

## PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

## OFFICIAL REPORT

5153

## HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

Tuesday, 20th April, 1954

The House met at a Quarter Past  
Eight of the Clock

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

9-05 A.M.

## PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

STATEMENTS SHOWING ACTION TAKEN BY  
GOVERNMENT ON VARIOUS ASSURANCES,  
PROMISES, ETC.

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): I beg to lay on the Table the following statements showing the action taken by the Government on various assurances, promises and undertakings given by Ministers during the various Sessions shown against each:—

(1) **Supplementary Statement No. IV:** Fifth Session, 1953 of the House of the People. [See Appendix VIII, annexure No. 78.]

(2) **Supplementary Statement No. IX:** Fourth Session, 1953 of the House of the People. [See Appendix VIII, annexure No. 79.]

161 P.S.D.

5154

(3) **Supplementary Statement No. XIV:** Third Session, 1953 of the House of the People. [See Appendix VIII, annexure No. 80.]

(4) **Supplementary Statement No. XV:** First Session, 1952 of the House of the People. [See Appendix VIII, annexure No. 81.]

JOINT COMMITTEE ON PAYMENT  
OF SALARY AND ALLOWANCES TO  
MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

## PRESENTATION OF SECOND REPORT

Shri M. A. Ayyangar (Tirupati): I beg to present the Second Report of the Joint Committee on payment of salary and allowances to Members of Parliament.

## FINANCE BILL—Contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now proceed with the further consideration of the following Motion moved by Shri C. D. Deshmukh:

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

Shri Meghnad Saha.

Shri Jhulan Sinha (Saran North): Sir, yesterday I was still speaking when the House rose.

**Mr. Speaker:** I do not know why this complaint recurs. My record shows that the hon. Member has finished.

**Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Gurgaon):** As a matter of fact, he had finished. The hon. Member had taken fifteen minutes and I said in the end:

"I take it that he has finished."

**Mr. Speaker:** Shri Meghnad Saha.

**Shri M. A. Ayyangar (Tirupati):** Sir, I would also like to participate in the debate.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have called upon Shri Meghnad Saha and I must stick to the person called.

**Shri Meghnad Saha (Calcutta—North-West):** Sir, I wish to speak on this question of shortfall. This year there has been a shortfall of Rs. 51 crores. I beg to submit that this does not reflect any credit on the Government. The plans have been matured after long labour and meditation, and where we return more than ten per cent. of the Budget because we could not spend it, it is an indication of very gross inefficiency on the part of the Government. I do not wish to enter into the controversy whether this is due to overcontrol by the Finance Ministry, or, as the Finance Minister makes out, due to administrative inefficiency. Let them decide it among themselves. We find that out of a Budget of Rs. 8 crores for education, Rs. 2 crores cannot be spent, this means that we are not doing education properly in this country. When we find that for rehabilitation, Rs. 4 crores are returned out of, I think, about Rs. 28 crores, it means that persons who are in very urgent need of rehabilitation are not getting proper attention and many of them have to wait in vain for grants being given to them so that they can rehabilitate themselves. I hope that in future there will be no shortfalls. Plans should be properly drawn up and I hope that the Finance Ministry will not exercise such a rigid control that the money cannot be spent.

The Finance Minister, unfortunately, has not given us the causes of shortfalls; why the money could not have been spent? I think it would be fair to the Members to know why the money has not been spent. In the future Budgets, I hope that this will be done.

Then I wish to speak about the Plan. The Plan has now run for three years. It has not produced any appreciable change in the *per capita* income. I think this is the best comment which one can make on the inefficiency of the Plan. I have gone into these matters in a booklet '*Re-thinking of our future*' and I might give just a summary of what I have said there. This Plan is violating all economic laws, which like the laws of gravitation work in an inexorable fashion. Whether you like it or not they function in their own way. I am talking of the Plan independent of all 'isms. I am not tied to communism or capitalism and any other 'ism. Let us see how this Plan has violated all economic laws. First of all this Plan has been drawn without a national economic Budget. Now, what is the national economic Budget? The Finance Minister gives us his own Budget which is an indication of the way in which expenditures have to be carried out in the current year. The economic Budget should give us the total earnings of the nation in the different sectors; in agriculture, in industries and in other lines. If we have got this economic budget in the beginning of the year, this gives us an indication of the way in which we have to draw our plans, for the coming year. We have to know what is our target; what has been the production of the country in quantity as well as in money; what has been the production in power; what has been the production in agriculture; what has been the production in iron and steel and other important industrial commodities. Unless there is a national economic budget, no plans can be properly drawn up and all our plans become plans in vacuum. This has been admitted by all countries which have taken to national planning; planning on a national scale. Just as you cannot have

proper air transport without a weather service, you cannot have planning in the proper sense unless there is a national economic budget to guide you in the beginning of the year. There will be many crashes as in air transport without a weather service.

The Finance Minister has also mentioned one of the causes of the failure of the Plan.

Q He has told us that our investment has been only 4.5 per cent. of the total national income whereas the investment in other countries which have got successful planning has run from 20 to 25 per cent. He has told us that the small investment is one of the causes of the failure of the Plan, but he has not told us how to increase this investment, how to get more money out of the country so that we can invest larger amounts in national planning. Anyhow, there has been an awareness of the problem in the Government as well as amongst the public, and I hope he will tell us next time in what way he will try to increase this investment, as only small indications are given in the National Plan.

Then, another point to which I wish to draw the attention of the House is this, that whatever investments we are making are not being made on profitable lines. Here is a study of the Plan by Dr. Charles Bettelheim, who delivered a course of lectures in the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, in January, 1954. He went through our Plan in a very objective way and there is one remark of his to which I wish to draw the attention of the hon. Finance Minister. He says that we are going to spend Rs. 3,500 crores in the course of five years—whether we will spend it or not, that we do not know and we expect that the total increase in our national income will be Rs. 1,000 crores. The profit on investment works out at the rate of 28 per cent. He compares this percentage of profits with those in other countries and he finds it to be very low. Now, the profit must not be confused with the usual profits

of the investments which are made but it has to be calculated indirectly out of its effects on other industries which it stimulates. He finds in other countries this kind of profit what you may call the investment income co-efficient comes to be 50 to 60 per cent. That shows that investments are not being made in this country in a very profitable way.

Now, a glance at the headings of our national income figures show how the investments have to be made. If we look at our production, we find that our agricultural production is about Rs. 4,500 crores. Against that, our industrial production is only Rs. 1,500 crores—just one-third. But if we look at industrially-developed countries like England and U.S.A., we find that the industrial production is six to seven times that of agricultural production. Agricultural production takes quite a small place in the nation's earnings. So, our investments have to be mainly in industries, and we do not find that investments in our industries have not been quite properly done.

We can divide industries into two categories. There are the producer goods industries and consumer goods industries. The producer goods industries include industries that produce commodities which stimulate other industries, particularly consumer goods industries. These are iron and steel, coal, the fundamental chemicals and so on. I just now asked a question whether we are going to have an ammunition industry in this country. We have got an ammunition industry in this country, but where are the raw materials? We have to import them. We are having industrial explosives. For industrial explosives we require fundamental chemicals, and all these fundamental chemicals like benzene and aniline, are not made in this country. We have to purchase them from other countries. Why don't we develop them? This is a fundamental industry without which other industries cannot flourish. This is because we have surrendered to the Imperial Chemical Industries.

**Shri Bansal (Jhajjar-Rewari):** May I ask a question with your permission if the hon. Member allows?

He just now said that the rate of return on investment is about 28 per cent. according to that lecture. He compared it with other countries where the rate is about 50 to 60 per cent. May I know from him what is the normal rate of capital formation in our country? Is it not 5 per cent. as against 15 to 16 per cent. in other countries? And this low rate of saving in our country is the direct cause of the low increment in our national income per year.

**Shri Meghnad Saha:** This question has been gone into very thoroughly in my pamphlet and I think I cannot go into it. But, our country is not the only country which had to face this problem. Soviet Russia had to face this problem and they solved it very successfully. If you read the story of the Soviet planning during the first five years, you will know how they overcame this difficulty. The difficulty is there. We have to overcome it.

I would just compare the producer goods industries to the roots and stems of the tree. The consumer goods industry are merely branches, twigs and leaves. In this country for the last five or six years we have completely neglected the producer goods industries.

For seven years this Government could not take any decision on the installation of an iron and steel plant though the plans were ready in 1948-49, and I have calculated that the losses incurred on that account, on account of this hesitancy on the part of the Government in installing an iron and steel plant, runs to something like Rs. 500 crores. In this country, we are simply looking after consumer goods industries. In doing so, we are simply watering the leaves and the roots and the stems are drying up without water. Even the consumer goods industries cannot flourish unless you have got producer goods industries in this country.

You have got the Visakhapatnam shipyard. We have got a plan of producing three ships, and I have learnt that

they cannot carry out this programme because they cannot get steel. I was told by a very high officer of this shipyard that they require 8,000 tons of steel. They wanted to get the permit for that, and after six months they were told that there is no steel in this country. We have to get it from Japan. If this is a fact—I hope the Finance Minister will look into it—it is a very serious state of affairs.

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram (Visakhapatnam):** They have imported Japanese steel already.

**Shri Meghnad Saha:** We have got the Chittaranjan factory which can produce about 250 locomotives or so, but it cannot work at full speed because we cannot give them steel. So, the dearth of steel, as the Planning Commission says endangers the growth of a large number of other industries.

We have got a very flourishing foundry industry in Howrah, employing about 50,000 men. and all these industries are in the last state of gasp simply because they cannot get any pig iron. There has been a representation by these manufacturers to the Government of India.

There are a lot of other industries. Take, for example, the glass and soap industries. I am sorry the Industries Minister is not here; I wanted to reserve this part of my speech for his ears particularly. I have been bringing repeatedly to his notice that a large number of industries, like glass and soap and others, in this country are not flourishing because there is dearth of soda ash in this country. He has admitted that the glass manufacturers and soap manufacturers are only working one-third of their capacity and for the remaining two-thirds we are importing from foreign countries, though it is quite possible for us to manufacture all that we want in this country.

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Finance (Shri B. R. Bhagat):** We are not importing soap.

**Shri Meghnad Saha:** We have produced only 5,000 tons though the total

installations in this country can produce about three times that amount.

**Shri Algu Raj Shastri** (Azamgarh Distt.—East cum Ballia Distt.—West): Is there any more demand?

**Shri Meghnad Saha:** Because we are importing a large amount of sheet glass, soap and other things.

**Some Hon. Members:** No soap.

**Shri Meghnad Saha:** We find that large quantities of sheet glass and other things are imported.

**The Minister of Commerce (Shri Karmarkar):** We are not importing any soap whatever.

**Shri Meghnad Saha:** We are importing; I will show you from the figures. I have mentioned the reason why the factories are not running at full capacity. It is because we have to pay for the raw material three times the price which a foreign manufacturer has to pay. Therefore, the manufacture of these goods in this country is not a commercial proposition, not an economic proposition.

**Shri Punnoose (Alleppey):** We have so many kinds of foreign soaps in the market.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri Meghnad Saha:** In England they buy soda ash at the rate of Rs. 130 to Rs. 160, but, when we buy, in this country, we have to pay more. Unfortunately, we buy an excess amount of soda ash which runs to about 1,00,000 tons from the Imperial Chemical Industries and they charge at twice the rate for the same goods. They charge from the Indian consumer Rs. 250/-, while they charge the English consumer only half that amount. In this way, we are paying them, every year, more than a crore of rupees. We should be trying to have, what I may call, chemical autonomy. If this country is to keep its independence, if this country has to raise its standard of living, we must have not only political independence, but we must also have economic independence. We must have economic freedom. This is not coming to this country simply

because our industrial policy is extremely confused. I would submit in all humility that this Commerce and Industries Ministry is source of public faction of this Government, it is the centre of poison. This Ministry is not a Ministry of very good reputation, particularly the Commerce Ministry (*Interruption*). When we have tacked on the Industries Ministry to the Commerce Ministry, it has gone from bad to worse. I wish the Minister of Commerce and Industries could reply to my charges against him regarding his indifference to this soda ash industry. Why has he not asked the Imperial Chemical Industries to refund the crore of rupees which they are taking away from us by way of high prices? Soda ash is not the monopoly of England. England produces only 1½ million tons out of 10 million tons which are produced in the world; and he can buy soda ash from other countries like the U.S.A., Japan and so on, if we get tenders for it. Nothing of the kind has been done. It is very dangerous and unsafe to keep the consumer goods industries in charge of the Minister of Commerce. Let him be satisfied with Commerce: I would suggest that there should be a separate Ministry for consumer goods. There should be proper co-ordination between the Ministry of Production and the Ministry of Consumer Goods Industries.

We have been talking of planning. This planning which we have is no planning at all. If we have to do planning on a proper scale, we must plan our economic and social life. All socialistic economy demands that investments, employments, labour, productivity, income, prices and costs, all these are inter-connected and bear comparative relationship. In our Plan, we do not find any mention of employment.

**Pandit K. C. Sharma** (Meerut Distt.—South): There is.

**Mr. Speaker:** Let him speak in his own way.

**Shri Meghnad Saha:** We find only scant mention. What we find is merely an economic programme. It is

[Shri Meghnad Saha]

planning only for the public sector; we are not planning for the private sector. We cannot leave the private sector cut off account because people have to depend for their employment, for their everyday goods on the private sector. Unless, we plan for the private sector, our Plan cannot be a proper one.

We have been told that on account of capital we cannot develop anything. I think, more than capital, what we want is technical autonomy. We are depending entirely upon foreigners for organising our economy, particularly on the heavy industries side. I do not understand why we should go on like that for ever. We have got an iron and steel industry running in this country for forty years. And the plant was supposed to be the biggest in the world at one time. It is surprising to find that even after 40 years this country has not developed sufficient number of experts to draw plans for another iron and steel plant. This is extremely surprising. This shows that when you leave the industry in private hands they care only for the profit. Their whole world spins round the profit motive; it does not spin round public interests. How much are we losing because we have left this very important industry in foreign hands? We have to pay two crores of rupees as fee alone: and we have to purchase a large number of apparatus from foreign countries. I do not know why we should be dependent on them. The Russians were in the same condition as ourselves. Their iron and steel industry went phut during the war and they brought German and American experts. They had only but iron and steel plant by 1928 and within five years from 1928, they had worked 41 blast furnaces producing nearly 5 million tons of iron and steel. We have got political independence and we must also try for economic independence. We must have also have technical autonomy so that for the next iron and steel plant we have not to go to foreigners and we shall have our own experts, who can design the

plan, who can construct the plant and who can build the machinery in this country.

**Shri S. C. Deb (Cachar-Lushai Hills):**  
Mr. Speaker, Sir, I get up to support the financial proposals as moved by the hon. Finance Minister. He is to be congratulated for his bold policy of deficit financing for development of the country and I have firm belief that because of his policy, the country will be placed in a sound footing within a reasonable period.

Our food position is secure and our industrial production is also on the increase. Because of import and export policy, the price index has come down to 392.6 in December, 1953, from 432.2 in December, 1951. This is a happy augury for the coming year.

The financial proposals are based on planning for nation-building work. The Planning Commission is most concerned about unemployment which has taken serious proportions. They must go to the root of these ills; what is the cause and how it is to be solved. They are, therefore, actively thinking of promoting cottage and small-scale industries.

Our aim is a welfare State. It requires co-ordination between small and large industries. Government propose to set up Industrial Development Corporations for industrialists to expand. The whole thing is to be fitted in a way to benefit the whole nation. The industrialists are required to change their outlook to serve the country and to be ready for sacrifices.

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

In that context some mechanism and technique are to be evolved, and co-ordination is to be set up to rope up small and cottage industries with large-scale industries. May I suggest for industrial development as the Government is keenly feeling, that when Government is to take initiative in case of large-scale industries and small-scale and cottage industries, a control

machinery is to be developed for co-ordination of all enterprises either in the Centre or in the Provinces, so that the nation as a whole will be benefited and all the areas will be covered in our chain and also a sound economy may develop.

It is a heartening sign that the balance of trade is in our favour though there is a small surplus, but we expected a better balance when tea market is booming and we had not to import large quantities of food. However, we expect better results in the coming year.

Coming to my area, it is a border area and I feel that we are facing a serious situation ahead. I should like to urge upon the Government that all the border areas should be developed and that the communication and other developmental work should be placed in a healthier position. The tea industry is now in a healthier position and the question of labour comes in. I would like to refer to the speech made by Shri K. P. Tripathi in the last year's budget discussion when he rightly ventilated the cause of labour. The condition of labour is still fluid in Cachar District and some 20,000 surplus labour is still out of employment and without provision. I beseech the Government to come to their rescue as they helped the Industry in their difficulties.

So far as my area is concerned, the economy of the district depends much upon the tea industry. I am obliged to the Government that they have taken enough pains to help the industry to meet the crisis and have taken special interest in my district. I welcome the establishment of the Tea Board under the provisions of the present Act. In my district, much renovation work is necessary and I would like to suggest that a research station on the lines of the Tockai experimental station should be established if a long-range view of the economic development of this industry in that area is taken into consideration. I shall be happy if a move in that direction is taken.

In my area I would like to mention that there are other types of small-scale and cottage industries which require help and marketing facilities. They are: the handloom industry, the bamboo-mats industry, carpentry, smithy, soap manufacture, pottery, etc. There is scope for other industrial development small or big, namely, paper industry, sugar industry, cotton ginning industry, fruit preservation industry, leather industry etc. I ask the Government to take a special interest of my area and see that proper development is taken into consideration.

I would like to say a word about displaced persons. At present I am not in a position to say what is the development scheme of the displaced persons that is going to be taken in the Province of Assam. As far as my area is concerned, about two lakhs of displaced persons are there. I do not know how development schemes have materialised. I know that some development schemes have been visualised, but it is very difficult to say how they will be developed and will materialise. I urge that speedy steps should be taken for the materialisation of all the development schemes—encouraging township schemes, small industry, agriculture, handloom industry, farming etc., among the displaced persons.

Another thing which I wish to stress is that the Central Government has taken in hand the construction of a road connecting Shillong with Agartala. It is some six years since the work has commenced, but I do not know when the work will be completed. From a strategic and national point of view the construction of this road is very important and, in fact, it is a necessity. At present there is no road link with Shillong for the people of Tripura, Manipur, Cachar and Lushai Hills. So far as my knowledge goes, it is very desirable that a complete plan is to be taken in hand for the construction of the road as quickly as possible. My town of Karimganj is a border town and is the nerve

[Shri S. C. Deb]

centre of movements of all goods to and from my district, Lushai Hills, Manipur and Tripura. Goods are brought and despatched from and to Calcutta by steamer service, the only easy transport service, owned by Messrs. Kilburn and Company, a foreign concern, carried all through by river via Pakistan. The first border station on the Indian side is situated in Karimganj town. Besides other difficulties experienced by merchants in their trade matters, the river bank is being annually eroded by constant movement of steamer, and the other bank of the river on the Pakistan side is being silted up. Considering the strategic position of the place and constant danger of the situation, the steamer station should be shifted to a better site. The steamer company should be asked to take immediate steps in that direction. I request our Government to move accordingly and direct proper action to be taken.

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, my hon. friend Mr. Suresh Chandra Deb has referred to a number of curiosities in respect of industrial policy. I would like to add one more to this list, Sir. The TELCO, I understand, is now to manufacture automobiles in collaboration with a German firm, Messrs. Mercedes-Benz. Having driven out the Rootes and the Ford Group, it is now a new proposition, where a company specifically incorporated for the manufacture of engines is to manufacture automobiles. Sir, this is a fascinating subject into which one can go to any extent, but with your permission, I shall limit my remarks to a structural examination of the Finance Bill in relation to the Budget and the Plan.

