितम्बर के बाद हासल की हुई सिम्पोरिटीज का भी तबादला कर सकें। अगर ऐसा नहीं होगा तो बहुत ज्यादा केषेज में ट्रांसफर नहीं हो सकेगा जिस की कि आप उनको सुविधा देना चाहते हैं। इसलिए मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि आप इस सम्बन्ध में विचार करें और इस बात की पूरी सुविधा दें कि जहाँ भी ऐसी सिम्पोरिटीज हों उनके डिस्पोजल पर पाबन्दी नहीं होनी चाहिए। हाँ अगर कोई इनको नाजायज तरीके से हासिल करता है तो आप उस पर विचार करें, उसकी जांच करें और जो कोई ऐसा काम करे उसे सजा दें लेकिन इनके ऐक्सचेंज में किसी तरह की एकावट न डालें।

अगली चीज जो मुझे कहनी है वह गवर्नमेंट के मुलाजिमों के रिट्रैचमेंट के मुतालिक कहनी है। मेरी इत्तला है कि बहुत से डिपार्टमेंट्स में और खास तौर से डिफेंस डिपार्टमेंट में बहुत से मुलाजिमों को जवाब दिया जा रहा है। आज देश के अन्दर इंडस्ट्रियल हालत यह है कि बेकारी फैली हुई है और ऐसी हालत में जब आप लोगों को जवाब देते हैं तो देश के अन्दर और भी दिक्कत पैदा हो जाती है। जो लोग काफी असें से गवर्नमेंट के यहाँ काम करते रहे हैं जब उनको जवाब दिया जाता है तो उनको बड़ी दिक्कत हो जाती है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इस विषय पर विचार करें। आज कल बहुत से नये नये डिपार्टमेंट्स खोले जा रहे हैं और हमारी कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट्स शुरू की जा रही हैं जहाँ पर वह आदमी काम कर सकते हैं। क्या वजह है कि हम

अपने पुराने आदमियों को निकालते जायें और जो नये आदमी हैं उनको भरती करते जायें। आज हो यह रहा है कि हम पुराने आदमियों को निकालते जाते हैं लेकिन दूसरे नये डिपार्टमेंट्स में नये आदमी भरती करते जाते हैं। इसके अन्दर प्लानिंग होना चाहिए। हमको तमाम मैन-पावर का प्लानिंग करना चाहिए और देश के अन्दर जितनी भी मैन-पावर है उसको हमें पूरे तौर से इस्तेमाल करना चाहिए। उसमें से जरा भी शक्ति का अपव्यय नहीं करना चाहिए। गवर्नमेंट को यह प्लानिंग न सिर्फ अपने यहाँ करना चाहिए बल्कि प्राइवेट इंडस्ट्रीज में भी करना चाहिए। जो मुलाजिम हैं उनका प्लानिंग हो और जिस वक्त नये डिपार्टमेंट्स खुलें तो उनमें पहले उन आदमियों को ऐबजाब किया जाय जिनको जवाब दिया जा चुका है उसके बाद फिर नये आदमियों को भरती किया जाय। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर बाकायदा प्लानिंग करेंगे तो हमारा काम भी ठीक हो सकेगा और लोगों को भी हम राहत पहुंचा सकेंगे।

अगली चीज जो मुझे अर्ज करनी है वह यह है कि जो हमारे रिसेसिज हैं उनका हमको प्लानिंग करना चाहिए। हमारे यहाँ काफी 'वेस्ट' होता है। हम यह नहीं कह सकते कि हमारी कितनी दौलत है और देहातों के अन्दर, शहरों के अन्दर और दूसरी जगह हमारी कितनी दौलत वेस्ट जाती है और हमें बाहर से कितना मंगाना पड़ता है। उसके लिए हमारे पास स्टेटिस्टिक्स होने चाहिए। हम एक गरीब मुक्त के रहने वाले हैं और हमारे रिसेसिज कम हैं। हमारी मैन-पावर बहुत ज्यादा है लेकिन रिसेसिज बहुत कम हैं। तो हमें अपने तमाम रिसेसिज को