I would resist the temptation, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, to follow the two tendencies which became visible during the course of the debate since yesterday: one was to divide the Prime Minister from the Finance Minister in respect of foreign policy and foreign aid policy; the other was to speak from

cabbages to kings, almost on any question under the sun.

Frankly, the Finance Bill which this hon. House is debating today is not the Finance Bill which was introduced on the 27th of February. In reply to the general discussion in this hon. House the Finance Minister on the 22nd March made certain announcements altering the Finance Bill. Even yesterday, Sir, the Finance Minister made further alterations in the Finance Bill. I congratulate him for having bowed to what I may call the wrath of the people before it is too late. But the question I would pose today is a very simple one. Has the Finance Minister lost his grip of finance? Had he made up his mind when he introduced the Bill on the 27th of February in the House? Has he been subjected to a lot of lobbying? Why did he not wait till the second stage of discussion to bring his amendments before making announcements a little too early? I say, Sir, that some of the amendments which some of us had given notice of and which have come on the Order Paper are altogether, shall we say, out of order, in the light of the amendments made by the Finance Minister, to his taxation proposals, not once, but twice during the past few weeks. With great respect to him I would like to say that his attitude and decisions in relation to this House are getting "curiouser".

Replying to the debate on the general discussion on the Budget, in the course of which I had made certain observations about the manner in which, or the very dexterous way in which, figures are brought together, which have become inexplicable, which certainly are contradictory to each other, my hon. friend the Finance Minister made the following statement. He said, referring to my point among others that a figure of Rs. 13 crores could not be reconciled in the Budget figures:

"I hope that on some future occasion I shall be able to give him a more detailed reply or, if that is



not possible, that I shall be able to send him a note based on the transcript of his speech. It is not possible for me today, having heard him only this afternoon, to give him a complete reply."

I have waited four weeks for a reply of some sort clarifying or reconciling the difficulties which to my mind, as I submitted, then, could not be reconciled. This is the only occasion, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, when I will have an opportunity to refer to this attitude which I consider, is not particularly happy as far as the Finance Minister is concerned, because I have associated with him a very high code of conduct in this hon. House. This is not an isolated instance, Mr. Deputy-Speaker. As I have said earlier the attitude of the Finance Minister to this hon. House is getting curiouser.

On Saturday last, after his reply to the debate on the Demands for Grants of his Ministry, I stood up and said, with the permission of the Speaker as follows:

"The hon. Minister, in the course of his reply just now, made certain general observations on parliamentary control of public corporations and made a reference to the debate on the last occasion where he gave a specific assurance to this House that he would either bring in a special Bill or certain amendments to the Companies Bill. This morning we knew that the Companies Bill is coming up before the House. May I know whether he will bring in a special Bill or bring in amendments to the Company law to provide parliamentary control of public corporations?"

And this is what my hon. friend, Mr. Deshmukh said in reply:

"I do not remember having given any such assurance, but if I have given such an assurance, I am bound to fulfil it."

Here I have got the actual assurance he gave when I raised a debate on parliamentary control of public corporations on the 11th of December

1953. Here is the actual statement which my hon. friend made on that occasion.

"So far as regularising the matter is concerned, I have already hinted that we shall have recourse either to some amendment of the Company Law or we might bring a Bill forward in regard to the control of State Corporations. But whichever way we do it, we shall solve the difficulties which the Comptroller and Auditor-General has raised."

The short point I am raising is this. The moment this particular Finance Bill is disposed of, according to the order of the day announced by the Speaker, the Companies Bill will have to be taken up. It is a voluminous Bill running into hundreds of pages—379 printed pages. The Bill has been before the Members of this House for a number of months and I would like to know even now, whether the hon. Finance Minister proposes to bring an amending Bill, or introduce a separate Bill in terms of the assurance he has given to this House on accountability and parliamentary control of public corporations and allied questions. I do not wish to waste the time of the House by quoting textually what he has said the other day, on the 17th of this month, but one sentence I think may be permitted. He said on the 17th:

"The issues involved are not free from difficulties and are under active consideration."

I remind him of these words of his of only a few days ago only to clinch the issue. Does he propose to bring a Bill this session, or does he propose to introduce amendments to the company law which is before this hon. House?

Sir, on the last occasion when I spoke here on the Budget I brought together, to the best of my knowledge and ability certain statements and figures contained in the Budget papers and expressed my inability to follow them.

[Dr. Lanka Sundaram]

Today I find that every hon. Member has got that new statement circulated by the Economic Division of the Planning Commission on the progress of the Plan in terms of expenditure and resources.

In this connection, I would like to put a few questions to my hon. friend the Finance Minister, because I feel rather confused about some of the figures contained in this document. As regards resources, the budgeted resources are Rs. 1,258 crores. There are various ways in which these resources are sought to be made. My first difficulty in following this statement No. 3 is this. It is estimated that the domestic resources which would be raised during the period of the Plan would be Rs. 1,258 crores. The statement shows that it is estimated that the resources would now yield only Rs. 1,123 crores, that is there is a shortfall of Rs. 135 crores. Arising out of this question, I would like to examine the revenue resources of the Government, more particularly the Central Government. From the figures circulated, it is clear that as regards current revenues, the total amount would be Rs. 542 crores out of an estimated original of Rs. 568 crores. There will be a shortfall, as the House will see, of Rs. 26 crores on this account. As regards the State Governments, the picture is not very clear. I have not got figures for every State Government but I know that most of the State Governments are running deficits and will continue to run deficits. The general impression is that they will not be able to raise any surplus out of the current revenue with the result that, even though the position might be deemed as satisfactory as far as the Centre is concerned, the position as regards the States' share of raising resources out of the current revenues will not be as happy as it seemed to be. It may be interesting to note that while the States are expected to contribute Rs. 408 crores out of the current revenues—the statement that was circulated to us

shows that—they would be raising Rs. 325 crores and thus there would be a shortfall of Rs. 83 crores. Of course, there is a little appreciation in the figures shown for the Centre. A similar difficulty arose when I tried to study these figures earlier and I consider that the Finance Bill is the proper occasion where the resources aspect especially from current revenues is to be properly looked into.

Let us examine the railway earnings position. The resources raised will be only Rs. 117 crores as compared to Rs. 170 crores and here there is a shortfall of Rs. 53 crores.

Now let us take the loans position. Loans from the public have been shown as plus Rs. 38 crores over the estimated figure of Rs. 115 crores. The small scale savings and other unfunded debt is a little over Rs. 270 crores. This means that so far as the annual borrowings are concerned, there has been a rise of Rs. 45 crores over the estimated Rs. 385 crores. I am very happy to compliment the Finance Minister that the loan he has launched yesterday has got encouraging initial results. The borrowing policy of the Government must be properly examined and explained to the country in order that, as far as the resources portion of the Plan is concerned in terms of public revenues, we will have no misgivings.

In the case of the States there is one curious point, because I find the States' position a reversal of the position of the Centre. The Centre has raised Rs. 22 crores against the estimate of Rs. 36 crores by way of loans. The States have, however to raise or are expected to raise Rs. 131 crores as against the original estimate of Rs. 79 crores. This would mean a surplus of Rs. 52 crores for the States which would mean a rise of 69 per cent. To my mind this is slightly extraordinary and I would like to have as much concrete data as possible in these circumstances from the Finance Minister to explain how he hopes to get—shall we

say—Rs. 52 crores more than the originally budgeted figure for State loans...

**The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh):** Are these totals which the hon. Member is reading made up of actuals over the last three years?

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram:** Yes, that is right.

As regards the deposits, funds etc., there is a shortfall of Rs. 101 crores against the estimates of Rs. 135 crores. This looks enigmatical. I am rather confused and unable to get an integrated picture of the resources of finance for the Plan; as far as these figures are concerned, I would request the Finance Minister to make them a little more lucid as it used to be done previously.

As regards external assistance also, I find a shortfall. It is estimated that we will get Rs. 231 crores only out of Rs. 521 crores as originally estimated. This would mean a shortfall of Rs. 290 crores. I want to put one important question so that we may know whether the amount of loan received for the purchase of wheat, that is to say, whether the sale proceeds of wheat in India, will be shown as part of the foreign borrowing, and if so, under what particular head and in what particular manner because that, I think, is very important for our purposes.

Last year, the Finance Minister made certain interesting observations and the House will bear with me if I compare these observations with the observations made during the current year and also with the figures incorporated in these statements. Looking to the progress of these two years, the Finance Minister said last year, that the Centre had financed Rs. 250 crores out of Rs. 726 crores and the States had financed Rs. 101 crores out of Rs. 532 crores originally budgeted or estimated. In other words, during the first two years out of the Budget resources expected to be raised of Rs. 1,258 crores, only Rs. 353 crores were raised. It was further added at

that time that during the next three years—that is the last year, the current year and the coming year—only Rs. 600 crores under budgetary resources will be raised. In other words, the normal budgetary resources would be raised to the extent of Rs. 953 crores. So far as the present statement is concerned, he now tells us that in five years Rs. 1,123 crores would be raised instead of Rs. 953 crores. This means that he has now shown that Rs. 180 crores more would be raised under normal budgetary resources. I think the House will be very happy to know how this higher yield is expected and how this is possible or will become possible.

10 A.M.

I confess that at any time Budget papers constitute themselves into a virtual labyrinth from which egress is not possible for anyone. Even so, people like me who have the temerity to venture and enter into its portals find themselves twisted but I ventured to do my duty by probing as much as possible into these figures and bringing out not merely the curiosities but the actual difficulties. Some of them, I raised during the general discussion of the Budget and some I have raised today. And I expect the Finance Minister, in order that his Budget papers may be properly and well understood, to clarify some of the points which I have raised so that the doubts in the country may be set at rest and see that there is no unnecessary haste in the compilation of figures, and that there is no deliberate contradiction in figures contained in one document as compared with the figures in another document and if he does this more than any thing else, the stewardship of the Finance Ministry would yield results which this country can be proud of.

**Shri T. N. Singh (Banaras Distt.—East):** Sir, I have been listening to the interesting speeches made yesterday and today in this House. I was particularly struck by some of the arguments used by the Deputy Leader of the Communist group not because of

[Shri T. N. Singh]

the sweet reasonableness of those arguments, the reasons behind the things which he put forward but because of some of the incongruities. Some Members of this group have tried to foster up our Indian capital as against one section of the employees and the Government and they are trying to bolster another section of employees. Only the other day the Information Ministry officials were brought in. As against cottage industries they tried to emphasise on all kinds of large-scale economy and thus were creating much more confusion. I think it is wrong to put one set of people against another or one class of people; after all, after centuries of slavery we have got freedom. What has been the policy of the rulers? And what is the policy of our brothers? It is the same policy and our people are interested in creating all kinds of friction and why is it so?

Imagine: it is a question of 360 million people. It is not a joke. This is a country which has been a slave for a thousand years. Do you expect anything like a miracle can happen in the course of these five or ten or twenty years? Is it not a fact that millions of our people have been starving for centuries and have been getting one meal and half meal and yet we talk as if we have got a miraculous remedy and that we can cure everything in two or three days? That is not so; let us think as Indians and as patriots of this country.

The problem of small-scale and cottage industries is before us and we have to tackle it. I would very humbly request you to look at our approach. What has been said by our great leader? He emphasised the small-scale and cottage industries; it was the problem of the common man, the man in the village. But these were swept away. Why have we deviated from this course? This is a complaint not against the Members of the Opposition alone but against some of us also. We are interested more in big mills. Why should we be interested more in the

big mills? If there is a crisis in the textile mills, if they happen to run, on loss, everyone raises his hand and voice as if something great has been done. But in the course of the last few centuries, and especially during the last ten or twenty years cottage industries are decaying and millions of our people are loosing their jobs. There is no one to present his case or shed tears for him. Why should we emphasise so much upon whether we have a barter or trade agreement with Soviet Russia, America, Japan or any other country? What is important is that our common man here, who has been earning his livelihood for several centuries by doing small jobs—maybe it was a pittance and he was not getting a full meal—has been deprived today even of that half meal. This process has been going on. Why should we not concentrate on that? We are busy criticising and abusing, saying that so-and-so's policy is a reactionary policy and every Ministry is bad except the External Affairs Ministry which is doing splendidly well. Is the idea to create a hitch? I strongly deprecate any such tendencies. We are doing in our small way everything that is possible. We should try to put our shoulders to the wheel together and try to solve our difficulties and problems. And with that end in view I wanted to say a few words regarding cottage industries.

We have been giving protection, subsidies, concessions and advantages to the big industry. I want to know why we cannot give protection, even monopoly, to the cottage industries. That is the way. If the consumer has to pay more, let him pay for the sake of the millions. I can understand that. But why should we pay a higher price for anything because the millowners will have profits or larger balances? Have their balances been used for capital formation? Is it not a fact that they have been used for speculation, black-marketing and for having all kinds of luxuries in their houses? I have seen the houses of our big merchants, capitalist classes, in Bombay, in terrace gardens, beautiful houses, beautiful

lighting system; and at the same time, in their neighbourhood there is a man starving, hardly getting half a meal a day. This is what has been happening. This process must stop. It will have to be stopped. We who claim to follow the lead of Gandhiji shall see that it is stopped.

**Shri Punnoose (Alleppey):** How?

**Shri T. N. Singh:** I will tell you how. I have seen friends here—I must say frankly—they have come here; a few years ago they did not mind the simple Indian style of clothing, but today bush shirts have become more popular. Ties have become more popular. I must give credit to our Prime Minister for taking courage to make the decision that ties must end and for regularising official dress. This aping of the foreigner, whether Soviet or American, must end, and this country will not tolerate it.

With this I would like to urge very humbly, let us create monopoly conditions for our cottage industries. We must set apart certain fields of activity for the cottage industries. That is the only way. Even the small *zamindar*, petty landlord, or petty *kisan* has foregone his rights of property today. He does not mind it. Do you know their number? It is millions. It is they also who have willingly co-operated in the common task of putting India on the economic map. I want to know if the property rights of a few thousand people are so sacred, if their propensities for profits are so sacred that they must be allowed to go on fattening while others do not prosper. For this reason I strongly urge that a policy should be thought out whereby a kind of monopoly will be given to cottage industries.

For this reason I welcome the excise duty, when you differentiate between cottage industry and the other bigger industries. But I want to know this about the exemption. Whatever it is, it may be a small thing, I do not grudge it; the exemption is to 50 or 150 tons of soap. But it is applicable even to Lever Brothers, Swastik and Tata. I want to know why that exemption limit should be applicable to them. In the case of shoes and other such items we

have been having the number of persons employed in the cottage or small industry as the criterion. Why should we not apply the same criterion here and take away the concession from those who will unnecessarily get the benefit out of it? I suggest that the Finance Minister may think out whether this formula of the number of persons employed in a factory should not be applied even to this one. It is a small thing and I am not concerned much whether they get it or not. But I am concerned with the approach, because it should be made clear to the people that our policy definitely is to give preference to this class of industry, that is cottage industry, as against the others. That must be clear to everybody, and that is why I am making this suggestion.

In regard to Government spending, I have to say a few words. Ours is a poor country. Sometimes people may accuse me of being too much squeamish about rupees, annas and pies. But I would like to emphasise that it is essential. For I am born in a poor family and I know what the saving of a rupee means and what it means to the other man. Similarly I envisage that our country being poor—the figure looks so impressive because we are a poor country; four or five hundred crores is not such a big sum in America—we have to husband our resources to the maximum and make a rupee function as much as it can, go as far as it can. And in this there is no question of this Ministry or that Ministry feeling this way or that way. It is a common purpose and I think that that approach should be made by all concerned.

Then I join issue with what the Finance Minister said the other day about our taxation policy. I do not agree that the exemptions given in the Income-tax show any definite trend towards giving relief to what are called the lower middle classes and the middle classes. That is not so. As a matter of fact, if he had been a little more strict at the higher slabs, I would have had a feeling of satisfaction and comfort if I had found that *crore-pathis*

[Shri T. N. Singh]

were shelling out nine-tenths of their crores. We are suffering everyday and undergoing sacrifice when we eat our salt or when we buy any small things. The sales-tax is there. When we purchase shoes or clothing or anything the other taxes are there. That we pay everyday. Even the poorest man who is not balancing his family budget is paying them. In that regard I would like to ask; why should those who are not at all in a position to sacrifice go on sacrificing, and why should the others require more than Rs. 3,000 or Rs. 2,000 monthly income and appropriate to themselves ten lakhs or twenty lakhs as their profit share? What have they done with that money? The use of that money has not been satisfactory and is not a thing of which any one can be proud.

Another thing to which I would like to refer in passing is about the community projects and certain other projects under the T.C.A. and so many other things. Personally I am very much averse to taking anything from any outside country. It hurts my pride. I may be poor. But I would prefer that the process of our progress may be delayed, and that is where I appeal to our Opposition Members. Let us not by unnecessary criticism and impatience bring about a situation in which we will be compelled more and more to rely on foreign aid, whether Soviet or American aid. That is a wrong mentality. We have an immense problem to solve. We cannot do it like that. We will have to, what is called, rough it. And therefore I urge that this tendency of looking to foreign aid should as far as possible be put down. There is another thing that happens in the community projects. What happens is, we rely more and more on all kinds of experts. They do not know our country; they do not know our people and they do not give proper advice. They can never give the right advice. They may look experts in books, essays and articles that appear in papers. Their articles will look so intelligent almost as if a genius is writing; but actually

when you put them into practice you find that it fails. Take the case of our Mahatma Gandhi. He never took the advice of foreigners and you all know the work he was doing. He never learned how to develop our cottage industries. He remained a lawyer all his life and later on an agitator as the English called him. That man was able to apply his mind towards our small cottage industries. We know our ways; we know our people and we can do it. Therefore, I would very strongly urge, let us not be guided by these so-called experts. For that reason, I have also to say another thing about these aids. This I have heard about a certain community project that my State is going to undertake. The question was as to whether we should have cement concrete work or whether we should have an ordinary masonry dam. We were told that if we do not go in for cement concrete, we would not get the foreign machineries though for all our life we have managed with masonry dam. I think the Finance Minister will agree with me that is cheaper, more easily manageable and our own men can do it without any foreign expert or his advice. This could have been possible. But, some people feel the obligation. They have got the gentlemanliness and they feel, because foreigners are giving something, why not avail of it. That tendency comes in and therefore we go in for foreign experts. Therefore, I would strongly urge that something should be done to get out of these obligations which comes through foreign aid. We should do things that can be done by making the maximum use of our men, talent and resources. Our 360 million people are a wealth that can be made use of. That is one of the greatest assets that we have and our natural resources are another asset which can be exploited. I would like to see that in every village, every man has some industry or the other; some small thing for him to do and he will do well then. The Factory Act may trouble our mill-owners, but it will not trouble the proprietor of the cottage industry because he himself is a worker,

a labourer. We shall, then, certainly beat in competition all big industries. I am sure of it because we have got certain economies and advantages which go with every cottage industry. Why is it that cardboard, slates and so many other things are manufactured in Japan? If Japan can manufacture these things in their villages, why can not we do it here? We have only to apply our mind in that direction. My object in saying this was to point out the direction in which we should think when making provisions for national schemes. This is what should be done.

In regard to National Loan. I will just say a few words. I will not take any more time of the House. I suggested to the Finance Minister that it is the first National Plan with which the name of our Prime Minister is also connected. The opportunities for subscribing to these National Loans are rather limited; they are confined to the treasuries and to the Reserve Bank. Permit me, Sir, to say that even if it were my own money which I have to pay under law, I would hesitate to go to the Treasury because they take two hours. The very mention of going to the treasury is irksome; is deterrent to the ordinary man. You want the average man; the ordinary man to share in the National Loan—it may be five or ten rupees—and for that you must make some provision. Whatever our friends may say, the man in the street is with us; the man in the village is with us and he will contribute his five or ten rupees to the great National you must be prepared to wait and Loan. I am sure of it and I am convinced of it. Let us go to the people and say: "Look here, you have got to do this and if you do not do then suffer", and I am sure they will do you must be prepared to wait and anything we want.

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** May I point out that the minimum subscription is Rs. 100 at the moment.

**An Hon. Member:** You have to reduce it.

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** It cannot be reduced to Rs. 50 or Rs. 10, but if a person is too poor to subscribe to the

loan he can buy National Savings Certificates which can be had at other places than the treasuries or sub-treasuries.

**Shri T. N. Singh:** I know that he can subscribe to the National Savings Certificates, but you give him a tempting offer. In this case he gets compound interest for the money he puts in. What I want to say is, supposing I cannot contribute Rs. 100 but I want to contribute Rs. 50, it shows that the gesture is there; the willingness to do something is there. I want that something should be done to make use of the mentality; that desire of our people. I would suggest that the Finance Minister may think out on this point and modify his orders or some such things thought out. This is my humble suggestion.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** Why not a new loan be floated within the limits of people with small earnings?

**Shri T. N. Singh:** In any case, I think what I have said is quite clear.

**श्री जजवाड़े (सन्थाल परगना व हजारीबाग) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कल इस बहस को आरम्भ करते हुए विरोधी दल के उपनेता महोदय ने मानभूमि के ड्रामे से शुरु किया। लेकिन कोई भी ड्रामा बिना गाने के रोचक नहीं होता इस लिये मानभूमि-टूस गान उस में जोड़ दिया यद्यपि उस में कुछ बातें ऐसी थीं कि जो उचित रूप से इस हाउस में डिसकस नहीं की जा सकती थीं लेकिन वह अपने ड्रामों के रोचक बनाने के लिए उस में उस गीत को ले आये। महोदय, तुसू सांग के नाम पर जो बात यहां प्रचारित की जा रही है वह भ्रमपूर्ण है। तुसू सांग एक लोकगीत है और उस सांग की आड़ में सरकार को, सरकारी कर्मचारियों को और जजो तक को गाली देने की चेष्टा की गयी है। इस का न्याय रूप से वही वर्ग समर्थन कर सकते हैं जो वंश सरकार के निश्चित रूप को नष्ट करने के लिए इस तरह का प्रचार करने का प्रयास करते रहते हैं। महोदय मेरे पास

[श्री जजवाड़े]

तुसू सांग की किताब है। यदि कोई भाई इस का प्रमाण चाहे तो मैं उस में से कुछ भाग उद्धृत करके उस को सुना दूंगा। बात यह है कि बाउंडरी कमीशन की नियुक्ति के बाद इस तरह का प्रचार शुरू हुआ है। मुझे कोई विरोध नहीं कि कोई प्रचार करे। हर प्रदेश अपने अपने मत को बाउंडरी कमीशन के आगे रखने के लिये स्वतंत्र है। मुझे इस में भी कोई आपत्ति नहीं कि बंगाल सरकार और बिहार सरकार जहां कि दोनों जगह कांग्रेसी मंत्री मंडल है, आपस में बैठकर इस प्रश्न का निर्णय कर लें। लेकिन इस प्रकार से प्रचार करना जैसा कि किया जा रहा है इस से द्वेष पैदा होता है। इस लिये मैं इस का विरोध करता हूँ। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस प्रकार की भ्रमपूर्ण बातों को स्पष्ट कर देना हाउस के प्रति मेरा कर्तव्य है। मेरे पास कागजात भी मौजूद हैं जिन से मैं यह प्रमाणित कर सकता हूँ कि तुसू सांग मेले में गाने के लिये नहीं ले जाया गया जहां कि इस लोक गीत से लोगों का मनोरंजन होता। लेकिन इस गाने का जलूस लेकर कचहरी और थाने गये, जहां प्रासेशन ले जाने के लिये लाइसेंस (परमिट) भी नहीं लिया गया था। जब इस कम्युनिस्ट वर्ग द्वारा इस की पुष्टि होती है तो मुझे कोई आपत्ति भी नहीं जंचती क्योंकि मैं जानता हूँ कि :—

न वेत्ति यो यस्य गुणप्रकर्षं ।

स तं सदा निन्दति नात्र चित्रम् ॥

यथा किराती करि कुम्भ लब्ध्वा ।

मुक्तां परित्यज्य विर्मति गुञ्जाम् ॥

यह लाल पसन्द वाले हैं। इन को सादी चीज पसन्द नहीं आती। उन को सादी बातों से चिढ़ हो जाती है। उन को सादी टोपी पसन्द नहीं आती। इस लिए यह लाल पसन्द वाले गजमुक्ता को छोड़ कर गुंजा को ही पसन्द करते हैं। उन की इस प्रकार की पसन्द के

लिये हमें क्या आपत्ति हो सकती है। वह अपनी पसन्द से चलें और हम अपनी पसन्द से चलें। महोदय, इन बातों को मैं अपने मंत्री महोदय की खुशामद के लिए नहीं कहता। मैं तो किरात देश का रहने वाला हूँ, और किरात की नीति से ही अपनी बात को कहता हूँ।

वहां यह कहा गया है :—

क्रियासयुक्तैर्नृप चारुपक्षुषो चक्षुषोः ।

न वञ्चनीयाः प्रभवोज्ज्ज् न्मनीषिभिः ।

अपने नियुक्ता की वंचना नहीं करते हैं, वह मीठी बातों से धोका नहीं देना चाहते हैं और वे तो यहां तक कहते हैं कि :

न विव्यथे तस्य मनो नहि प्रियं ।

प्रवक्तुमिच्छन्ति मृषा हितैषिणः ॥

हितैषणी को झूठ बोल कर उन्हें वह चाटुकारिता में नहीं भुलाना चाहते। इस लिए मैं उन के (श्री मुखर्जी के) वक्तव्य के ढंग का विरोध कर रहा हूँ और मैं कोई चाटुकारिता की बात नहीं करना चाहता, इस लिये मैं कुछ ऐसी बातें भी रक्खूंगा जो जनता की राय और रुचि के मुताबिक हैं और मेरी समझ में उन बातों का जानना हमारे अर्थ मंत्री महोदय के लिये नितान्त आवश्यक है। मैं जानता हूँ कि हमारे अर्थ मंत्री महोदय संस्कृत के बहुत हिमायती हैं और ये समय २ पर हमें उपदेश दिया करते हैं :

पुष्पं पुष्पं विचिन्वीत मूलच्छेदं न कारयेत् ।

मालाकार इवारामे न चाङ्गार कारवत् ॥

पुष्प से रस लेना चाहिए, मधु कैसे संग्रह करना चाहिये, मुझे डर है कि कहीं ऐसा न हो कि फलवान पुष्प को तोड़ने से न तो पुष्प ही रह और न फल ही रहेगा और कहीं ऐसा न हो कि आप कच्चे फल को तोड़ दें तो फिर उस फल से न बीज होगा और न अच्छा रस ही होगा। हमारे अर्थ मंत्री



महोदय को संस्कृत नीति सम्बन्धी पूरा ज्ञान है और उन्हें चाहिये कि टैक्स उन से ही वसूलना चाहिये जिन के पास पैसे हों, उन से ही टैक्स वसूल करने की नीति उचित है और होना यह चाहिये कि जिन के पास पैसा नहीं है आवश्यकता है उन पर उस को खर्च किया जाना चाहिये, उन्हें टैक्स के पैसे वसूलते और खर्चते समय इस नीति को बरतना चाहिये। मैं आप को वहां की बाब बतला रहा हूँ जहां से मेरा खुद का सम्बन्ध है। कुछ दिन पहले लोकल फाइनेन्स इनक्वायरी कमेटी आरम्भ हुई थी और जब इनक्वायरी कमेटी होती है तो उस पर बहुत सा खर्च किया जाता है और लोगों की आशायें बढ़ जाती हैं। मैं अपने प्रान्त में जिस जगह की म्युनिसिपैलिटी का चेयरमैन था, (बैद्यनाथघाम देवघर) उस ने भी टर्मिनल टैक्स के बारे में एक आवेदन पत्र दिया था, मैं ने रेलवे मिनिस्टर से रिप्रेजेंटेशन किया था, हमारी प्रान्तीय गवर्नमेंट ने उस का समर्थन किया और हमारे प्रान्त के एम० पी० ने रेलवे मिनिस्टर के पास रिप्रेजेंटेशन दिया, उन के आदेश के अनुसार फ्राइनेंस से ही पहले मूव करना था, हम ने तदनुसार फ्राइनेंस को भी इस सम्बन्ध में मूव किया लेकिन हमारे अर्थ मंत्री महोदय जो कि केन्द्रीयकरण अर्थ नीति पर जोर देते हैं और समझते हैं कि इस के द्वारा हमारे सब काम ठीक हो जायेंगे, तो मैं उन से इस बात में सहमत नहीं हो सकता, हमें विकेन्द्रीयकरण अर्थ व्यवस्था को भी अर्थ नीति में स्थान देना चाहिये। यदि आप की लोकल बाड़ीज कठिनाई में रहती है और उन के पास उचित व्यवस्था पैसे की नहीं रहती तो उन की कठिनाई बढ़ जाती है और इसी आशय से एक वर्ष पहले मैं ने फ्राइनेंस मिनिस्टर को आवेदन पत्र दिया था जिस समय टेक्सेशन इनक्वायरी कमेटी नियुक्त भी नहीं हुई थी।

मैंने उस समय उन को यह दरखास्त दी थी, लेकिन इनक्वायरी कमेटी के नियुक्त होने के बाद यह जवाब मिला कि इस पर टेक्सेशन इनक्वायरी कमेटी के फंसले के बाद विचार होगा। मुझे तो आश्चर्य होता है, यह सुन कर कि पहले तो यह कहा गया कि लोकल फाइनेन्स इनक्वायरी कमेटी के फंसले के बाद इस पर विचार किया जायेगा, फिर कहा गया कि टेक्सेशन इनक्वायरी कमेटी के बाद होगी, मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है कि साधारण लोगों की आवाज हमारे मंत्री महोदय के कानों तक नहीं पहुंचती है, उनका ख्याल कम किया जाता है। मैं अर्थ मंत्री महोदय से अनुरोध करूंगा कि इन बातों की तरफ ज्यादा ध्यान दें। यह क्या बात हुई कि बैद्यनाथ घाम में पिलग्रिमों पर टर्मिनल टैक्स तो टेक्सेशन इनक्वायरी कमेटी के फंसले तक बन्द रहे, लेकिन आपने आर्डिनंस के द्वारा इलाहाबाद में कुंभ के अवसर पर टर्मिनल टैक्स (पिलग्रिमेज) लगा दिया। मुझे यह देख कर बहुत आश्चर्य हुआ कि जब एक टेक्सेशन के बारे में नियमित रूप से आये हुए परचे पर विचार करने में तो आपको दिक्कत पड़ती है लेकिन अनियमित रूप से आप दूसरी जगह उसको एक आर्डिनंस के द्वारा लगा देते हैं। मेरा ख्याल है कि हम लोग भारत में बहुत ही पिछड़ी हुई जगहों के रहने वाले हैं, वहां के रहने वालों की आवाज सरकार के कानों तक कम पहुंच पाती है और यही कारण है कि वह आज भी नेगलेक्टेड पड़े हुए हैं, मुझे पूर्ण आशा है कि हमारे मंत्री महोदय, उन इलाके के लोगों की ओर ध्यान देंगे और उन के मामले पर सहानुभूतिपूर्वक विचार करेंगे। मैं एक दो बात और भी कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं ने अभी आपके सामने जिक्र किया कि इस गवर्नमेंट की आफिशियल पालिसी और प्लानिंग का शुरू से सम्बन्ध रहा है और एक वेलफेयर स्टेट में पिछड़े लोगों के क्षेत्र में काम करना इस योजना

[श्र जजवाड़े]

(पंचवर्षीय) का प्रमुख अंग है, परन्तु मुझे दुःख होता है कि जब मैं देखता हूँ कि दामोदर बैली प्रोजेक्ट पर संथाल परगना और छोटे नागपुर के इलाके से करीब एक लाख एकड़ जमीन बंगाल के लिये डुबोई जा रही है। और भी संथाल परगने की मोर प्रोजेक्ट में वह जमीन डुबोई जा रही है जिसमें पूरे ५३ गांव हैं और आंशिक रूप से ७९ गांव हैं और वहां पर ८३०० संथाल और अन्य लोगों के घर आबाद हैं और २१ हजार की आबादी वहां पर बसती है, २७ हजार एकड़ जमीन जब हम प्रोजेक्ट के मातहत बंगाल के लिये डुबोने जा रहे हैं तो मैं पूछूंगा कि सरकार ने वहां जो आदिवासी बसते हैं और अन्य लोगों के घर बसे हुए हैं उन के लिये आपने जमीन और सैलाब का क्या इन्तजाम किया है पिछली प्लानिंग के समय भी इन पिछड़े हुए भागों के लिये जो इन्तजाम बजट में था, मंत्री महोदय देख कर बतलायें कि उन्होंने उसमें से कितना पैसा इन लोगों की दशा सुधारने के लिये अब तक लगाया है? चूँकि ऐसे भागों में काम करने में कठिनाई पेश आती है इसलिये ऐसे भागों के काम का प्रोग्राम गड़हे में फेंक दिया जाता है, वहां के रहने वालों की आवाज उन के कानों तक नहीं पहुंच सकती और इसलिये वे भाग बिल्कुल न गलेक्टेड छोड़ दिये जाते हैं। यदि सरकार की मंशा ऐसे भागों की अवहेलना करना है तो मैं नहीं समझता कि हम अपने निर्वाचन क्षेत्रों में जा कर कैसे लोगों में इस पंचवर्षीय योजना के लिये उत्साह पैदा करें? क्या हम उन से यह बतलायें कि प्लानिंग में तुम्हारे लिये केवल यह आया है कि तुम्हारी एक लाख एकड़ जमीन को बंगाल के खातिर डुबो दिया जायेगा और सरकार ने उस भाग के लिये कोई खास काम का प्रोग्राम जनता के सामने नहीं रखा है? मैं अर्थ मंत्री

महोदय से निवेदन करूंगा कि वे इन बातों पर ज़रा ध्यान दें तो पिछड़े लोगों का कल्याण होगा।

शिक्षा की बड़ी दयनीय अवस्था वहां पर है, एक लाख की आबादी वाले पहाड़ी क्षेत्र के लिये सिर्फ एक मिडिल स्कूल की व्यवस्था थी। वह भी मेरे चेयरमैन के काल में जिला बोर्ड से किया गया था। आज इस बात की बड़ी आवश्यकता है कि शिक्षा का वहां पर प्रसार होना चाहिये और वहां पर और अधिक स्कूलों के खोलना का इन्तजाम होना चाहिये, मैं तो सुझाव दूंगा कि उनके लिये कम्पलसरी शिक्षा की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये जब कि उनसे भी पैसा लिया जाता है। इसलिये शिक्षा का वहां पर प्रसार करना बहुत ज़रूरी है। इसके अलावा वहां का जो सवाई ग्रास का उद्योग है वह भी आज चौपट हो गया है। आज उसका उत्पादन काफी घट गया है। आज हम जो हर क्षेत्र में पिछड़े वर्ग के लोगों के प्रति अवहेलना बरतते देखते हैं तो यकीन मानिये उस अवहेलना को देख कर किसी भी प्राणी का हृदय व्यथित हुए बिना नहीं रह सकता। मैं न इन पिछड़े हुए प्रदेशों के लोगों के सम्बन्ध में एक प्रश्न भी किया था, और मैं फिर भी व्यापार मंत्री से आग्रह करूंगा कि इसकी जानकारी पूरी तरह से करायें, उन्होंने आश्वासन दिया था कि इस सवाई ग्रास के काम की जो हालत है मैं उसको बढ़ाने के सम्बन्ध में खोज करूंगा और फिर आपको बतलाऊंगा, लेकिन उन्होंने अभी तक उस सम्बन्ध में नहीं बतलाया। इस बार उसकी उत्पत्ति क्या हुई? पहले साढ़े तीन लाख मन उत्पत्ति थी, साढ़े तीन लाख मन के ऊपर प्रत्येक मन के पीछे पांच सेर और ज्यादा तुलता था। अगर इस प्रकार से सरकारी हस्तक्षेप से और बाहरी व्यवसायों के द्वारा

पिछड़े वर्ग को किसी तरह की हानि पहुंचती है तो यह उचित और उपादेय नहीं है।

लाख इन्डस्ट्री के सम्बन्ध में संथाल परगने का जिक्र हुआ था, इस पर भी सरकार को ध्यान देना चाहिये।

स्वास्थ्य के बारे में मैं क्या कहूँ, अब मैं पानी के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं वहाँ की हालत आपसे क्या कहूँ। वहाँ पर पीने लायक पानी का बिल्कुल अभाव है। पानी जो कि स्वास्थ्य का मूलाधार है अगर वही नहीं होगा तो काम कैसे चलेगा? मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार को इस पर भी विशेष रूप से ध्यान देना चाहिये।

इस के बाद पत्थर का व्यापार है। पत्थर का व्यापार हमारे यहाँ एक खास रोजगार था, लेकिन उस पर भी प्रतिबन्ध है। मोकामा ब्रिज जो बन रहा है, उसमें संथाल परगने का पत्थर नहीं लग सकता। पहले तो यह मनाही थी कि संथाल परगने का मजदूर भी वहाँ नहीं जायगा, लेकिन अब सिर्फ वहाँ का पत्थर नहीं जा सकता। मैं नहीं समझता कि जिस देश में खाली पत्थर है, पत्थर तोड़ कर जहाँ के लोग अपनी जीविका चलाते हैं, उस पर प्रतिबन्ध लगा कर सरकार क्यों बाधा डालती है। मेरा खयाल है कि सरकार को इन बातों पर जरूर ध्यान देना चाहिये। प्लैनिंग के आधार पर पिछड़े वर्ग की उन्नति का जो विधान है, उसमें विशेष रूप से उसको सैलावी के लिये इन्तजाम करना चाहिये जिससे लोगों को खाने की कोई शिकायत न रहे। मैं समझता हूँ कि मैंने अपनी बातें स्पष्ट रूप से आपके सामने रख दी हैं।

**Shri Sarangadhar Das** (Dhenkanal-West Cuttack): Mr. Deputy-Speaker. I want first of all briefly to reply to my hon. friend Shri T. N. Singh. He had said that the Opposition is always up to criticisms and bringing in

foreign countries and all that. I want to remind him that it is the job of the Opposition to criticise, to call a spade a spade and not to kowtow to the members of the Government and say that everything is rosy. We are here for that reason. We have different groups and different ideas. I personally do not like to bring in any foreign country while criticising the Government for its activities. What they do in Russia, what they do in the United States and what they do in England are not our concern here as they are not connected with the issue that we have to judge; because conditions there are different and people are different. Consequently, what we have to judge is whether or not the Government is doing what we can do here.

I have said twice before during the last two or three years that though my Party does not think highly of this Plan and does not extend its full co-operation but only co-operation in certain areas of agreement, I personally extended my full co-operation perhaps more than any Congressman has ever done. In my State, and here also, I have invited the attention of the Ministers to several minor irrigation schemes. Barring one or two, out of the 39 that I had given them, nothing has been done.

**Shri K. K. Basu** (Diamond Harbour): They always act in that manner.

**Shri Sarangadhar Das:** A few months back I had given a challenge to the Government of Orissa that they are using all this money intended for development work to establish Congress branches in different parts of the country, using the money for consolidating the Congress. I had said that, for development work, the Ministers as well as the present-day officers are absolutely incompetent. I had given the challenge that I could prove it if they appoint a judicial commission and there has been no reply to it.