देखना है। हमारा काफी अनाज भाज भी, जब कि हम बाहर से अनाज मंगगते हैं, वेस्ट जाता है। लेकिन हमने जनता के अन्दर कोई ऐसी साइकोलोजी पैदा नहीं की कि हम एक एक दाना बचायें, जैसे कि वह देश करते हैं जहां कि कमी है। इस बात की हम ने साइकोलोजी पैदा नहीं की कि हम हर चीज को कम से कम इस्तेमाल करें और बचा कर ज्यादा से ज्यादा रुपया प्रोडक्शन के लिये लगावें। तो हमारे जो रिसोर्सेज हैं, उन को ठीक तरह से भोबिलाइज करने के लिये और उन की रक्षा करने के लिये आवश्यक है कि हम को पता हो, हम को अन्दाजा हो कि हमारे क्या क्या रिसोर्सेज हैं, क्या क्या हमारे पास रा मैटीरियल्स हैं। कई चीजें ऐसी हैं कि जो वेस्ट जाती हैं और आम तौर पर लोगों को उनका पता नहीं है। हम देहातों में जाते हैं और और जगहों पर जाते हैं, लेकिन लोगों को बतला नहीं सकते कि क्या क्या दौलत है जो वहां बहुत अच्छी तरह से काम में आ सकती है। वह दस्तकारी के कामों में और दूसरी चीजों के इस्तेमाल में आ सकती है। हमारी प्लानिंग तो है, लेकिन अभी तक हमारे प्लानिंग के बीच में बहुत सारे गैप्स हैं। उन गैप्स को हमें पूरा करना है।

आखिर में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि दरअसल हमें दो चीजों का ख्याल रखना चाहिये। हम प्रोप्रैस कर रहे हैं। बहुत से मैक्टर्स ऐसे हैं कि जहां हम प्रोप्रैस कर रहे हैं। लेकिन सोसाइटी की प्रोप्रैस इकट्ठी होती है। ऐसा नहीं हो सकता कि साइकल का एक हिस्सा भागे बड़ जाय और दूसरा हिस्सा पीछे रह जाय। इसी तरह ऐसा नहीं हो सकता कि सोसाइटी एक क्षेत्र में भागे बड़े और दूसरे क्षेत्रों में सोसाइटी पिछड़ी

रहे। बहुत सारे क्षेत्र ऐसे हैं कि जिन में हम प्रोप्रैस कर रहे हैं। हमारी मौजूदा प्लानिंग के अनुसार और जिस स्मिफिट से गवर्नमेंट चलना चाहती है उस से बहुत सारे सैक्टर्स में हम काफी तेजी से आगे बढ़ रहे हैं और आगे बढ़ने की उम्मीद है। लेकिन साथ ही बहुत से क्षेत्र ऐसे भी हैं कि जिन में हम स्टैटिक हैं, स्टैटिक ही नहीं, बल्कि हम काफी कंजर्वेटिव हैं। आज सुबह श्री हरिहर नाथ शास्त्री जी ने मजदूरों का जिक्र किया। मजदूरों के बारे में और किसानों के सम्बन्ध में जो पालिसी है, अपने रुपये के इस्तेमाल के सम्बन्ध में जो पालिसी है, गवर्नमेंट सर्वेन्ट्स के ट्रीटमेंट के बारे में जो पालिसी है, ऐसी चीजों के मुताल्लिक हम बहुत स्टैटिक हैं और बहुत कम प्रोप्रैसिव हैं।

मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर तमाम क्षेत्रों में हम आगे नहीं बढ़ेंगे तो जिन क्षेत्रों में आगे नहीं बढ़ेंगे, जहां पर स्टैटिक रहेंगे, वहां सोसाइटी का ढांचा हमारे लिये रुकावट बन जायगी 'ब्रेक' बनकर हमारी उन्नति को रोक लेगा। इसलिये हम कोशिश करें कि तमाम क्षेत्रों में आगे बढ़ें और जिन में आज तरक्की नहीं कर रहे हैं उन में भी आगे बढ़ने के लिये और प्रोप्रैसिव पालिसीज को अपनाने की कोशिश करें।

Shri Vallatharas (Pudukkottai): So far as this occasion is concerned, I should like to confine myself to a particular topic which is very relevant as regards Food and Agriculture and the general stability of the Government of Madras State. Quite recently, on the 20th March 1953, the hon. the Chief Minister of Madras State made a statement in the Legislative Assembly there. He referred to the conditions of famine and scarcity in that State and made certain statements I am giving an actual version of the relevant sentences which he had spoken:

"Large tracts in the Madras State are now affected seriously

[Shri Vallatharas]

by continuous drought and famine. All sections of the society are affected by this condition. The problem has assumed such a dimension that the Madras State at this juncture cannot cope with it."

And he further went on to say that "he, single-handed cannot convince the Central Government of the necessity for immediate help to the Madras State". He spoke some other sentences, and one serious sentence is this, that "National Plan has absolutely failed so far as the State was concerned because the resources side was dry".

I would submit to this House that these sentences are very grave. It is nearly twenty days since these sentences had come in the papers and gained publicity throughout the country. I am at a loss to understand as to what the Central Government's view about it is and as to what notice they have been pleased to take of it.

1 P.M.

Coming to my subject, my constituency consists of nearly ten lakhs of people. It is what is called the Pudukkottai constituency. In this country, not one single man can die of starvation or famine. That is a principle. Whether they die or not is a different question altogether. For the last five years, a grave situation had arisen; it had gradually developed; it was allowed to grow; it assumed serious proportions in the last two years; and a critical situation has arisen now. If the present crisis is not averted, then, you will have a repetition of the Bengal famine of 1943 in the southern part of the Madras State. I am not

referring to the Rayalaseema about which we have heard too much. I will confine myself to my parts of the territory. The thirteen districts of Tamilnad, constituting nearly a half of the Madras State with a population of nearly two and a half crores, are now in the grip of death. I am not exaggerating things. I only request you to refer to the words of the Chief Minister. He is a very experienced and mature politician. He need not have chosen this opportunity to cry aloud without reservation that the Madras State Government is not in a position to cope up with the present situation, that large tracts of areas are affected, and that all sections of people are affected. There is not so much the question of scarcity of food. Food is there in some quantity and

can be rushed to places of scarcity. But, there is no purchasing capacity with the people. Who is to give that purchasing capacity? I would like to give a historical version of the last three years, during which the President of the Indian Union, the Governor of Madras and some important people have given out their views. I wish to state in mild language because I want a considerable awakening in the hearts of the Finance Minister, the Minister of Food and Agriculture and the Minister of Planning. When I want a favourable consideration, I cannot afford to be harsh. Harsh words can be indulged in; but this is not the time because I want their sympathetic consideration. They must rush to the rescue of that State or they must say openly in this House that the cry of the Chief Minister has no foundation at all and that the attitude of the State Government is unwarranted.

Now, the position is this. I am conversant with the state of things in about seven districts of Tamilnad—Tinnevely, Madurai, Ramnad, Trichinopoly, South Arcot, North Arcot, Salem and Coimbatore. Leaving aside the other six districts about which I have no personal knowledge, in all these seven districts, a major portion is affected with famine. Two or three leading Congress members, with whom I had been working and whom I had considered as leaders when I was a Congressman, had admitted that there were starvation deaths and I expected that they will give expression to this in this House openly. But, they did not come forward; I am not dragging in their names. Let us hold that there is no death. But, why has that situation been allowed to be developed? Importance of the agricultural masses of our country, importance of the food question, importance of the economic stability of the rural population are all fundamental factors which go to the successful working of the Plan. The Finance Minister is definite in his position—let that be criticised or not, that is a different matter—that the national progress lies in the fulfilment of the Plan, and that on the Plan the future of the country depends. Let us take that and start from that point. What does the Plan say? The Plan says that its chief objective is the raising of the standard of living and for that there must be larger production and removal of inequalities. I do not speak about the removal of inequalities now. About larger production, the position is this. About 75 million tons of foodgrains

must be grown in this country so that this country may be self-sufficient. After 20 or 25 years, whatever may take place, we do not take cognisance. At present, are we able to suggest a policy for immediate adoption by which the grave conditions in Tamilnad can be prevented? These conditions existed in Saurashtra, in Maharashtra, in Mysore, in Kerala and many other areas. I have been reading in the papers of the various activities. But, unfortunately, in Tamilnad, the situation has been allowed to grow and the situation is such that the Madras Government is incapable of facing it. I shall refer only to a few passages, in which the greatest officers and national representatives who are responsible for the welfare of the country have given expression to their views.

I start from the year 1951. Dr. Shetty, who was then the care-taker Finance Minister of Madras, just before the elections, in presenting the Budget for 1952-53 said, that in Tamilnad for the last five years there has been a continuous drought and scarcity and to prevent mortality, Government were forced to open gruel centres. This was the serious position. Then, there is an important expression by the Governor of Madras. He said that nature had denied rain to this part of the country. He said, it is true that the Madras State had been suffering from drought for the last so many years, but the most important and critical factor is the absence of water for irrigation and domestic purposes. I then take the House to the recent instance in which the most influential Members of the Tamilnad Congress party had submitted a memorandum to the Government wherein they said that the Government had under-estimated the existing state of things and that they had not come forward to rush any help. Then, the President, who had gone on a tour to the south up to Rameswaram, on his return journey, said in Madras as follows. Of course, he is a highly cultured gentleman and we cannot expect harsh words from him. But, the very little he says is worse enough and we will have to multiply the seriousness several times. He said that the Madras State had been really affected as also other parts of India; but the condition in some parts of this country had grown better and it was good that Government's attention which would have been diverted to other parts of the country, would now be concentrated upon the Madras State. In that way, he gave consolation to the people.