It is wrong to say that because we are in the Opposition, our job is to

[Shri Sarangadhar Das]

oppose everything that the Government does. We also realise that we have as much right in this country as the ruling Party has and all the citizens enjoy the same rights. We do not want to deprive ourselves of whatever little we can derive out of the Plan under the present circumstances. That is why, I fully co-operated in this matter but, I regret to say that it has been a big frustration in my life that my co-operation was not taken. While co-operating, I found out all the ways in which money was going down the drains. I use that word again. Two years ago I used this word. At that time the Finance Minister had remarked that there might be a little bit of less here and a little bit there, but it is not right to say that money is going down the drains. I repeat that money is going down the drains.

I find that the planners, especially the Finance Minister, are enamoured of saying whether the target of expenditure has been reached or not. If a State had been given five crores of rupees, whether they have spent five crores or four crores, that is the point they have been discussing. This is absolutely Delhi Secretariat mentality (*Interruption*): Sitting down here in office, you say that so much money has been given for education, for this purpose or for that purpose. You ask a report whether that money has been spent. Do you ever take it into your head to ask what work has been done? Let us say there are 100 minor irrigation schemes. How many schemes have been accomplished out of the money that has been spent? That is the point. From my personal experience, from what little experience I have of business concerns, it is wrong to find out how much money has been spent. This is not the way in which a Ministry of the State should view things. The point is how much work has been done. Supposing, due to certain delays, due to red-tapism here or there, all the money has not been spent. Only half of it has been spent. What we have to find out is whether half the work that

was planned had been done. Why not give us an assessment every year in this fashion that so much was the target of work and so much has been reached?

Talking of targets, there is the case of sugar. There was a certain target for production that was planned in the Five Year Plan. That target was exceeded in 1951-52. So, our Government and the Ministers concerned were vociferous in saying that the target had been exceeded. But, what had happened during the last two years? Just now, there is scarcity of sugar. The sugar that we have ordered from foreign countries or bought from them has not reached us and the price has appreciated by about Rs. 6 per md. in Calcutta. Even at that low quality sugar is being supplied in Calcutta. This I read this morning from the market reports in the *Statesman*. Why is it so? Because the planners did not go into the root of the thing. About sugar, I have said many a time that this North Indian area is not suitable for sugarcane cultivation. This area will never produce 45 or 50 tons per acre as South India, Mysore and parts of Maharashtra can produce, because Northern India is not fully tropical. Instead of going to the root of it and rectifying the mistake, we are doing something else. The private capitalists, who were nothing but cloth traders, who had a few lakhs of rupees in 1932-33 and 34 went all over Northern India and put up sugar factories at stations served by the B.N.W.R., without knowing anything about agriculture or the technique of sugar manufacture. They had been put in there by mistake. They must be moved to the South, to the tropical belt—this includes Bengal and Orissa also. Whether U.P. object to it or Bihar object to it, we have to take into consideration the national interest. I repeat that if you take away all these sugar factories to the South, or as I said to the tropical belt, produce enough sugar for the requirements of the country and for the increasing population and increasing consumption, you will save somewhere

about 500,000 or 600,000 acres of land which you can put to foodgrain crops, because the production here is about 15 tons per acre. After 30 years of research and spending crores of rupees, the production of sugarcane per acre has gone up from 10 tons to 15 tons per acre, while it is over 50 tons per acre in Maharashtra. It is all lopsided—someone sitting down in the Secretariat and making a plan and being happy that in 1951-52 we have exceeded the target. Now, there is no sugar in the country and people are buying from wherever it is available in the Calcutta market particularly. It is the same thing about every aspect of the Plan that I see. Barring a few multi-purpose projects, where certainly much more money is being spent than should have been,—I believe those multi-purpose projects will bring some benefit to the country—many of the development plans are no plans at all; they are all haphazard and I do not know where the trouble lies. Sometimes the money that has been sanctioned in the budget goes to be spent in the month of January or February, and Governments have to spend Rs. 4,00,000 or Rs. 5,00,000 inside of a month or two—this is impossible and so it lapses. Let us go from Education to cottage industry. That is the way we are—I would not say muddling through—drifting without any set purpose.

About cottage industry, lately this House has been very much pre-occupied with a desire to revive it. I agree and share this universal desire. In that field, what is being done? You put some cess on the mill cloth, get a few crores of rupees and distribute it Rs. 5 lakhs here, Rs. 5 lakhs there and so on, but what is the plan for improving the industry? I believe some of the Members of the House have visited the Khadi Exhibition, and I must say that the people who have concentrated on *khadi* production for the last 30 or 35 years, have certainly accomplished something without the aid of Government and in spite of the opposition of the British Government of those days. They have shown there

that the four-spindle *charkha* has become a success—that is what planning means. You cannot pamper the *khadi* industry for ever. While giving this protection or subsidy to *khadi*, you must find out how the output of *khadi* may be increased, how the cost of production can be lowered by putting in a little machine here, and a little machine there, which Japan has been doing for about a hundred years now—a co-operation between the mill industry and the cottage industry. I have asked several times questions here as to what has been done about mechanisation in a small way of cottage industries, and the Minister of Commerce has every time replied that the States are doing one thing or another. That one thing or another we do not know, and I say nobody is doing anything. It is only spending money and organising in some way, and when the money fountain will dry up here, then that organisation will go to pieces and nothing will remain.

I come now to the taxes of this year—the cesses. It is often fashionable for us to say that this Budget is a rich man's Budget and not a poor man's Budget. I have not heard it said this year, but I do think it is a rich man's budget because our Government keeps the rich people uppermost before their eyes. The Taxation Enquiry Commission is still sitting. It has been said by the Finance Minister that there is no change in the income-tax or super-tax in the Budget because he is awaiting the report of the Taxation Enquiry Commission. If that is so for the rich man, why was it necessary to put these cesses on the poor man's requirements like soap, footwear and other articles, without waiting for the Commission's report? It is good that on art silk the Minister has announced some concessions, but about footwear, I wish to point out that in our country, people do not wear shoes and it is only lately that some are beginning to do so. Wearing shoes is a good thing for health, because I know—and the doctor Members here will confirm it—that if you go bare-footed about the countryside, there is a germ that gets

[Shri Sarangadhar Das]

into the stomach through the sole and causes hook-worm trouble. It is necessary that we shoe ourselves. All that was happening during the last ten or fifteen years because certain shoe or rubber manufacturers put out cheap rubber-sole canvas-upper shoes at Rs. 1-8-0 or Rs. 1-12-0 per pair and the poor man could wear them, particularly in summer time in the cities when going about on the asphalted roads. The soles are burnt unless you have something on, and the shoe is produced in a power-driven factory. It must be absolutely power-driven, absolutely well-organised in its manufacturing equipment. You cannot make such a shoe in a cottage industry, and that shoe is going to pay four annas to six annas a pair as cess. So, while on the one hand we always think of the rich,—whether a particular measure will hurt him, whether it will benefit him, and whether he will be encouraged to form capital,—on the other hand, we do everything to trample over the masses of the people, the crores of people who have been burdened with tax after tax, Central as well as State, during the last eight or ten years. That is why I say this is a rich man's Budget.

My time is up and I cannot go into any further details, but the main point that I would like to bring to the notice of the House is that the Plan is not properly worked. It is being imposed from here. As I have said several times before, where people want a certain river to be dammed, so that their lands which were going dry for years together for want of rain, may be irrigated, we give cottage industries, this and that, to be worked by officers who live in towns and call it a community project. In Balasore in Orissa there is such a project. In fact the people of that area have been wanting something, but something else has been imposed on them. Not that what has been imposed on them is bad. It is not bad. But the people in that area do not want that. Their first priority is the bunding of the river. I notice that lately, during the

last one year, Government has become conscious of this and beginning from the Prime Minister they have been talking that plans must come from villages upwards. I do not know how far they are succeeding in getting plans from village upwards, and whether the officers who have to work these have a village mind or town mind. So, I would wind up my speech by saying that I oppose this Bill that has been introduced by the Finance Minister.

डा० डी० एन० पाण्डीकर काम्बले  
(नान्देड़—रक्षित—अनुसूचित जातियाँ) :  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज दो साल के बाद मुझे भाषण का समय मिला है, इसलिये मैं आपका अत्यन्त आभारी हूँ।

मैंने फाइनेंस बिल को अच्छी तरह से देखा है और मैं निस्संकोच कह सकता हूँ कि यह हमारे देश की आर्थिक समस्याओं के मकसद को पूरा करता है, इसलिये मैं इस बिल का समर्थन करता हूँ।

इस बिल में जूतों पर जो टैक्स लगाया गया है यह अभिनन्दनीय है, कारण, भारत-वर्ष एक कृषि प्रधान देश है और काश्तकार और गरीब तबका ज्यादातर देहाती चमारों द्वारा बनाये हुए जूते पहनता है। बाटा, फ्लैक्स इत्यादि फैक्टरीज के मुकाबले में हमारे चमार नहीं टिक सकते। इस बिल से फैक्टरीज के बने हुए जूतों पर टैक्स लगेगा और फल स्वरूप उन जूतों की कीमत बढ़ जायेगी और उस हालत में हाथ से बने हुए चमारी जूते किसी हद तक उन का मुकाबला कर सकेंगे। मेरा विश्वास है कि इस टैक्स के लगाने से हमारे गरीब चमार भाइयों को रोजी मिलेगी और ग्रामीण चर्म उद्योग तरक्की करेगा।

इस बिल में खादी और हैंडलूम क कपड़े को संरक्षण दिया गया है। एडीशनल एक-साइज ड्यूटी की वजह से मिल के कपड़े की कीमत ज्यादा होगी और खादी और हाथ से बना हुआ (हैंडलूम) का कपड़ा मिल क

कपड़े का किसी हद तक मुकाबला कर सकेगा। इससे गरीब कारीगर को रोजी मिलेगी और खादी तथा हंडलूम का प्रचार ज्यादा होगा।

इस बिल में रस्सी उद्योग की तरफ भी ध्यान देना जरूरी था। काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज के तहत यह धंधा है और ज्यादा तर हरिजन की रोजी का यह एक धंधा है। सन, केतकी, नारियल वगैरह रॉमेटिरियल सप्लाय करने का इन्तजाम करके सरकार को तैयार माल बाजार में फरोस्त करने का प्रबन्ध करना चाहिये साथ ही इन की कोअपरेटिव सोसाइटीज कायम करके इनको कर्ज देने की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये। टैन्री और कीटेज इंडस्ट्रीज की कोअपरेटिव सोसाइटीज को कर्ज देकर सरकार ने जो संरक्षण प्रदान किया है, उससे हरिजनों की रोजी का सवाल बड़ी हद तक हल हो जाता है।

अपने देश की इस पंचवर्षीय योजना को सफल बनाने के लिये पैसे की बहुत जरूरत है। मैं इस सम्बन्ध में एक सुझाव पेश करना चाहता हूँ और मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार अगर चाहे तो उस पर अमल करके बड़ी तादाद में रुपया जमा कर सकती है। हमारे देश में कई मन्दिर ऐसे हैं जिन के पास करोड़ों रुपये की संपत्ति पड़ी हुई है और आज उनके महन्त और पुजारी लोग उस सम्पत्ति का दुरुपयोग कर रहे हैं, अगर सरकार इन मन्दिरों की सम्पत्ति अमानत या कर्ज समझ कर इस योजना को उन्नति देने के काम में लाये तो किस हद तक हमारी योजना पूरी हो सकती है माननीय वित्त मंत्री का ध्यान मैं इस ओर आकर्षित करता हूँ, वह इस पर विचार करें। इन मन्दिरों के पुजारियों, महन्तों तथा व्यवस्थापकों को देश को उन्नत तथा शक्तिशाली बनाने के लिये इन मन्दिरों की पूरी सम्पत्ति राष्ट्र की अमानत समझ कर या कर्ज

समझ कर सरकार के हवाले कर देनी चाहिये, उन्हें सोमनाथ मन्दिर और महमूद गजनवी का इतिहास अपने आंखों के सामने रखना चाहिये और उसे भूलना नहीं चाहिये। पाकिस्तान और अमेरिका के हथकंडों से सावधान हो कर इस बेकार पड़ी धनराशि का सदुपयोग करने का सरकार को मौका देना चाहिये।

11 A.M.

स्वराज्य प्राप्ति के बाद जनता में जो उत्तेजना और सहकार्य का अभाव नजर आता है, सरकार को उस तरफ ध्यान देना निहायत जरूरी है। सरकार का ध्यान इधर कम है, यह दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है। जनता का सरकार पर से विश्वास उठता जा रहा है, इसलिये हमें आज आर्थिक समस्या का मुकाबला करना पड़ रहा है। मिसाल के तौर पर मैं आपको बतलाऊँ कि बाजार में १२, १३ आने सेर चीनी मिलती थी अब वह एक रुपये सेर बिक रही है और यह इस कारण हुआ कि सरकार ने बाजार भाव पर निगरानी और नियंत्रण नहीं रखा। सट्टे बाजी और साठे बाजी (hoarding) पर बन्धन नहीं डाला, दूसरे खाद्य मंत्री ने जो आश्वासन दिया था वह पूरा नहीं किया। उन के कहने के बावजूद छिपा हुआ कोटा बाजार में नहीं आया और पांच लाख टन चीनी बाहर से वक्त पर नहीं आई, जिसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि चीनी की कीमत बढ़ गई। इसी तरह पंच साला योजना में जो इलाके उपेक्षित हैं उधर सरकार का ध्यान नहीं गया है। हैदराबाद, स्टेट के मराठवाड़ा इलाके को पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना में कुछ भी नहीं मिला। इस इलाके में अगर बड़ी योजना नहीं की गई तो न सही, लेकिन यहां पर छोटी स्कीमों लिफ्ट-इरिगेशन आदि की बहुत अच्छी तरह से कामयाब हो

[श्री डी० एन० पाथीकर काम्बले]

सकती है। जब हमारे कृषि मंत्री डा० पंजाबराव देशमुख मराठवाड़े के दौरे पर गये थे तो मैंने उन्हें स्वयं परभनी जिले के खल्ली-मुली स्थान पर गोदावरी के किनारे लिफ्ट इरिगेशन स्कीम के बारे में बताया था और कहा था कि यह योजना मराठवाड़े में कामयाब हो सकती है। इस योजना के चलाने में खर्च कम आयेगा और फायदा अधिक पहुंचेगा। सरकार का ध्यान इस ओर जाना चाहिये।

जनता का विश्वास प्राप्त करने के लिये और सहकार्य से आर्थिक समस्या हल करने के लिये निम्न बातों पर ध्यान देना जरूरी है हुकूमत के इन्तजाम में नये सिरे से संशोधन करके तबदीली करना आवश्यक है। मौजूदा हुकूमत का ढांचा अंग्रेजों ने अपने फायदे के लिये बनाया था, अब समय आ गया है कि हमें इसे भारतीय ढंग से बनाना चाहिये और विभिन्न स्टेटों में 'ए' 'बी' 'सी' के अन्तर को निकाल देना चाहिये। सरकार ने जो आश्वासन दिया है और जो वायदा किया है वह पूरा करना चाहिये और उस पर अमल होना चाहिये।

पंच साला योजना में जो लोग नजर-अंदाज किये गये हैं उनको उचित स्थान देना चाहिये और हरिजन भाइयों और पिछड़े हुए लोगों के फायदे के लिये एक योजना बनानी चाहिये। जनता की भावनाओं का आदर करके उनको उचित स्थान देना चाहिये। मिसाल के तौर पर हैदराबाद की जनता हैदराबाद का विभाजन चाहती है, सरकार को उसे पूरा करना चाहिये। सरकार को पंच-साला योजना कामयाब करने के लिये पैसे की जरूरत है। अपोजीशन पार्टीज से मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार के पास कोई एक

जादू की छड़ी तो है नहीं कि धुमा दी और काम बन गया और न ही हमारी सरकार के पास अलाउद्दीन का चिराग है जो पलक झपकते काम पूरा हो जाय। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह जोटैक्स लगाये गये हैं वह ठीक और उचित है। अन्त में मैं एक बार फिर इस बिल का समर्थन करके अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

श्री बलवन्त सिंह महता (उदयपुर) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो वित्त विधेयक हमारे सामने मौजूद है, वह एक नई दिशा का सूचक है, उसमें गृह उद्योग घंघों को प्रोत्साहन और संरक्षण दिया गया है अतः यह एक सही दिशा में एक सही कदम है, इसके लिये मैं वित्त मंत्री को बधाई देता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि आइन्दा वर्ष भी वे इसी दिशा को छोड़ेंगे नहीं और एक बहुत बड़ा क्रान्तिकारी कदम इसी दिशा में उठायेंगे क्योंकि आज हमारे यहां बेकारी की बहुत बड़ी समस्या है और यह एक राष्ट्रीय समस्या बन गई है और इसके कारण आज देश में बड़ी परेशानी पाई जाती है। चारों ओर हम देखते हैं कि लाखों आदमी बेकार घूम रहे हैं, हज़ारों नौजवान आदमी आज निराशा में डूबे हुए इधर उधर मारे मारे फिर रहे हैं, वे काम चाहते हैं लेकिन आज उनके पास कोई काम नहीं है। हम अक्सर अखबारों में पढ़ते हैं और सुनते हैं कि इसी बेकारी के कारण बहुत से नौजवानों ने आत्महत्या कर ली, लेकिन मैं आपको बताऊँ कि दिल्ली में इसी होली के दिन जब कि सारा दिल्ली होली मना रहा था, एक नवयुवक जन्तर मन्तर में आता है और वहां का जो सन डायल जो सब से ऊंचा स्तम्भ है, वहां से उस नौजवान को आत्म हत्या का प्रयत्न करते हुए मैंने स्वयं अपनी आंखों से देखा है और वह नौजवान वहां से कूद पड़ता है। वह बेहोश हो जाता



हैं और पुलिस के द्वारा अस्पताल में ले जाया जाता है। मुझे पता नहीं कि उसके बाद उसका क्या हुआ। लेकिन मुझ से कहा गया कि वह बहुत दिनों से बेकार था और उसे कोई भी रोजी नहीं मिली थी। आये दिन इस प्रकार की घटनाएँ हमारे यहां हो रही हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमको एक बहुत क्रान्तिकारी कदम मजबूत आर्थिक स्थिति को सुधारने के लिये उठाना होगा। मुझे इस के लिये केवल दो ही मार्ग दिखाई पड़ते हैं। एक तो यह कि वर्तमान शिक्षा के रूप को परिवर्तन करें और जल्दी से जल्दी क्रान्तिकारी परिवर्तन करके ऐसी शिक्षा दें जिससे कि हमारे नौजवान और हमारे देशवासी किसी काम पर लगेँ और अपनी रोटी कमा सकें। दूसरी बात यह है कि गृह उद्योग घंघों को प्रोत्साहन दे कर उन के क्षेत्रों का विभाजन किया जाय। जब तक हम उनका विभाजन नहीं करेंगे अर्थात् छोटे उद्योग घंघे, बड़े उद्योग घंघे और मध्यम श्रेणी के उद्योग घंघे, तब तक हमारा काम नहीं चल सकेगा। उन के लिये डिमाकॅशन हो कर, रिजर्वेशन होना चाहिये कि अमुक घंघे गृह-उद्योग घंघों के द्वारा ही चलेंगे, इस के सिवा हमें कोई चारा नहीं भालूम होता कि हम सारे देश को काम पर लगा सकें। यह आपको करना होगा यदि आप देश में शान्ति चाहते हैं और लोगों को काम पर लगाना चाहते हैं। जो कुछ भी राहत हमको मिल सकती है वह केवल गृह उद्योग घंघों के पनपने से ही मिल सकती है। यही एक मात्र उपाय है जिसको कि आप सब लोगों को काम देने के लिये अपनायें और यही एक नीति हो सकती है जिसको जल्दी से काम में लाकर लोगों को अपनी उन्नति करने का मौका दे सकते हैं।