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Above all these things, our Finance Minister characteristically stated in the beginning of March last, that it is a great humiliation for this country wherein people are intelligent and hardworking, that we are deficit in foodgrains. I really take it that he has made this statement knowing how this humiliation had happened. Why are several lakhs of acres of cultivated land lying waste for the last five years in the six or seven districts which I have mentioned? Why have several lakhs of agriculturists been thrown out of employment? Two factors stand out just like the Himalayas to anybody's eyes. There is no gainsaying this statement. The facts are there. If the Government want the confidence of the villagers to be created, certainly, they must take this as a serious statement. Now, who is responsible for this humiliation? The question is this. It is not a question of the absence of foodgrains. It is the absence of purchasing capacity in the people. There is no water to drink; the foodgrains are somewhere; people have no purchasing power. In this way, the last five or six years have been going on and the present year is also passing. In April, 1952, one Mr. Ghosh, a leading authority on Economics, had warned the Madras Government that the famine conditions in the Madras State were like those in 1870 when the Madras State had a serious experience; and that if they were not able to prevent the famine or scarcity, at least they must see that an aggravation of the situation was prevented. What have the Madras Government done so far from April, 1952 up to this day? What has the Central Government done during the last year, 1952-53? Even after the President had made the utterance, quite recently, what has the Central Government done?

There is no use of mincing the facts. They must change the agricultural policy. There is a fundamental mistake. About the *bona fides*, I am not attributing motives. You turn to page eleven of the *Bharat Sevak Samaj* publication of the Planning Commission. You have got scriptural words, unconsciously embodied therein, without their knowing that they will be quoted against them. What you say are all national spices; but what we find are administrative vices. What you say is very good; but what you do is very bad. You say, I have given loans. I have given advances for fertilisers, for seeds, for ploughing, for cattle, etc. But, what is the use? What happened was this. The agriculturist also put in what he had and

[Shri Vallatharas]

added it to the pittance that he got by way of loan from you, duly conceding whatever was necessary for lubricating the corrupt machinery which grants the loans. He put everything in the land. At the sight of a shower, he put in the seeds. After one or two months, with rain falling, with water in the well drying, with tears shrouding his eyes, the whole cultivation withered and died. This is the case for the last five years. The Government of Madras and the Central Government have absolutely failed to see the growing menace in these seven or eight districts and in many other districts. I am confining myself to these particular districts. What does the *Bharat Sevak Samaj* say? It says, what the people really want is never ascertained, and the *bona fide* activities of the Government had resulted in waste of money and energy. This is the case there. Whatever you have been doling out as agricultural loans or Grow More Food loans or any other loans, there was no rain and the whole thing was fruitless. Of course, the Finance Minister is fond of Tamil saythings and Tiruvalluvar. I can quote one more saying for him: *Neerindri ulaham amaiyathu*. Without water, the world cannot settle down. Did you supply water? I ask. When there is scarcity of water, you advance loans. The I.C.S. officers, Collectors etc., say, "I have toured this district, I have seen the people, and I have opened so many gruel centres." But, what is the effect? If I were a Minister, my word would be respected. If I am not a Minister, my words will be subjected to the greatest scrutiny and I will even be charged with exaggerating so many things. What action have the Collectors taken? What safeguards had been taken against this growing menace. What is the significance in our Chief Minister crying? One hon. Member of the Madras Legislature said that, we Members of the South in this House are not so vociferous as to attract your attention. Your eyes are here, your soul is here and your body is here. What else can be done? We are crying day in and day out through questions and in so many other ways. I know the difficulties of the Centre; I know the difficulties of the Cabinet in this period of transition; I know their commitments in the Plan; I know their prestige in the eyes of the world; I know the difficult strain that they or at least some of the Members of the group are undergoing on questions of policy. I am not blaming the Government that they are dull. But on the other hand, when you have allowed

nearly ten to thirty lakhs of the agricultural population to drift into isolation, to face want and scarcity bringing death and serious famine conditions, I think that is a deplorable factor.