दूसरी बात यह है कि आज हमारा मध्यम वर्ग बहुत ज्यादा परेशान है। कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि मध्यम वर्ग की इस देश में

आवश्यकता नहीं है। लेकिन मैं उन लोगों में से नहीं हूँ जो कि यह बात मानते हैं। मध्यम वर्ग ने काफी कुर्बानी की है और वह समाज की रीढ़ कहे जा सकते हैं। उसी ने क्रान्ति की है और बराबर हर देश में वही वर्ग क्रान्ति करता है। लेकिन आज वह बेकारी के कारण बहुत परेशान है। इसलिये उसको बचाया जाना चाहिये और उसको बचाने का उपाय केवल यही हो सकता है, जैसा कि मैं ने बताया, कि शिक्षा में परिवर्तन हो और दूसरे उद्योग घंघों को प्रोत्साहन दिया जाय।

तीसरी बात यह है कि हमारे किसान भाई जो कि करीब ८० या ८५ प्रतिशत इस देश में रहते हैं, या यूँ कहा जाय कि सारा देश ही किसानों का है, बड़ी दिक्कत में हैं। आज लाखों किसान ऐसे हैं जो बिना जमीन के हैं। आज जमीन के मालिक दूसरे लोग हैं जब कि लाखों ऐसे किसान हैं जिसका खुद का पेशा किसानी का रहा है, बिना जमीन के रह रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारा प्लैनिंग कमीशन इस बात के लिये जल्दी से जल्दी विचार करके इस प्रश्न को अपने हाथ में लेगा जिससे कोई भी किसान बिना जमीन के नहीं रहे। हमारा बड़ा सौभाग्य है कि हमारे यहां पर एक बहुत बड़ी आर्थिक क्रान्ति हो रही है भूदान के नाम से। संत विनोबा ने इस क्रान्ति को आरम्भ किया है और यह संसार की एक अद्भुत क्रान्ति है जिसको हमें सफल करना है। संत विनोबा ने इसको आरम्भ किया है परन्तु इसमें पूर्णाहुति देनी है हमारी गवर्नमेंट को। वह इस प्रकार से दे सकती है कि हमारे यहां एक साल के अन्दर कोई भी किसान ऐसा न रहे जिस के पास कि ज़मीन न रहे। देश में जितनी भी जमीन है उसको हमारे देश में जितने किसान हैं उनको बांट दी जानी चाहिये। इसके साथ हमें यह भी करना चाहिये कि कोई भी प्राइवेट लैंडिंग प्रापर्टी न

[श्री बलवन्त सिंह महता]

रख सके। यह हमारे लिये एक अभिशाप है कि हम इन चीजों पर भी कब्जा किये हुए हैं जिन को कुदरत ने सब को समान रूप से दिया है।

श्री आर० एन० सिंह (ज़िला गाज़ीपुर—पूर्व व ज़िला बलिया—दक्षिण पश्चिम) : क्या प्रॉपर्टी मिल्ल रहे ?

श्री बलवन्त सिंह महता : तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इस बड़े कदम की ओर हमारे योजना आयोग को ध्यान देना चाहिये कि हमारे यहां पर सारी की सारी जमीन उन लोगों को बांट दी जाय जो कि किसान होते हुए भी भूमि के मालिक नहीं हैं। जब हम प्राइवेट लैंडिंग प्रापर्टी को भी खत्म कर देंगे तभी हम अपने किसानों को राहत पहुंचा सकेंगे और देश आगे बढ़ा सकेंगे। हमारे यहां थोड़े से आदमी हैं जो कि मिलों के मालिक हैं, वे भी इस दशा में नहीं रह सकेंगे।

श्री सैय्यद अहमद (होशंगाबाद) : बड़े बड़े मकानात जो हैं, बम्बई में ?

श्री बलवन्त सिंह महता : दूसरी बात में यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे यहां जो मूलाधिकार दिये गये हैं, जो फंडामेंटल राइट्स कहे जाते हैं, कि प्रत्येक आदमी स्वतंत्र है, किन्तु सामूहिक रूप से स्वतंत्रता रखने के लिये ये ही मूलाधिकार आज उपयोगी नहीं हो रहे हैं। आपको बतलाऊं कि आज हम लोग सामूहिक रूप से अपना खुद का खाना भी अपनी इच्छा से नहीं खा सकते हैं। अपने खुद के परिश्रम से बने मकान में नहीं रह सकते हैं, अपनी खुद की पसन्द के कपड़े नहीं पहन सकते हैं। यह बड़े ही दुःख की बात है। आप कहेंगे कि कैसे? राजस्थान एक ऐसा प्रदेश है जहां पर बहुतायत से पशु रहते हैं। बल्कि देश में सब से ज्यादा दूध का उत्पादन राजस्थान में होता है, वहां पशुपालन बहुत बड़ी इन्डस्ट्री

याने घंघा है। लेकिन वहां पर हो क्या रहा है? वहां पर नकली घी लाने के लिये केन्द्रीय सरकार मजबूर कर रही है। वहां पर इस पर पहले से प्रतिबन्ध लागू है कि वहां नकली घी नहीं आ सकता, लेकिन हमारी यहां की सरकार आज मजबूर कर रही है कि वहां पर दाल्दा इत्यादि का प्रवेश हो। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह एक प्रकार की हमारी स्वतंत्रता का अपहरण है। आज हम लोग स्वतंत्र हैं, अपनी तन्दुरुस्ती को अच्छी रखना चाहते हैं, लेकिन इस तरह की बातों का मतलब यह होगा कि हमें अपनी तन्दुरुस्ती को भी कायम रखने के अधिकारी नहीं हैं। आज जो लोग वहां पर गोपालन कर रहे हैं, उन के यहां यह बहुत बड़ी इन्डस्ट्री है, लेकिन आज उनको मजबूर किया जा रहा है कि उसे खत्म कर दो। देश में ऐसे कई लोग हैं जो कि अपने यहां विदेशी कपड़ों तथा विदेशी वस्तुओं की नहीं आने देना चाहते, वह नहीं चाहते कि उन के यहां मिल का कपड़ा आये, वहां के जुलाहे और किसान चाहते हैं कि वह अपने यहां का बना हुआ कपड़ा पहनें, लेकिन वह ऐसा नहीं कर पाते हैं। किन्तु बात यह है कि विधान के अनुसार बाहर की चीजों को लाने से रोका नहीं जा सकता। हम चाहते हैं कि विधान के उसूल कायम रहें, मगर उन्हें बाहर की चीजें रोकने की स्वतंत्रता होनी चाहिये। अगर किसी प्रदेश या गांव के लोग यह चाहते हैं कि उन के यहां ऐसा प्रतिबन्ध लगे तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इसके लिये विधान में भी संशोधन करना पड़े तो करना चाहिये जिसमें कि उनको हर प्रकार की स्वतंत्रता मिल सके कि वह अपनी इच्छा से अपना भोजन कर सकें, अपनी इच्छा के अनुसार शुद्ध घी का उपयोग कर सकें, अपनी इच्छा के अनुसार स्वच्छ कपड़ा पहन सकें और अपने आदमियों को रोजी दे सकें। यह बहुत बड़ा आवश्यक मुद्दा है जो विधान

में संशोधन के द्वारा ही दूर हो सकता है और इस पर आपको ध्यान देना चाहिये। रेशनलाइजेशन (नवीकरण) के बारे में भी यहां कहा गया है। अगर यह आपने किया और यहां की चीजें हमारे यहां जाने लगीं, यहां का वनरपति घी वहां जाने लगा तो इसका नतीजा यह होगा कि लाखों आदमी जो हमारे यहां आज पशु पालन के उद्योग में लगे हुए हैं वह बेकार हो जायेंगे। मैं समझता हूं कि सरकार की नीति यह नहीं है कि हम आदमियों को बेकार करें। इसलिये जितने उद्योग घंघे आज पनप रहे हैं उनकी तरफ हम लोगों का विशेष ध्यान होना चाहिये।

दूसरे गृह उद्योगों के सम्बन्ध में मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूं कि हम लोगों ने इस बात का नारा लगाया था कि प्रत्येक आदमी को भोजन मिलेगा, कपड़ा मिलेगा और घर मिलेगा। इस के बीच में मैं एक बात यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारे यहां जो पंचवर्षीय योजना बनी है वह वास्तव में बड़ी सुन्दर बनी है और मैं समझता हूं कि हमने बहुत बड़ा उदाहरण संसार के सामने रखा है कि बिना आंसू और थकान और रक्तपात के याने विदाउट टिअर ऐंड ट्वायल और विदाउट ब्लड हमने बहुत बड़ी आर्थिक क्रान्ति इस पंचवर्षीय योजना के द्वारा की है। मैं समझता हूं कि पंचवर्षीय योजना बना कर राष्ट्र ने एक संकल्प किया है इसलिये हमको उस से पीछे नहीं हटना चाहिये। यह नहीं कि इसको हम ६ या ७ वर्ष तक घसीट ले जायें, हमें इसको अवधि के अन्दर ही समाप्त करना चाहिये क्योंकि यह राष्ट्र की प्रतिज्ञा है।

तो जो मैं कह रहा था कि हमने मकानों के लिये भी एक प्लैन-योजना में कहा है, लेकिन मैं समझता हूं कि बहुत सी रियासतों ने पत्थर के ऊपर भी टैक्स लगाया हुआ है, खास कर

उस पत्थर के ऊपर जिसको कि मैसनरीस्टोन (चुनाई का पत्थर) कहते हैं। जो किसान अपने मकान बनाना चाहते हैं, खेत की मेड़ बनाना चाहते हैं, उन पर भी टैक्स लग जाता है। मैं समझता हूं कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय इसकी ओर ध्यान देंगे और यदि यह प्रान्तीय सरकार से सम्बन्धित हो तो उनको आदेश देंगे कि इस प्रकार का टैक्स बिल्कुल माफ कर दिया जाय ताकि हर एक आदमी अपना घर बना कर उसमें रह सके।

तीसरी बात राजस्थान के सम्बन्ध में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जितनी उसकी आय ली गई है और जितना वह पिछड़ा हुआ प्रदेश है उसको देखते हुए उसको बहुत कम सहायता मिली है। उसे कम से कम उतनी सहायता तो मिलनी ही चाहिये जितने कि उसके आय के साधन ले लिये गये हैं।

अभी काटेज इन्डस्ट्री की रिपोर्ट हमारे सामने आयी है उसमें राजस्थान का उल्लेख कहीं नहीं है। जितने उसके क्राफ्ट्स हैं और काटेज इन्डस्ट्रीज हैं उनको अगर सहायता दी भी गई है तो बहुत कम दी गई है। और प्रांतों में जितनी काटेज इन्डस्ट्रीज हैं उनको काफी सहायता दी गई है लेकिन राजस्थान को बहुत ही कम सहायता दी गई है। राजस्थान में बहुत ज्यादा उद्योग घंघे हैं। मैं आशा करता हूं कि आप उनकी ओर ध्यान देंगे और उनको अच्छी से अच्छी सहायता दिलाने का प्रयत्न करेंगे।

चौथी बात मुझे बड़े बड़े उद्योग घंघों के बारे में कहनी है। हम देख रहे हैं कि आप बड़े बड़े कारखान खोल रहे हैं और यह देश के लिये बहुत अच्छी चीज है। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि इनका खास खास जगहों में कंसेंद्रेशन हो रहा है। मैं समझता हूं कि इस विषय में भी ऐसी नीति बनानी चाहिये जिससे कि सब राज्यों को इन बड़े बड़े कारखानों का लाभ

[श्री बलवन्त सिंह महता]

मिल सके। हमारे यहां जो आयरन और स्टील के कारखाने खोले जा रहे हैं वे एक ही प्रान्त में या उसके आस पास खोले जा रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि जो बेसिक इन्डस्ट्रीज़ हैं उनका तो समान बटवारा होना चाहिये। मैं चाहता हूँ कि एक एक राज्य में तीन तीन बेसिक इन्डस्ट्रीज़ होनी चाहियें। लेकिन अगर आप तीन तीन नहीं दे सकते हैं तो कम से कम एक एक बेसिक इन्डस्ट्री तो हर राज्य को दें जिससे कि उस राज्य की उन्नति हो सके।

इसके साथ ही साथ जहां हम आयरन और स्टील के लिये बड़े बड़े कारखाने खोल रहे हैं, और शायद हम इसमें सेल्फ सफीशेंट भी हो जायें, हम नान-फेरस मेटल्स जिंक, लैंड और कापर के लिये कुछ नहीं कर रहे हैं। ये चीजें बहुत बड़ी तादाद में हम बाहर से मंगाते हैं। हम करीब १३ करोड़ के नान-फेरस मेटल्स बाहर से मंगाते हैं लेकिन इनको तैयार करने का कोई उपाय नहीं किया जा रहा है। यह हमारे देश में कच्चे रूप में प्रचुर मात्रा में प्राप्त हैं। जहां तक जिंक का सम्बन्ध है, मैं समझता हूँ कि राजस्थान में इतना जिंक मिल सकता है जितना कि शायद एशिया में और कहीं नहीं मिल सकेगा। इसी प्रकार लैंड और कापर की भी खानें हैं लेकिन वे ऐसे लोगों के हाथ में हैं जिन के लिये डाग इन दी मॅजर की कहावत चरितार्थ होती है। कुत्ता न खुद खाता है न गाय को खाने देता है। वे लोग उन खानों को न खुद एक्सप्लॉइट करते हैं और न दूसरों को करने देते हैं। इसलिये मेरी दरखास्त है कि इसके लिये भी आप एक कारपोरेशन बना कर इसको जल्दी से जल्दी अपने हाथ में लीजिये और नान-फेरस मेटल्स के उद्योग को जारी कीजिये और इस

उद्योग को ऐसी स्टेट्स में शुरू कीजिये जहां कि उन की खानें हैं जिससे कि उन स्टेटों की भी उन्नति हो सके। अगर आप ऐसा करेंगे तो इसके साथ ही आपकी एक और समस्या हल हो जायेगी। यह समस्या सल्फ्यूरिक एसिड (गंधक का तेजाब) की है जो कि इन्डस्ट्री के लिये एक बेसिक चीज है। इस समस्या को अकेला राजस्थान हल कर सकता है। वहां काफी मात्रा में जिपसम के डिपाजिट्स हैं और जिंक के डिपाजिट्स हैं जिसमें से सल्फ्यूरिक एसिड निकलता है और शायद कापर में से भी निकलता है। इन खानों से जो सल्फ्यूरिक एसिड निकलेगा वह हमारे देश की कुल मांग को पूरा कर सकेगा। इसलिये हमें इसकी ओर भी ध्यान देना चाहिये।

हमारे यहां जो सर्वो हो रहा है वह बहुत धीम धीमे हो रहा है। हमें पता नहीं कि हमारे यहां क्या क्या डिपाजिट्स हैं, कितने रिज़र्व्स हैं। राजस्थान में बहुत से मिनरल्स हैं जो बड़े स्ट्रेटिजिक हैं और बड़े महत्व के हैं। इसलिये उनका उपयोग करने के लिये आप एक साथ ही सर्वो करा दीजिये ताकि यह काम जल्दी से जल्दी शुरू हो सके।

अब एक बात मैं उन इन्डस्ट्रीज़ के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ जो कि मर रही हैं। सारे संसार में केवल हिन्दुस्तान में ही प्रेसियश स्टोन कटिंग इन्डस्ट्री गृह उद्योग के तौर पर चलती है और वह हज़ारों आदमियों को रोजगार देती है। लेकिन जब से आपने २० प्रतिशत का आयात कर लगा दिया है तब से यह इन्डस्ट्री मर सी गई है। मैं समझता हूँ कि आप इस इन्डस्ट्री को राहत देंगे।

इसके अतिरिक्त हमारे देश में मारबिल भी बड़ी मात्रा में पाया जाता है। और यह हमारे देश की कुल मांग को पूरा कर सकत

है। आपको मालूम है कि जो ताजमहल सारे संसार में मशहूर है वह मकराने के मारबिल का बना हुआ है। हमारे यहां इसका काफी डिपॉजिट है। लेकिन बड़े दुख की बात है कि हमारे उद्योग मंत्री बाहर के मारबिल को तरजीह देते हैं जिसका परिणाम यह है कि देश की आवश्यकता का ५० प्रति शत मारबिल इटली से आता है। इसके अतिरिक्त मारबिल का काम करने वालों को और भी बहुत सी कठिनाइयां हैं। उनको समय पर पूरे पर्याप्त वैगन्स नहीं मिलते। उसको लग्जरी गुड्स में रख दिया गया है जिससे माल मंगा पड़ता है आदि आदि कई कठिनाइयां हैं जिन्हें आपको दूर करना है। मैं समझता हूँ कि जो आप बाहर से मारबिल मंगाते हैं उसको बन्द करेंगे और हमारे यहां के मारबिल को प्रोटेक्शन देंगे।

इसके साथ साथ और भी उद्योग घंघे हैं जैसे शराब है, बिसकुट है, काफी है, सिगार की चीजें हैं, वे यहां बन सकती हैं मगर वे बाहर से आ रही हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि अच्छा हो कि इनको आप तत्काल बन्द कर दें जिससे हमारे आदमियों को रोजगार मिल सके और वे आनन्द से रहें और हमारा रुपया बाहर जाने से रुके।

एक बात मुझे माइका के बारे में कहनी है। माइका हमारे देश का बहुत बड़ा घंघा रहा है। हम करोड़ों रुपये का माइका बाहर भेजते हैं। लेकिन दुर्भाग्य का विषय है कि लड़ाई के जमाने में हमारा करोड़ों रुपया का माइका कौड़ियों के दाम में खरीद लिया गया और अब वह इंग्लैंड में पड़ा हुआ है। मेरी दरखास्त है कि आप उसको उसी दाम पर वापस मंगवा लें जिस पर उन्होंने खरीदा था जिससे हमारे वर्तमान व्यापार में मंदी आई हुई है वह दूर हो कर व्यापार बढ़े। हमारे यहां संसार में सब से ज्यादा माइका का उत्पा-

दन होता है और यह बिजली के सामान में काम आता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इस तरह के उद्योग यहां खोलें कि यह माइका हमारा यहीं काम में आने लगे और बाहर न भेजना पड़े। इससे हमारे आदमियों को भी काम मिल जायगा और हमारा व्यापार भी बढ़ेगा। आशा है इस के लिये एक योजना बनाई जायेगी।

मैं टैंबेको (तम्बाखू) के बारे में भी एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ। यह सारे भारत में काफी होता है और इसका बहुत बड़ा व्यापार है। आज मंदी आई हुई है अतः मैं समझता हूँ कि इसके व्यापार में आई हुई बाधाओं को दूर करना चाहिये जिससे हम इसको बाहर भेज सकें। राजस्थान में जो कनसेशन दिये गये हैं वह सीमित जिलों में दिये गये हैं और उसके दूसरे जिलों में कनसेशन नहीं है। इसके अलावा एक कलेक्टर उसको लो ग्रेड मानता है और दूसरा उसको हाई ग्रेड मानता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह असमानता जल्दी से जल्दी दूर की जावे ताकि व्यापार में यूनोफारमिटी आवे।

आपने अपनी फाइनेंस रिपोर्ट में लिखा है कि बी० क्लास स्टेट्स में एकाउंटिंग में और आर्डिटिंग में प्रान्तीय भाषाओं में हिसाब किताब रखने से बहुत गड़बड़ी हो रही है। अगर आप ईमानदारी से देखें तो किसी देश का हिसाब उस देश की भाषा में हो अच्छे ढंग से रखा जा सकता है। इसलिये बी० क्लास स्टेट्स अपनी अपनी भाषाओं में हिसाब रखती हैं। लेकिन उनको कहा जाता है कि आप इसको अंग्रेजी में रखिये। हमारी राष्ट्र भाषा हिन्दी है और आगे हमारा काम इसी भाषा में होने वाला है। इसलिये यह उचित ही होगा कि हम हिन्दी में ही अपना हिसाब किताब रखें। पहले हमारे यहां हाई कोर्ट में हिन्दी चलती थी लेकिन आपने अंग्रेजी कर दी

[ श्री बलव्रन्त सिंह महता ]

इससे वहाँ बहुत गड़बड़ी हो रही है और काफी करप्शन बढ़ गया है। आज एकाउंट विभाग में तो करप्शन का यह हाल है कि अहलकार अहलकार से पैसा मांगता है और बगैर पैसा दिये आर्डिटिंग आदि नहीं होता। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि आप हिन्दी को जारी रखें या जो भी जहाँ की भाषा हो उसमें हिसाब रखा जाय ऐसा आप आदेश दें।

**Shri Veeraswamy** (Mayuram—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Sir, it is very kind of you to have called upon me to speak on the Finance Bill. This is the first time I speak on the General Budget this year, and so I hope that you will give me some margin to exceed the time-limit, at least by a few minutes. We look up to you to train us, young and inexperienced Members of Parliament, new to Parliamentary work.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** No, no. I do not think so. The hon. Member is an expert.

**Shri Veeraswamy:** Sir, at the outset I want to say that the General Budget as a whole is not a democratic budget. It cannot be said to be the budget of a government which wants to establish a welfare state in this country. It does not give a clear picture of the conditions of the people and does not show the way out to solve the various problems of the people all over this country.

This Budget is a capitalist Budget because it imposes many duties on ordinary commodities which are the requirements of the common people. The duties on betelnuts, washing soap and cotton cloth should not have been imposed on the people because these are the commodities being used by the ordinary people. Take for instance betelnut. This is a very ordinary commodity being used by labourers, workers and the people in rural parts. It is not a luxury and it is not being used by rich people. So, the Finance Minister should have been sympathetic towards the poor people who use this commodity. The same

is the case with regard to washing soap. Our people you know, Sir, are not so civilised and they do not have the money to purchase the various things they need. Even one per cent. of the rural people is not using washing soap. They are so dirty and ugly and it is the duty of us parliamentarians to see that such commodities are not taxed so that the poor people may purchase these commodities and use them for their benefit. Then I come to cotton cloth. Even on coarse cotton cloth a duty has been imposed. I can understand if that duty is levied and collected on fine and superfine cloth, very high quality toilets and so on; but not on coarse cloth, washing soap and betelnuts. A pound of betelnut was being sold at four annas per pound when the duty was formerly nine and a half annas per pound. Now the duty is being increased to one rupee, that is, by six and half annas per pound and so the incidence of this taxation falls on the consumers who are the poor people. Therefore, it is not too late for the Finance Minister to consider these things and to bring suitable amendments to the Finance Bill with a view to drop these duties.

During the course of the Budget speech our Finance Minister said that there was a change in the conditions of the people and that the change was for the better. I would like to ask him where he has seen the change for the better. Has he seen any change in the conditions of the people, among the poor class, among the Scheduled Castes and the tribal people? He would have seen a marked change in the life of the rich people, in the life of the industrial magnates and in the life of the contractors who have been carrying out the various schemes under the Five Year Plan. He may have seen improvement in the life of the people with high salaries but not low-salaried people and other income groups who are suffering from various difficulties.

Sir, I would have congratulated the Finance Minister had he come to this

House with a proposal to set apart at least Rs. 10 crores for solving the unemployment problem which is growing every day. In my constituency alone, in one small town Nagapattinam, there are about three hundred matriculates, intermediates and graduates who have been wandering about for jobs without any success. We see that in every sector of activity the unemployment problem is increasing day by day; whether it is in the industrial sector, in the agricultural field or among the middle classes. There are various types of unemployment growing in our country. There is disguised unemployment, involuntary unemployment, agricultural unemployment, middle-class unemployment, industrial unemployment. Of these unemployment problems, I may stress that involuntary unemployment must be here and now solved by the Government. People are ready to work in any field but they are not given jobs and so it is the duty of a Finance Minister of a big country like this sub-continent to see that this problem is solved, the growth of this problem is arrested and the people who are ready to work are given work. They are unable to live an honest life in this country because they have no job. Therefore, it is no use depending upon the Five Year Plan. The Five Year Plan has been under implementation for the past three years or more. What is the change that has been achieved by the Five Year Plan? I have been touring in my part of the country, that is Tamil Nad and I did not see any scheme that is important to the life of the people being implemented there. The Five Year Plan is consuming more than Rs. 2,000 crores and out of this Rs. 2,000 crores more than Rs. 1,700 crores are being spent in the north. The Finance Minister himself admitted sometime back that the major portion of the capital outlay was being spent in the north and in the next Five Year Plan i.e., the Second Five Year Plan of this country which is under the contemplation of the Planning Commission, equitable distribution of the

capital outlay will be made to all States. He said this and this is the grievance which I must give expression to on the floor of this House.

Then, Sir, I come to the problem of Hindi. Yesterday my hon. friend Shri Thamu Pillai said that there are people in the Tamil Nad supporting Hindi. I challenged him, Who are those people supporting Hindi? I said that Tamil Nad is not supporting Hindi and it is vehemently opposed to Hindi. We Dravidians are not against Hindi as a language. We are opposing Hindi as we fear that this language under the pretext of nationalism, patriotism and oneness of India will annihilate our language, our culture, our civilisation and our history; and the culture and civilisation of the North will creep in to our life whereby our life will be spoiled. Sir, the Andhras were fighting for a separate State for more than forty years and they have now got a separate State.

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram:** Why do you bring in the Andhras?

**Shri Veeraswamy:** They did fight for a separate State and have now got it not to subjugate it to the North, to Hindi, North Indian civilisation and their way of life. They wanted to develop and preserve their culture, customs, manners and their history. So, if Northerners want to dominate over the Andhras, Tamil Nad, Karnataka or any other State, it will create trouble. I want to say that we Dravidians declared a war against Hindi in 1937 when Shri C. Rajagopalachari was the Chief Minister of our State. He introduced Hindi as a compulsory subject in the schools and we took up our cudgels against the imposition of Hindi on the little children. In this, more than 2,000 people courted imprisonment during the agitation and then it was withdrawn. We have been carrying on relentlessly that war, that agitation, for the past 16 years against Hindi, and we are not going to lay down our arms against Hindi, and we will fight to the last. And I say, I declare on the floor of this House, that there are thousands of workers and heroes, in the Dravi-

[Shri Veeraswamy]

dian Federation under the leadership of Periyar E. V. Ramaswami, who are willing to give up their life for the sake of their beautiful language, the most beautiful language Tamil. Our Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been stressing that the North Indians, the protagonists of Hindi should not impose Hindi on the unwilling people. Recently at Annamalainagar our Prime Minister has said that Tamil is one of the most beautiful languages, is one of the most ancient languages. And it is a fact. I am so sorry there is no time at my disposal to discuss this problem at great length, but I want to emphasize that if Hindi is imposed on us, there will be a great revolution in the South. Let Hindi occupy a very honourable place in the provinces where it is born and where it is bred up and where it is spoken by the people. It should not be allowed to dominate over any other language, whether it is Tamil or Telugu or Malayalam or Canarese or Punjabi, Bengali or any language. Our country is a democratic country.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** What is to be the all-India language then? There must be an all-India language.

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram:** The language of Government.

**Shri Veeraswamy:** This is a problem to be discussed.

**Shri Kanavade Patil (Ahmednagar North):** The hon. Member speaks in English all right, but does not want to speak Hindi.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Hon. Members must be allowed to have their own say.

**Shri Veeraswamy:** Hindi is not the national language. It is only the official language. It will occupy the place of English after 15 years, not now. Some hon. Members opposite know English very well, but they speak in Hindi, they put questions in Hindi, and we do not understand anything of what they say. If questions are put in Hindi and the Ministers reply in Hindi, and if they are very important questions, we do not under-

stand what the hon. Ministers say.

**Shri Punnoose (Alleppey):** It is said that it is in order to avoid supplementaries that they are answering in Hindi.

**Shri Veeraswamy:** That is the truth of the matter. What I want to emphasize is that there is no place for dominance of any people over others in any part of the country or of any language over other languages, any part of the country over other parts. That is the point which I want to emphasize.

With regard to the Scheduled Caste problem, yesterday my hon. friend Mr. M. R. Krishna and another Member on that side spoke at great length with regard to the horrible conditions of the Scheduled Caste people. We the Scheduled Caste people do not want any pittance from the Government. We do not want any concession. We do not want any grant or scholarships. We do not want any jobs. You may take it for granted that what I say holds good. We do not want any concession from the Government, provided—you please mark Sir that word “provided”—the Government comes forward to abolish all castes throughout the country, to abolish untouchability, and to effect land reforms. If these things are done we will not crave before the Government for a small pittance of financial help. And what have the Government done during the past seven years for the improvement of the people who are at the bottom of the social pyramid? They have given some money in the shape of scholarships to the poor Scheduled Caste students studying in various schools and colleges. They say time and again that they have been doing a lot for the uplift of the Scheduled Castes. Where have they effected any uplift in the life of the Scheduled Caste people? If the tillers of the soil become the owners of the land, the majority of the agricultural labourers who are Scheduled Caste people will be benefited. Hence I urge upon land reforms.

Yesterday, my hon. friend Mr. M. R. Krishna suggested that the Government should set apart Rs. 10 crores



for construction of houses for the poor people, the Backward Classes and the Scheduled Caste people. I say he was very thrifty. I would like to suggest to the Government that if they are really interested—not by words, but by action—to improve the condition of the people who have been the backbone of this country but who have been craving for food, clothing and shelter and a bit of land for construction of their houses, if they are interested in the uplift of these people, let them draw up a separate plan setting apart at least Rs. 100 crores only for construction of houses to the poor people, whether Brahmin or Scheduled Caste, whether high class or backward class, whether tribals or plain people. Let the Government spend at least Rs. 100 crores in this Five Year Plan itself, so that when we go to the next Five Year Plan, our people will be living in a happy atmosphere and they will give all their support, all their co-operation for the implementation of the next Five Year Plan at least. I do not see any enthusiasm among the people at large for the implementation of this wonderful Five Year Plan which has been consuming crores of Rupees but which has not effected any change anywhere among the common people at all.

With regard to the Information and Broadcasting Ministry. I want to say a few words. Recently, so many people have been retrenched, especially 22 programme assistants and 8 sub-editors in the Delhi Station of the All-India Radio, and some people have been reverted from high posts to lower posts. My hon. friend Mr. H. N. Mukerjee, the Deputy Leader of the Communist Party in this House, yesterday pleaded for the programme assistants who have been retrenched. They have worked in the All-India Radio for more than seven years, in some cases more than ten years. After having put in more than ten years of service, where will they go? I ask the hon. Finance Minister, I ask you and I ask all hon. Members sitting here who represent the people. We retrench people who have put in ten years of loyal service to the Government in the broadcasting field. Eight

161 P.S.D.

sub-editors were discharged from service, and two officers belonging to the South—Tamil Nad—have been reverted to lower posts. One of them has crossed the efficiency bar. He has officiated as Assistant Station Director, and acted as Station Director also. He organised the Gauhati station when it came into being. And those people have been reverted to the lower posts. Should this be the conduct of the Government, to victimise people for no reason at all?

In the field of industries, I want to say that the question of rationalisation has been drawing our attention for the past few days. Rationalisation, if it is enforced, will throw out of employment thousands of workers. As Mr. H. N. Mukerjee said yesterday, we are not against rationalisation. We quite welcome rationalisation but till such time as the national wealth is equitably distributed throughout the country and life of the people in the rural areas comes to a decent level, we must put a stop to rationalisation. Rationalisation will throw out of employment so many thousands of people and fatten the industrial magnates, the capitalists and others. So, I would request the Finance Minister to suggest to the Commerce and Industries Ministry not to go ahead with the rationalisation policy which the hon. Commerce Minister, the other day pleaded for.

In the south, the handloom workers and the match-making industry are suffering a lot. In Trichur, in Travancore-Cochin State, fire-works and crackers are produced in large quantities. When our indigenous producers are able to produce enough to satisfy the requirements of the country, why should our Government import them from other countries? The import of fire-works was stopped in 1947 but it was revived in 1953 and fire-works were imported from China. We must see that, as far as possible, our industries are encouraged and the import of things which are produced in our country are stopped so that our industry will grow.

[Shri Veeraswamy]

So also ink production. In Madras, the Government of India have given licence to foreign companies to produce ink. Are we not able to produce ink? We import toothpicks, pins and even brooms. I hear that brooms are imported from other countries. Are we so bankrupt of intelligence and efficiency as to import all these things? Are we not able to produce these things? I put all these things before the hon. Finance Minister for his consideration.

**Shri B. K. Das (Contai):** Sir, I am glad that my friend, Mr. Veeraswamy has referred to the question of tax on betelnut. There are four Members from the two Houses of Parliament in the Indian Central Arecanut Committee and all of them have to represent the consumers' interests in that Committee. So, I feel it my duty to refer to that matter at the outset.

It appears that the hon. Finance Minister has given his last verdict regarding this matter. He mentioned that although the increase in tax has been proposed to be Rs. 33 per md. the corresponding increase in the price has been only Rs. 15 and he has been satisfied with that. He expected that without there being any increase in the prices, without hitting the consumers, he would be able to snatch away the large margin of profit that the middlemen were getting. It is true that during last year—1953—the price level was very high of the imported variety of arecanut, and the middlemen were getting a lot. But, I wonder whether there was no other means by which that profit could come to the coffers of our Treasury. I do not think that this was the only means by which that could be done. If we look to the price level that was ruling for the last three years, we see that last year it was the highest and Government might have taken some step to take away a portion of the large profit that the middlemen were making. In 1951, the average price in Calcutta was nearly Rs. 80 per maund. In 1952, it was Rs. 91 and in 1953, the average price was Rs. 115/10. But, all

these years there was a ceiling to the import. After an increment of two annas in 1953, the ceiling was put when the price went high. After the import was liberalised in the beginning of this year, the prices were coming down. I think the policy of the Government is to liberalise the import along with this increment in taxes.

The growers of the South are always pressing that there should be a ceiling and the import should not be liberalised because that will hamper their interests. But, this year, as the policy of the Government is that they will have a liberal import and also the tax will be increased to one rupee per pound, I do not think the growers will be benefited and the increment that has been proposed will go a great way to help the growers. In my opinion, if there be a very liberal import, the growers will not be benefited to the extent they expect because I have seen there is always a resistance from the growers of the South in the matter of import.

I think the Finance Minister can now consider whether he can take up a middle course. When, last year, there was an increase of two annas, the growers of the South were satisfied that the price in the South came to a reasonable level. They were benefited to a great extent by getting a reasonable price. This year, I do not think the growers will be benefited much because of this liberal import. The price level will, in all probability, go still higher than the Rs. 15 that we have now and the consumers will be affected.

Speaking of the South, I think, it will be interesting to note that the consumption of betelnut is far greater in the South than in other parts of the country. I have interesting figures from the National Sample Survey. It is given there that the expenditure per person in the rural areas during 1949-50 was Rs. 3.8 in the South, whereas the all-India figure was Rs. 1.76. In North India it was about 0.7 and in other parts of the country, it was near about 1.5. If the South

produces nearly 90 per cent. of the betelnuts, I think, the consumers there also are the largest in number and they will be affected. I would urge upon the Finance Minister to consider this matter once again and see whether he could choose any middle course to give relief both to the consumers and to the growers and, at the same time, he might have something for the treasury of the country.

The next point to which I wish to refer is about the local development programmes. This year, in our Budget Rs. 6 crores have been provided for Local Development Works. What is intended is that the local contribution will be 50 per cent. of any scheme and that contribution will be composed of contribution by the State Government, the local bodies and also the people of the locality. But, in actual practice, I have found that in many places the people of the locality have to bear the entire burden of this 50 per cent. and the State Government and the local bodies are making no contribution at all. The schemes include drinking water supply, permanent works for the improvement of agriculture, permanent works for the improvement of rural sanitation, village roads, etc. Suppose in some part of the country, there is a dearth of drinking water and that a tube well is to be sunk there. If it costs Rs. 3,000, the idea is that the contribution from this fund will be 50 per cent. and the local contribution will be 50 per cent. The local contribution will be made up of contribution by the State Government, by the local bodies and also by the people of the locality. But if the people of the locality have to pay the entire amount of 50 per cent., it tells very hard on them. In such a case, they cannot give much of physical or bodily labour because sinking of a tube-well does not involve much of physical labour and there is the expenditure on tubes and other equipments. Unless, therefore, they pay a large amount in cash, the 50 per cent. local contribution cannot be made up. I draw the attention of the Finance Minister to this aspect of the question of local development works and would

request him to see that in such cases where the 50 per cent cannot be made up in the form of labour, they will not be required to pay the entire 50 per cent. from out of their funds, but the State Government as also the local bodies will contribute to the 50 per cent. Of course, the local people will bear a portion of it.

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** May I know what the practice was before this fund was established?

**Shri B. K. Das:** Generally one-third was given, but in the case of tube-well, a token contribution of Rs. 200 would have been given. That was the practice in Bengal. The maximum amount they would have had to pay was one-third, but normally the amount was not more than Rs. 200.

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** That means that the State Government or the local body pay two-thirds. Because the Central Government is coming forward with 50 per cent., the State Government or the local bodies do not give any assistance. That is a matter for the State Government or the local bodies.

12 NOON

**Shri B. K. Das:** Because it is a Central scheme, I should think that in cases of hardship, as in matters of water supply where the local people cannot give their bodily labour, Government should not expect them to contribute the 50 per cent. In this connection, I should say that it is intended that the next Five Year Plan will have its basis, on our village works and schemes from our village *panchayats*. I should think that these local needs will form the major portion of the schemes they will officer. In spite of the community projects and the national extension schemes, there are hundreds of villages now left untouched by our development programmes under the Plan. This question has been discussed by many Members in the House during the Budget discussion and many villages are not at all being touched by the scheme that we have already taken up in hand. Every village wants that something must be done so that the

[Shri B. K. Das]

Plan may reach them. Everyone will say that the greatest need for his own village will be a tube-well, or a road, or school, or a hospital or something like that, which touches him directly and intimately. If in these matters the Central Government or the Planning Commission does not take an active interest, but leave it simply to the State Government, then it will not be the basis of the future plan and the future plan also cannot be properly worked out.

The last point to which I wish to refer.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I rang the bell twice already and this is the third bell.

**Shri B. K. Das:** Then I will sit down.

**Shri N. S. Jain** (Bijnor Dist.—South): Let me speak in English to deal with a point raised by one of my friends here during his speech so as to be intelligible to him. The hon. Member stated that people from the Hindi areas were trying to influence or rather usurp the language and the culture of the State from which he came, and were trying to impose Hindi on them. I say he was quite wrong. It seems that he was haunted by the phantom of Hindi which never existed. I come from the U.P., the Home of Hindi, and I can assure him that none of us there—for the matter of that nobody else—ever has tried or has dared to interfere with the languages of other States, which are rich in themselves and which, we hope, would develop in co-operation with Hindi as the national language. I was rather surprised when he said that by adopting Hindi as our national language, his culture was in danger and his way of living was in danger.