Now if you come to these Community projects, you have got these irrigation facilities. With whom did you consult on those things? With your time-honoured Collector, Deputy Collector, Sub-Collector and others! Did they give you the real information? In my area, down from Salem district on to Ramnad, what is the need of the people? It is not even loan or even fertiliser? What is the use of putting up the Sindri factory and what is the use of its production when there is no rain? All the land has been acidified. It is undergoing erosion, because of the manner in which it is allowed to lie in waste for the last so many years. It is not a question of reclaiming new lands by means of mechanical tractors—it is like allowing the born children to die and then marrying again to produce more children! We have got several lakhs of acres of cultivated land lying fallow. They are not cared for. But you produce statistics saying: 'Last year it was 40,000 acres. I have reclaimed about 80,000 acres this year'. But who is going to wipe out the tears of these poor men? There is not even sufficient blood and energy in the body to produce the tears and to get on....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: What is the suggestion of the hon. Member?

Shri Vallatharas: I am putting it, Sir. Now, if you had asked me, if really the Collector or any other authority had asked the people, we would have given our suggestion. Ever since 1857, in my area—I cannot speak of other constituencies—the native State of Pudukottah which is now part of my constituency and part of the Tiruchirappally district, the State Government had thought of a channel from the Cauveri river near Mayanur across Manaparai taluk. In those days, they had seen the necessity for providing permanent irrigation facilities to that territory which is known by the names of Kulathur, Thirumayam and Alangudi taluks and from there up to the Ramnad district. But, somehow or other, the channel was not taken. It was abandoned. Afterwards a series of correspondence took

place between the British Indian Government and the Pudukottah Government to the effect that the water must be taken. But on the question of the management of the water, the entire proposal did not fructify. That was the pitiable part of it. In 1948 we fought—I fought my own relative, the Raja who was there—and wanted the State to merge with the Union. Then we were given an assurance that permanent irrigation facilities would be given through a channel. Of course, now, you may reply; 'Where is the record?' Because there are no records, and of the people who were then there, some had gone out of office, and some had died. But that is the position. There are 3,500 tanks which can be filled with water in the month of August with the Cauveri river water which now flows into the sea without a drop of it being used in any part of this area in that month. If water were available, we could raise a crop throughout the year and nearly ten lakhs of people would live upon that water.

Now, what I submit to the Government is this: they must immediately nominate or depute the Deputy Minister of Food and Agriculture to go to that place personally and see what the position is. If he is convinced in any manner, then Government may be pleased to act. There is no use of depending upon the Madras State. There is no money whatever with them. Whatever you have given them, they have spent. I am not here to submit that they have spent everything. If I go back home, I do not want to be charged that I said that the State of Madras had got lots of money from you and spent them. My emphasis is that you must have a national policy of irrigation, for minor irrigation as well as major irrigation works. The Centre must have the responsibility and not the States because you are taking half of the revenue from the country and the States are allowed half. Between the two there is a wrong adjustment. Of course, the Taxation Commission would go into the question. I am not worried about it. I know of several orders passed by the Finance Ministry in respect of the investigation charges to be borne by the State or by the Centre. Leave aside these technicalities. In the name of 30 lakhs of people. I make this serious submission that you better order an investigation of that area. I can hold myself responsible even to carry out the main

excavation work for the new channel. I take it upon myself and the people will do it. This is the Community Project that they want. A Community Project in that area should be established at Tiruvarambur or Kullathur in my constituency. So, all these matters may be gone into. In Madras State, though Andhra has gone, we have Kerala there and we are all friendly with each other. The bulk of our population, (90 per cent. of them reside in the thirteen districts), is there and unless the Centre comes to their help and does something they cannot thrive. Their lot will be very bad. They are simply swayed between feelings of hope and despair; feelings of hope when they hear that something will be done and feelings of despair when they see nothing is being done. The life of the people is full of turmoils. There is no purchasing power. Every man has lost everything he had. What is the future? I leave it to the House to judge. India is a backward and undeveloped country; and Madras State is still worse; and Tamil Nad—the extreme end—still more so, so much so that one of the best patriots and the greatest of Congress administrators of the country raises a cry from that distance. He says I am single-handed and I cannot convince the Centre. So every one of us has to do something. This is all that I want to say.

CENTRAL EXCISES AND SALT (AMENDMENT) BILL

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Central Excises and Salt Act, 1944.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Central Excises and Salt Act, 1944."

The motion was adopted.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I *introduce the Bill.

The House then adjourned till a Quarter Past Eight of the Clock on Wednesday, the 15th April, 1953.

*Introduced with the recommendation of the President.