**Shri Veeraswamy:** That is the ultimate motive of northerners.

**Shri N. S. Jain:** If Hindi is foreign to him, is not English also foreign?

May I know if the sweetness of his language was in any way affected by his speaking in English or in Hindi in the House? Without going further into this matter, I would only request the hon. Member, who seems to be very impatient, to understand the implications of Hindi as the national language and not as a regional language. We do not want to harm any regional language. We only want that instead of using English as the medium of our intercourse with other States, we should use Hindi as such. That is the only thing that we want and how can that in any way interfere with his language, his culture or his mode of living? Having said that I now revert to my subject.

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस विषयक का समर्पण करता हूँ इस लिये कि इस सरकार का कार्य बिना रुपये के नहीं चल सकता है। इस सरकार का कार्य चलाना है और इस सरकार का कार्य आज विशेषतः इस पंच वर्षीय योजना से सम्बन्धित है और मैं समझता हूँ कि इस पंचवर्षीय योजना की सफलता ही इस बात को निर्धारित करेगी कि इस देश में कितनी उन्नति करने की शक्ति है और इसके अन्दर कितनी स्टैमिना (stamina) है।

उपाध्यक्ष जी, पेशतर इसके कि मैं इस पंच वर्षीय योजना के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहूँ, मैं यह समझता हूँ कि मैं अपने वित्त मंत्री जी को इस बात के लिये मुबारकबाद दूँ कि उन्होंने इन कठिन वर्षों में हमारे फाइनेन्सेज को इस काबलियत के साथ और इस सुन्दरता के साथ चलाया और उसके ऊपर इतनी निगहबानी रखी कि उनके कुछ साथी भी उनसे हट गये। लेकिन मैं यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि अब जबकि हमारा देश इतने लम्बे कदम उठा रहा है, हम इस बात के लिये उनके पीछे हैं कि उस रुपये को जो हर गरीब की जेब से आता है, उसको ठीक तरीके

से खर्च किया जाय, इसके देखने में जितनी सावधानी वह बरतेंगे उतना ही हमारा उनके साथ सहयोग रहेगा ।

मैं इसके लिये भी अपनी खुशी बाहिर कर दूँ कि आज इस विधेयक में एस्टेट ड्यूटी लगाई गई है । मैं इस ड्यूटी का बहुत ज्यादा समर्थक रहा हूँ पर मैं समझता हूँ कि जिस शकल में यह एस्टेट ड्यूटी रखी गई है उसमें परिवर्तन करना होगा । अभी संत विनोबा ने एक लेख लिखा था कि भारत वर्ष में मनुस्मृति के अनुसार संग्रह करने का कोई कायदा नहीं था । संग्रह को वहाँ की किसी सरकार ने या जनता ने या समाज ने ही अच्छी दृष्टि से नहीं देखा और इसी लिये मनुस्मृति में भी यह कायदा बना दिया गया था कि कोई व्यक्ति संग्रह नहीं कर सकेगा । केवल वैश्यवर्ग को छूट दी गई थी, और उसके लिये भी हद्द कायम कर दी गई थी कि अपनी तिजारत की और घर की जरूरियात के तीन साल के प्रमाण से ज्यादा संग्रह नहीं कर सकेगा । मैं समझता हूँ कि वह दिन आयेगा और जल्दी ही आयेगा, जैसी कि हमें आवश्यकतायें मालूम हो रही हैं, कि जब इस एस्टेट ड्यूटी के नियमों को बदलना होगा और हम को उस संस्कृति के लाने के लिये, जिस के कि हम उपासक हैं, वह तब्दीलियां करनी पड़ेंगी जिनको आज के जमाने में हमारे सामने पेश किया जा रहा है संत विनोबा जैसे व्यक्ति के द्वारा ।

मैं यह भी अर्ज कर दूँ कि जो हमारा नेशनल लोन है जिस के लिये कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने अपील की है, उस से मैं पूर्णतया सहमत हूँ । लेकिन इस नेशनल लोन को क्या अहमियत है इसको हमने अभी तक जनता को नहीं बतलाया है । यदि जनता समझ गई तो भाशा है कि यह नेशनल लोन पूर्णतया सफल होगा और हम में

से हर एक स्त्री पुरुष इसको अपना धार्मिक कर्तव्य समझेगा कि इस में अपनी शक्ति के अनुसार सहयोग दे ।

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA  
in the Chair]

अब मैं, आप के सामने अपने कुछ विचार पंचवर्षीय योजना के सम्बन्ध में, जिसकी सफलता के साथ हमारे देश की और हमारी सरकार की सफलता सम्बन्धित है, रखूंगा । जहाँ तक इस प्लान का ताल्लुक है, मेरा इस को देखने का तरीका भिन्न है । मैं इस प्लान में तीन हिस्सेदार देखता हूँ । सब से पहले सरकार, दूसरे सरकारी कर्मचारी जिवके द्वारा इस प्लान का कार्य जनता तक लाया जा रहा है, और तीसरे जनता, जिसके लाभ के लिये, उन्नति के लिये, विकास के लिये, इस प्लान को बनाया गया, जब हम प्लान के बारे में सोचते हैं तो इन तीनों समुदायों को हमें देखना पड़ेगा कि उनका अपना अपना क्या कर्तव्य है और कहाँ तक उन्नति उनके द्वारा हुई । जहाँ तक सरकार का सम्बन्ध है मैं इस के बारे में कुछ कहूँ तो बेकार है । सरकार जनता ने बनाई है और जनता की आवाज के अनुसार सरकार आज यहाँ उपस्थित है । लेकिन जहाँ तक दूसरे दो समुदायों का, यानी सरकारी कर्मचारी और जनता का सम्बन्ध है, मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि आज आम भावना क्या है और इस भावना के द्वारा इस पंचवर्षीय योजना से सम्बन्धित जो आन्दोलन है वह क्या है । जहाँ तक रुपये पैसे का मामला है, मैं कहूँगा कि मैं कोई अर्थनीतिज्ञ नहीं हूँ और मैं आंकड़ों में नहीं जाऊँगा । बल्कि मैं आपके सामने नैतिक स्थिति के बारे में, जिस का सम्बन्ध आर्थिक नीति से भी है, क्या विचार है और आज जनता पर इस नैतिक नीति का क्या प्रभाव है, इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहूँगा । और साथ ही साथ

[Shri N. S. Jain]

में आज देश में जो हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति है वह भी कुछ वर्णन करूंगा। उसको मिला कर आप यह समझेंगे कि इस पंच वर्षीय योजना में हम कितने सफल हो सकेंगे और अगर यह पूर्ण भी हो गई तो हमारा स्टेचर कितना ऊंचा उठेगा।

सब से पहले मैं आप को यह बतला दूँ कि जनता के अन्दर आज एक प्रकार का ह्रास (frustration) फ्रस्ट्रेशन है। यह फ्रस्ट्रेशन किस वजह से है, इस में जाना बेकार है, लेकिन अगर आप इस बात को देखें तो शायद आप इन्कार नहीं करेंगे कि जनता में उत्साह नहीं है, जनता में आज पंच वर्षीय योजना के प्रति आकर्षण नहीं है, जो आकर्षण इतनी बड़ी योजना के लिये जिस से हमारा जीवन सम्बन्धित है, होना चाहिये था। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि इसी तरह स्थिति चलती रही तो आप की पंच वर्षीय योजना भले ही आंकड़ों में पूरी हो जाय, लेकिन काम के विचार से वह देखने में नहीं आयेगी। इस में दोष सरकार की नीति का नहीं है, सरकार की नीति सुन्दर है शुभ है, लेकिन दोष उन कर्मचारियों का या उन एजेंट्सियों का है, जिन के द्वारा यह नीति कार्य में लाई जाती है।

आज हम देख रहे हैं कि हमारी इस पंच वर्षीय योजना के चालू होने के जमाने में हमारी बेकारी बढ़ती जा रही है और मैं समझता हूँ कि पिछले दो साल के अन्दर बहुत ज्यादा बेकारी बढ़ी है। मैं अपनी कांस्टीट्यूएन्सी में देखता हूँ कि जिनको मैं समझता था कि खाते पीते थे वह आज मर पास आते हैं और अपनी स्थिति का वर्णन करते हैं उससे यह मालूम होता है कि इस पंच वर्षीय योजना के दौरान में लोगों को ज्यादा काम मिलने के बजाय उन में बेकारी

बढ़ रही है। जो लोग देखना चाहें वह देख सकते हैं कि आज मिडिल क्लास की हालत यह है कि वह करीब करीब चसा जा चुका है और मरणासन्न है। क्या हम इसके लिये कर सकते हैं और क्या हमने इसके लिये इस पंच वर्षीय योजना में किया यह हम जरा सोचें। जब हम योजना की तरफ देखते हैं तो मालूम होता है कि रुपया इकट्ठा किया जाता है और उस रुपये को फिर जनता की तरफ फेंका जाता है लेकिन जो उसका सार है शायद वह चन्द आदमियों के ही हाथ में रह जाता है। वह सार जनता तक नहीं पहुँचता है। जिन हाथों के जरिये यह चीज जनता तक फेंकी जाती है वह उन्हीं हाथों में रह जाती है। इस में जो आपका कर्मचारी वर्ग है वह सबसे बड़ा दोष का भागी है। जो आज जनता की तकलीफ है। उसको हमारी सरकार के आदमी खुद देख सकते हैं क्योंकि वह भी तो हमीं में से आते हैं। वह देख सकते हैं कि जनता को कितनी तकलीफ है और वह तकलीफ आपके कर्मचारियों के तरीकों से और भी ज्यादा हो जाती है। बहर हाल में इस सब को छोड़ देता हूँ। मैं सिर्फ यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप इस पर गौर कीजिये।

घंटी बज गई है अतः मैं आखिर में एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ। आप रुपया चाहते हैं। आपको रुपया मिलेगा। रुपया देश में है। लेकिन जो रुपये के असली सोर्सिज हैं उनको आप टैक्स करना नहीं चाहते हैं। मैं आप को बता दूँ। मैंने इस पर थोड़ा विचार किया है। अभी आप जो रुपया ले रहे हैं वह गरीबों से ले रहे हैं। ग्रामीण जनता आपको कितना फ्री लेबर दे रही है और इस से आप कितना रुपया इकट्ठा कर रहे हैं। हमने श्रम दान के जरिये कितना देश को दिया है। लेकिन आप राजाओं

महाराजाओं से क्यों नहीं कहते कि वह आपको अपनी अनग्रन्थ इनकम दें। मेरा यह मतलब नहीं कि आप उसको एक्सप्रोप्रियेट कर लें (छीन लें) लेकिन उसको लोन के तौर पर लें। आप बड़ी आमदनियों को पांच साल के लिये फ्रीज कर दें इस लिये कि यह चीज देश के काम आयेगी। आप उन लोगों को लांग टर्म बांड इसके बदले में दें। आप प्रिंसली स्टेट्स से यह समझौता कर लीजिये कि उनका जितना सोना और चांदी और जवाहरात बेकार बंद पड़े हैं उनको सरकारी खजाने में जमा किया जाय और उसके बदले में उनको नेशनल बांड दिये जायें। इस तरह से ८०० या ९०० करोड़ रुपया जो आप चाहते हैं वह आपको मिल सकता है। मेरे पास इसके डिटेल्स हैं मगर मैं उसमें इस वक्त नहीं जाना चाहता।

**Mr. Chairman:** He should bring his speech to a close; he has already taken 20 minutes.

**Shri N. S. Jain:** I am sorry, Sir.....

**Mr. Chairman:** He only wanted fifteen minutes; he should finish now.

श्री एन० एस० जैन : मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि आप मेहरबानी करके देखिये कि क्या इस तरह से रुपया वसूल हो सकता है या नहीं। जिनके पास श्रम है उनसे आप श्रम लीजिये और जिनके पास रुपया है उनसे रुपया लीजिये। श्रम वालों को दुःख होता है जब आप उन से तो श्रम लेते हैं पर जो धनी हैं उनसे धन नहीं लेते। वह लोग कहते हैं कि आप ने तो कांस्ट्रक्शन कर दिया है और आप लेबर तो लेते हैं परन्तु धनियों से धन नहीं लेते हैं। इसमें उन लोगों को तो श्रम करना पड़ता है पर धनी लोग बैठे रहते हैं। इस लिये मैं कहता हूँ कि आप श्रम वालों से श्रम लीजिये और धन वालों से धन लीजिये। इस से आप को

न सिर्फ प्लान के लिये रुपया मिल जायेगा बल्कि दूसरी प्लान के लिये भी मदद मिल जायेगी।

**Dr. Krishnaswami (Kancheepuram):** Mr. Chairman, before I proceed to discuss the Finance Bill, I must thank my hon. friend from Uttar Pradesh who has just preceded me for having at least in the introductory part of his speech spoken in a language which we from the Opposition are able to understand. It is, after all, a human problem when ninety per cent. of us, of the Opposition come from an area which is not aware of the beauties and excellencies of the official language. I do not want to acerbate the controversy.....

**An Hon. Member:** It is a wrong statement.

**Dr. Krishnaswami:** I do not wish to indulge in any great controversy on this issue, not because I shirk a controversy but because I feel that there are other issues which have to be dealt with.....

**An Hon. Member:** It is high time that you forget this language and try the national language.

**Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara):** Do you not know that a Hindi Prachar Sabha is working in Madras when you were an urchin?

**Dr. Krishnaswami:** I know many more things than my friend, Mr. Joachim Alva..... (*Interruptions*) I would wish him not to lead me away from the points that I am about to make.....

**Shri Algu Rai Shastri (Azamgarh Dist.—East cum Ballia Dist.—West):** Make those points.

**Dr. Krishnaswami:** I wish to take up the Finance Bill for consideration...

**Shri Algu Rai Shastri:** You ought to have done it earlier.

**Dr. Krishnaswami:** I am in no mood to take lessons in parliamentary decorum and propriety from my friend, Mr. Algu Rai Shastri, much as I respect him. I should like to point out

[Dr. Krishnaswami]

that on an occasion when we are considering the Finance Bill, we have to go into the fundamental objectives envisaged by the Finance Minister and the Government and the methods adopted for promoting them. The Opposition has a duty to put before the Finance Minister its list of objections and doubts and its formidable bill of grievances and it is for the Treasury Benches to answer us, and try to find out whether we are reasonable in our criticism. Official spokesmen have repeated times without number that we are in the fourth year of the Plan and that we should take a good look at the Plan. I propose to take a good look at the Plan and find out what its limits and limitations are.

A few days ago, thanks to the courtesy of the Finance Ministry, we were furnished with a statement of the progress of the plan—a statement, which throws an illuminating and penetrating light on the course and development of the Five Year Plan. I am no alarmist but some of the features that are presented in that Plan have led many of us to think as to where we are drifting and what exactly are the implications of the course that we have taken.

In the first year, we had a Budget surplus and an import surplus as well. In the second year we had a Budget deficit and a very much diminished import surplus or practically no import surplus. In the third year we have a Budget deficit and absolutely no import surplus. These are disturbing features and have to be pondered over by all who have given thought to this Plan. I believe it would be true today to confirm that in the first year we chose to pursue a policy which was dis-inflationary and even deflationary in character. In the second year we had a Budget deficit, we were in other words having an inflationary spurt and a diminished import surplus. In the third year, I have to point out this very fact because of our having no import surplus, which could be taken into account and particularly in view

of the large deficit financing programme that we have decided to embark upon. I believe that this Plan Statement gives us certain other facts which are of very great interest. My hon. friend the Finance Minister has times without number pointed out to us that so far as this deficit finance is concerned, it holds few terrors for our undeveloped economy. Up to now expansion in deficit finance has not been matched to an increase in currency. But this as has been shown in the footnote below Statement III, is partly due to about Rs. 90 crores of this deficit being financed by absorption by the public of sales of securities held in reserve, and increases in floating debt. A second explanation is the great liquidity preference for precious metals which are particularly abundant in our country. But I would like to ask Government one question. Do Government expect this situation to continue? This happy State of affairs will not continue. Indeed we are today facing a rather tricky situation which if not controlled, will lead to a very sharp rise in prices. The critical stage has already been reached, and there will be in another few months or thereabouts a big rise in prices. I beg of my friend the Finance Minister to envisage some of the controls that will have to be put into operation in order that prices might not outstrip our national effort.

The other day the Prime Minister made a very eloquent appeal for mobilisation of savings. We are told, that in twelve years a National Savings Certificate, which today is worth fifty rupees, will be doubled to a hundred rupees. We are asked both on grounds of high patriotism and prudence to invest in National Loans and National Savings Certificates. But when there is a prospect of prices shooting up rapidly, what happens is that the calculation of the prudent citizen come into conflict with those of patriotic citizen, and the patriot goes under. One should not be surprised if the subscriptions for the National Loans and National Savings Certificates sharply diminish and investment



take place in real estates high yielding securities and other such enterprises.

I would also like my hon. friend to consider this aspect more seriously because there is a tendency in certain circles to assume facetly that we have not reached anything like a danger point, or that there is no danger overtaking our economy at all. It is true that in any period of inflation all sections of the community face a serious situation. The hon. Minister of Commerce and Industry, knows quite well that industrialists have been petitioning him about the difficulties experienced by them in respect of rehabilitation of capital equipment. Times without number many associations, representative industrial associations, have approached the Government with the plea that during a grave period of inflation what has happened is, there has been a great increase in nominal profits, but there are not sufficient allowances for the purpose of rehabilitating capital equipment. There is some force in the contentions that have been put forward by these various associations. But I should like to point out that this plea is being overdone by my friends who represent industry and commerce. It is true that in the United Kingdom, where a great deal of physical damage occurred and where the level of taxation is much higher than here, it was not possible for industrialists to lay by surpluses for the purpose of replenishing capital equipment. But in our country, as a result of many industries having wasted the liquid funds, industrialists have not been able to replenish the capital equipment. What I suggest is that these industries should be considered on their individual merits, and, if necessary, the Government should give them a loan at a subsidised rate of interest for the purpose of rehabilitating capital equipment, with the definite understanding that such funds are spent only for increasing capital equipment; if this is done by Government, it would not be on account of love for the managing agency

system but because Government feel that an increase in productivity of our industry would bring about an increase in taxation receipts into the exchequer. It is on that understanding that there ought to be intervention by Government in this connection.

Now I refer to a serious feature of recent development on which many have been considerably exercised. The other day an article appeared in *The Times of India* and this threw a light on what is happening not only in Delhi but in other parts of the country as well. "The prices of consumer goods are fast rising in our country. Import curbs and shortage of supply are the main causes" says the commentator. After investigating the figures furnished by the commentator, I feel that there is considerable force in the contention, advanced by him. The rise in the retail prices of commodities has occurred on large scale because of import controls. In this matter of import controls and export promotion, there is considerable confusion even in circles which are addicted to advocating controls on a strict basis. What is the policy of the Government? Now, I can understand, government spokesmen suggesting that it is beneficial to curtail imports. Import controls are sometimes utilised for promoting production. Even it is a policy that we do not approve of, I can understand import controls being utilised for the purpose of promoting production. It would be a consistent policy. What is happening today however is that all the articles on which import controls are operating are consumed by the middle classes. Therefore, the rise in the cost of living, especially in the context of the Rs. 250 crores of deficit financing that we have embarked upon, is something serious which we have to take into account and which I would wish the Government to re-examine. Especially last year, when we had a favourable balance of payments, what was the need for stiffening import controls so much in respect of those articles which enter into the consumption of the middle

[Dr. Krishnaswami]

classes? It is a point on which some light should be thrown.

I do wish that in the matter of revising import controls there would be a certain co-ordination between the proposals and schemes which are formulated by the Tariff Commission and the administrative decrees which are passed by the Commerce and Industry Ministry.

I now proceed to the consideration of a major issue which has been debated a lot in this House. You, Sir, have been a strong advocate of small-scale industries, and most sections of this House have been pleading for protecting and enlarging cottage and small-scale industries. We, from this side, have advocated frequently the need for the Government taking a more intimate interest in the weal and welfare of the small-scale manufacturer and the small-scale industry. Sometimes the remedies we suggest might be worse than the disease. But, at any rate, the objective that we have at heart is a thing which should be taken into account by the government of the day. No government can afford to suggest that just because the remedies we advocate are not consistent or are not calculated to promote the objective, Government is entitled to pursue a policy of 'sit down and do nothing'. I therefore suggest that this problem ought to be taken in hand more seriously and tackled by the Government.

What is the bottleneck preventing the growth and enlargement of small-scale industries? There are two difficulties facing the industries. One is the price element. The second is the consumer's preference element, namely the tastes and quality of the goods assured to the consumers.

One of the greatest handicaps facing our economy is weakness of our method of distribution of goods. We have not been able to do anything effective to remedy it and yet have, with frequency attempted to slur over

this problem. It was only quite recently that I had the opportunity of reading a report prepared by Sears Roebuck Company, a large purchaser of goods, doing distributive business in backward States of Latin America. This report furnishes lessons which we can afford to learn. I would like with your permission to read only a brief extract so that we might consider the policies to be adopted for the development of the distributive trade in our country. This is what the writers say:

"We have no hesitation in saying that this is 'an illusion—namely, that Indians are good traders—for in fact very few peoples, and certainly very few in Europe, are good salesmen, in the sense required by a modern, mass production economy. The Americans have developed the distributive side of economic activity to a pitch unknown to Europe and unheard of in Asia, and it is on this basis that they have established the most vigorous economy in the world. Our Keynesians in Delhi should recognise the force of the proposition that industry cannot provide employment if consumers do not take its goods, and therefore a key point in economic planning should be the streamlining of retailing methods. At the end of every economic process, no matter how long or how "heavy", lies the transaction over the counter in which the consumer buys something because he has been led to buy it by good salesmanship, by attractive retailing methods, by fair prices, by confidence in quality and by enterprising advertising. Without these things, the most inspiring economic planning, from steel mills to harbour installations, ends up in the inefficiency, the waste, the high profit margins and the shoddy dealing of the corner bazaar."

I make a present of these sentiments to the Government and I hope

they would consider the problem of handloom weavers afresh from this new angle. Sears Roebuck's enterprise presents lessons which it would be worthwhile to understand and, if possible, emulate. The distributive trade is after all, in great need of improvement. If, for instance, the handloom weaver can have the selling margins diminished a bit, it would be possible for him to have many of his goods sold on a large scale.

Hon. members have pointed out that we have not progressed sufficiently in the development of our exports. A difficulty experienced by many of our industries especially during the past year or two, is the re-emergence of West Germany and Japan as formidable competitors. In those two countries, costs are not as sticky as they are in our country, and this helps them to sell goods in different markets of the world at competitive rates. As for light engineering industry the costs in the United Kingdom compare more favourably with the costs in our country. I am not suggesting that dearer costs are all attributable to high labour costs; this is not the whole truth. I suggest that, to a large extent, it is due to managerial inefficiency of which a proper estimate has not yet been made. I would like the Commerce and Industry Ministry to pay special attention to this aspect of the matter. The hon. Finance Minister in the course of his speech in reply to the Demands for Grants pointed out that he deprecated the idea of regional claims being put forward. I am an impenitent advocate of regional advance. I would like to place before him an additional factor which he should take into account. When people are feeling the pinch of high prices—as they will as a result of deficit financing—how is it reasonable to expect that the benefits of repressed inflation should accrue only to a few regions? There must be some compensation for the overlooked in Karnataka, in Maharashtra, in Andhra and in Tamil Nāḍ,

some compensation for the rise in prices.

**An Hon. Member:** Why leave out Kerala?

**Dr. Krishnaswami:** Very well, I will add Travancore-Cochin also because that is also a backward area.

**An Hon. Member:** Why leave U. P.?

**Dr. Krishnaswami:** Probably U. P. is most dominant and to-day includes everything.

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** Sir, I would like to make my position clear. What I meant was that when the Finance Commission or the special committees had made recommendations and more or less given awards, then there was no point in re-agitating the matter at every conceivable occasion; that was what I meant.

**Dr. Krishnaswami:** I stand corrected. I am only too glad that the hon. Finance Minister has not made up his mind on the question of regional advance. It is an advantage for me because I can hope to wrest a few concessions for the principle that I am advocating. I suggest that when there are continuously rising prices and repressed inflation, it would be wise to see that the benefits are distributed over as wide a region as possible; otherwise there would be a great deal of discontent and no Five Year Plan can have any chance of success or the privilege of enlisting public co-operation.

**Shri K. P. Gounder (Erode):** Sir, speaking on the Finance Bill, I desire to make a few observations concerning the southern State from which I come. Of course, we are certainly proud of the great hydro-electric schemes and the irrigation schemes that have been undertaken by the Government, but we, at the same time, submit that due consideration must be paid to the States in the south. It is absolutely true that when these schemes were started, we were in a hurry to relieve the country from suffering, from deficiency of food, power and such other things, and so those schemes which could give the quickest results were started. Now, we have attained

[Shri K. P. Gounder]

a certain amount of self-sufficiency in food and we are also thinking of the second Five Year Plan. We must, therefore, see that there is equal distribution of all these great schemes, both to the north as well as to the south. We are told that there are no great rivers in the south. I was, the other day, talking to one important person of the Government and he said: "we cannot bring great rivers to the south". I agree that there are no great rivers but at the same time I want to draw the attention of the Government to the fact that from the south-west monsoon we get a large amount of rain on the Western ghats which flows waste into the sea. This water can be harnessed and made into huge hydro-electric schemes supplying power to Travancore-Cochin, and also for supplying water to Madras State. No investigation has been made so far on this point. These are inter-state subjects and it is for the Centre to take the initiative. Some of the hon. Members from Madras presented a memorandum to the hon. Minister for Irrigation and Power drawing his attention to this scheme. I only want to stress that this may kindly be investigated as this scheme will meet the needs of Travancore-Cochin for power and supply water for irrigation in the Madras State. We are told that there are some real difficulties in the way of working these inter-state irrigation schemes and the hon. Minister said that there is a proposal to bring forward a legislation to solve this problem. It is owing to these difficulties that even the Periyar river scheme has been held up because there is some dispute between Madras State and Travancore-Cochin. We hope early steps would be taken to solve this question either by legislation or by award.

The second thing that I want to bring to the notice of the Government is that in the South there are no great industrial undertakings. It is because there is no power supply. In the southern States there is no supply of coal or electricity. Now, the hon.

Prime Minister and our Minister for Commerce and Industry had visited the South Arcot district where large quantities of lignite have been discovered. With the discovery of lignite we hope it would be possible to start huge industrial schemes in the south also.

After all, let us see that each part develops, because the whole country will prosper only if each of the component parts develops.

Then, I desire to draw the attention of the Government and the Finance Minister to agricultural finance. The Grow More Food Committee has estimated that nearly Rs. 800 crores is the annual outlay for agricultural operations. The agricultural people are already in debt and they cannot find this huge amount every year for agricultural operations. If I am not mistaken, there is a provision of only Rs. 10 crores for relief of agricultural indebtedness. This is a very small sum compared to Rs. 800 crores required every year. There is no use blaming the agriculturists and then telling them "You must apply the Japanese method or any other method". What the agriculturist wants is not so much the preaching about this Japanese or other methods, but the wherewithal for agricultural operations. They know something about these advanced methods of agriculture, but what they want is the money to carry on the operations. It is true that agricultural finance is more or less a State subject, but the State has limited resources and they cannot provide the wherewithal unless the Centre comes to its help.

We have got so many industrial corporations but for the greatest industry which employs nearly 70 per cent. of the population we have not got any. So, I would urge upon the Government that agricultural credit facilities and *taccavi* loans should be liberalised so that they may carry on this useful occupation of agriculture.

Now it is said that we have more or less attained self-sufficiency in food production, but we should not rest complacent with this. After all, self-

sufficiency in food is obtained by the low consumption of the agricultural class. It has been said that at least the consumption must be increased by 30 per cent if the nation has to be fully fed. If we increase the consumption by 30 per cent, the production must enormously increase, and therefore, we must give every filip to the agriculturists in order that they might be able to utilise the common knowledge that they have in order to increase the production. They are so often told that they must apply the Japanese method. That is true. We want some propaganda, but what is more required is finance. The Food Ministry can go on making this propaganda, but that is not enough. To find Rs. 800 crores every year is difficult, and I would earnestly urge upon the Government to supply this credit to these agriculturists.

As regards cottage industries, Madras is one of the States where we have got the handloom industry and we are much obliged to the Government for imposing a cess on mill-made cloth and helping this cottage industry. We hope that every method will be adopted to give encouragement and help to this handloom industry.

Regarding deficit financing, some hon. Members said that it would lead to inflation, and some authority was also quoted that the tendency was towards inflation. But we know that there is already a tendency for a fall in the sale price of the produce of the agriculturists, and if further fall is to be saved certainly more money has to be injected and more purchasing power put in the hands of the people. Already we have Rs. 1,700 crores in circulation, and this Rs. 250 crores by way of deficit financing will not in any way add to inflation. We are glad that after all Government has decided on injecting more money in order to improve the purchasing power of the people.

As regards industries in the South, we have got iron and manganese ore in Salem and Coimbatore districts, and we have got lignite in South Arcot.

Therefore, there is great scope for starting industries there. We hope every effort will be made to increase industrial production in the South.

**Shri Khardekar (Kolhapur cum Satara):** This occasion, I think, demands some sort of summing up, and I will try and make a few remarks on the Ministries as far as time permits.

Before one tries to philosophise, one must live, and the Ministry of Health is concerned with life, perhaps more with death, in this country. I would therefore like to begin with the Ministry of Health.

I am reminded of the last few sentences of the Health Minister when she replied to the debate on the Demands for Grants. That she was not going to take the country backwards. I quite appreciate that point of view. I also admire her scientific attitude and scientific spirit, but to my mind the controversy is not between whether we should have the Ayurveda or the allopathic system of medicine. I think what even Mr. Dhulekar wants is: while we are so poor and when we can give medicine by the allopathic treatment only to a fraction of the community, is it not proper that Government should reserve just a fraction at least of the total amount spent in this country on medicine for those millions who go without any medical help? Science can be carried to an extreme, and I think this age suffers perhaps more from the superstition of science than the past suffered from the superstition of religion. To say that either I will have the best or nothing reminds me of a saying in Marathi which the Minister must be knowing very well. I will just translate it: "I will either have the best clothes or I will go in nature's garb". Now, half a loaf is better than no bread. This is practical common-sense.

Even in the scientific attitude, there must be at least consistency about it. In this country, the problem of problems is the increase in our population, but the Health

[Shri Khardekar]

Minister's scientific attitude completely succumbs when it is faced with this question of family planning. There, perhaps, the religious susceptibility or maybe the superstition of the Minister comes in the way. If we consider the Five Year Plan and if we consider this problem—except the appointment of committees, commissions and academic discussions about the best methods of family planning—very little that is of substance has been done in this country. Perhaps in the mind of the Health Minister, who is a Congress Member, it is quite possible that Gandhian principles linger. My submission is that Gandhian principles are all right where Gandhis are concerned. Otherwise, it becomes very, very difficult, and we must not forget that India produced only one Gandhi. As experience is the best part of wisdom, I will narrate an experience although it is not mine. A professor friend of mine, after two years of married life had two children and believing in the Gandhian principle, told us he was going to resort to moral control and the third year did not bring forth the usual harvest. I agree with the Gandhian principles. But, Nature is sometimes cruel. Nature can take revenge and the fourth year yielded not just the usual harvest, but 10! and behold, there were triplets. So that is what happened to moral control we have two starved Cinderella ministries which are very poor in their means but are very rich in their personnel. I refer to the Ministries of Health and Education. Look at their paraphernalia, hon. Ministers, Deputy Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries and the rest of it.

You know, Mahatma Gandhi launched a very great movement called the 'Quit India' movement. And, an humble person like me might give expression to another very important movement and that is the 'Quit Ministry' movement. There is also a saying in Marathi that 'it is an evil day when the hedge starts eating the farm.' Very often we hear the Education

Minister pointing to his empty pockets, because he has nothing but empty pockets. If I were in his position, I would quit the office and the country would be so much the better for it.

I want to come to education and the Education Ministry, and here I want to speak about the national language. I cannot possibly forget the battle of the giants, the controversy that we had over the language issue between Tandonji and the Minister for Education. In this battle of giants, one dwarf got smashed up, unfortunately. Tandonji, I think—I always love to hear him—rather overstated the case for Hindi and somewhat neglected the claims of Hindustani. He had been a lawyer and his training must have led him to do that. But, the Education Minister's speech—definitely the most eloquent speech heard in this session, was it worthy of a Minister for Education? His defence of Hindustani was not only powerful but it was just and correct. His giving out a programme for future was certainly most welcome. But, we should have, as an educationist—because the Education Minister must be the essence of culture, honesty, straightforwardness and so on—he should have confessed as to a sin, the neglect of Hindi in the past and there would have been no harm. It is, always, good to own up one's mistakes. One has to commit mistakes. When one does not commit mistakes, one can never improve. If one does not improve by mistakes, one can never improve in any way.

There had been a good deal of talk about corruption. I have read Gorewala's excellent Report; it is not clumsy like Appleby's. He says that corruption can take various forms. For instance, communalism, provincialism, casteism, this, that and the other. Sometimes, one can learn important things even from a Telephone Directory. I wanted to ring up a friend of mine from the Education Ministry. Going through the list of officers, I wondered whether I was living in Hindustan or Pakistan. This is rather

important. I do believe in doing justice to the minorities—even more than justice. We should be even generous to the minorities. But the culture and the rights of the majority have also got to be considered. I very much liked the powerful way in which the Maulana Saheb said that he had devoted forty years of his life to the nation. But, blood is thicker than Maulana's patriotism.

1 P.M.

I have to make one or two suggestions to the Finance Minister. You know fanatics, are the worst enemies of the cause they champion. I am stating my own case. When I came to Delhi, I was determined to study Hindi as well as I possibly could. When I heard the greatest champion of Hindi in this House, I did not know whether it was a speech—I don't mean to say that the person was barking or bellowing. If this was the representative of the Hindi language, it did not tempt me. Afterwards I listened to Tandonji, Nand Lalji and others, and then I began to like Hindi language again. The Finance Minister should see that the cause of Hindi is not retarded because some individuals, who plead so badly, are in charge of it. It is sometimes good not to have some people as friends and it is better to have them as enemies. Maulana Sahib rounded off his speech so powerfully and dramatically and hit the bull's eye because the bull was huge that he could not miss the target. Our respected friend, Tandonji had to lose his case because he was supported by a friend who should rather have been an enemy.

About the Ministries in general I have something to say. Ministers here are very fertile in breeding laws and their output is simply colossal. We find that during this session we have five Bills to be put through in four or five hours. This is really a mockery of democracy, and I do not know why our Ministers do not understand even the fundamental principles that, that government is the best which governs the least, and if laws are to be respected, they should be few and fitting.

It seems that Government is very much in a hurry, and to quote myself, I might say, "that a person in a hurry is a person of unsound mind and a government in a hurry is a government in chaos." I must come to the Home Ministry; I cannot say Home, sweet home about it. Nobody in this House is at home with the Home Ministry. This particular Ministry seems to have a strange mental corruption and it is pervaded by a sort of perversion, to call the Preventive Detention Act a blessing, to describe the Press (Objectionable Matters) Act as a merciful Act, and to say that these abnormal laws are ordinary, normal laws because they are passed by the highest legislature of the country. I could understand any first year law student talking like that and trying to make out a case on the strength of narrow legal formalism, but the Home Minister, a person who has practised for 40 years as an eminent lawyer, saying this sort of bunkum is really not understandable. It is quite likely that the 40 years of practice has completely made all the principles of law and jurisprudence dead so far as this person is concerned. As regards corruption, criticism has ranged from Sober Saha's mild type to the militant type of Nayar who was a Niagara of vilification. But the Home Minister seems to have objected to Mr. Saha's statement when he said that the administration has deteriorated. According, I believe, to the reading of the Home Minister the administration has considerably improved. My point is that since we have attained *Swaraj* to a certain extent the administration has deteriorated. I will refer to one or two instances if time permits.

Now, in his report Mr. Gorwala gives an important instance how sometimes you cannot really blame the officers. A certain legislator went to a Collector and asked him to do something, going out of the way. The Collector said it would be very improper. Then the gentleman used the phone with the permission of the Collector and rang up the Minister

[Shri Khardekar]

concerned. The Minister called the Collector to the phone and said: "You know my views: either do this, or..... You know what 'or' means."

Then we have so many instances. I shall just give one. But before I give that I want to bring to the notice of this House one very gallant instance where righteous indignation was, properly—in my view—expressed by an official, one leader—this is not a party question at all—went to the Collector's meeting and behaved in a most impertinent manner. The result was this officer had the courage, I should say moral courage, that he slapped that gentleman. Now that officer has been suspended. I want that a proper enquiry should be held. I do not know even the name of that gentleman. But I suggest that a proper enquiry should be held. It should be by a High Court Judge. If the Collector is in the wrong he should be punished severely. But if he is not in the wrong, the highest award should be given to him—*Mahavir Chakra* or *Paramavir Chakra*, whatever it is. But where there is too much of interference, where Ministers are out to distribute patronage, where legislators and political leaders are out to benefit, then the officers naturally are anxious to oblige and thus the evil multiplies. My submission is that when we condemn officers, let us consider first how many of us are really honest.

**Shri Jethalal Joshi** (Madhya Saurashtra): Mr Chairman, I rise to support the motion on the Finance Bill moved by the hon. Finance Minister. I can say with confidence that we are satisfied with the progress made by Government during the last year. I shall refer only to two or three instances.

The first matter in which progress is noticeable is in regard to the lifting of controls. By lifting controls Government has created a good psychological effect in the minds of people. It

has created a sort of confidence and a feeling of relief and satisfaction to a very great degree.

The second matter is about the stability that we find now being established in the field of economics and industry. We know that in some periods we had been roaming in the uncertainties due to the political upheavels such as partition, deflation and then the Korean affairs. I think we have been re-established so far as economic field is concerned. The third factor is about the cottage industries, the handloom and the handicrafts. We must congratulate the Government on this point because these things now are receiving consideration to a degree which would have been inconceivable in the last year. The fourth factor is about the index of industry. In this matter I have got a certain doubt about the capacity of our industry and the actual production. From the report that we have received we find that in certain articles there is a very big gulf between the industrial capacity and the actual production.

I may read out some of the items. In appendix I 'A' of the engineering industries, in the automobile assembly plants, the production is 21.5 per cent and the remaining capacity—I should like to say—must be idle and that is 78.5 per cent; that was in 1952 and in 1953 the production fell still further and it was 16.5 per cent and the idle capacity was 83.5 per cent. The second item is agricultural implements. Production is 35.5 per cent. Then come the duplicators; production is 20 per cent and 80 per cent is idle capacity. In respect of fire extinguishers it is 30 per cent and 70 per cent; in respect of gramophones production is 7 per cent and 93 per cent is idle capacity. The machine tools valued at Rs. 10 crores could be produced by seventeen factories but the actual production was worth Rs. 44,47,000 and in 1953 there were sixteen factories and one factory was closed with the result that remaining capacity was for tools worth Rs. 1,35,00,000. That means one factory which could produce machine tools worth Rs. 8 crores or something more



has been closed and the production has fallen further. So the actual production might be 20 per cent and the idle capacity about 80 per cent.

There are other points.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member may continue tomorrow. The House will now adjourn. i

*The House then adjourned till a Quarter Past Eight of the Clock on Wednesday, the 21st April, 1954.*