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

2653

HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

Monday, 22nd March, 1954.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

3 P.M.

MESSAGE FROM THE COUNCIL OF STATES

Secretary: Sir, I have to report the following message received from the Secretary of the Council of States:

"In accordance with the provisions of rule 125 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Council of States, I am directed to inform the House of the People that the Council of States, at its sitting held on the 18th March, 1954, agreed without any amendment to the Press (Objectionable Matter) Amendment Bill, 1953, which was passed by the House of the People at its sitting held on the 13th March, 1954."

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

STATEMENTS SHOWING ACTION TAKEN BY GOVERNMENT ON VARIOUS ASSURANCES ETC.

The Deputy Minister of Defence (Shri Satish Chandra): I beg to lay on the Table the following statements

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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 State- Fifth Session, 1953**
ment No. II. of the House of the People.

[See Appendix VII, annexure No. 1.]

(2) **Supplementary State- Fourth Session**
ment No. VII. 1953 of the House of the People.

[See Appendix VII, annexure No. 2.]

(3) **Supplementary State- Third Session**
ment No. XI. 1953 of the House of the People.

[See Appendix VII, annexure No. 3.]

(4) **Supplementary State- Second Session**
ment No. XIII. 1952 of the House of the People.

[See Appendix VII, annexure No. 4.]

(5) **Supplementary State- First Session 1952**
ment No. XII. of the House of the People.

[See Appendix VII, annexure No. 5.]

GENERAL BUDGET

Mr. Speaker: Today is the last day of the general discussion of the General Budget. I should like to know from the hon. Finance Minister what time he is likely to take for his reply.

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): About an hour.

Mr. Speaker: So, that time will be reserved for him. That means we shall have to close the discussion by 6 P.M. The House will now continue the general discussion.

Shri K. P. Tripathi (Darrang): In the course of the discussion which we have been having for the last few days in this House, the most important point which struck me was the reply given by **Shri B. R. Bhagat** in reply to a question raised by a member of the Communist Party. **Shri B. R. Bhagat** said that there was no profit inflation, and therefore there was no need for any control to reduce the profits. So far as I have been able to look up the various reports publishing the profits earned by different companies, I have come to only one conclusion, viz. that the different industries in India are at different stages of growth. So, when we take a total picture, the amount of dividend comes to a small figure. But if we separate the industries which are in a better position, from those which are worse off, we really come to the question of profit inflation. Therefore, there is really a need to control inflated profits. Otherwise, how are you going to solve the question of capital formation?

[**PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA** in the Chair]

It is well known that in this country, most of the industries and trades are owned by foreign nationals and companies. That being the case, all the profit earned by them is exported out of India. Where then is the scope for capital formation in India? The only scope available is a reduction in wages. This is what has been happening for the last few years. There is a deliberate attempt to have capital formation, by reducing wages. I would draw the attention of the House, in particular to the step taken by the Assam Government during the last tea crisis. They actually reduced the wages and said that the wages shall not be restored until and unless all the loss which had occurred had been paid back. That shows that Government were concerned with creating capital for running the industry, before the wages could be restored. That was inadvertently done perhaps, but that has been the practice which has been continuing in India for the last many years. If this practice goes on, then

obviously the workers have no chance. They are not going to get their fair wages or even living wages. How shall we get fair wages, living wages? That is the question. I would draw the attention of this House to this broad fact, that the wages are the only thing which remains in this country, and all that which is capital formation goes out of the country. What is to happen to undeveloped countries like India and other Eastern countries? There was a resolution discussed in the UNO sometime ago in which a proposal was mooted that grants and loans should be given to these countries for the purpose of development. Later on this resolution was soft-pedalled because the westerners thought that industrialists should come and take part in the development industries in these countries so that they might get profits back. They did not want to give us loans and grants because that would make us free of all dependence on them. That would create capital formation here and we would not have to depend on them later on for it. So that was soft-pedalled and since then nothing has been heard of that resolution.

So I beg to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to this question: how is capital to be formed in this country? Capital formation, if it is to occur in the hands of the capitalists, is not going to be utilised for the purpose of industrial development, as has been seen in the last few years. They have not come forward for the development of industries anywhere. So some other method has to be devised for this purpose. What is that method? That method can only be that the Government should come forward with adequate powers to take away extra profits from out of their hands and create a development fund, and then pay them back if they really work for development. If the capital formation occurs in their hands, it will never be utilised; it will be squandered. So the only way for capital formation and its proper utilisation in this country is that the money should be pumped out of their hands and put into a development fund from out of

which they should be paid back if they really worked for development. Such a thing is necessary. If it is not done, there is no chance of our own capital being formed or utilised for this purpose.

This attitude of Government, to create capital out of labour's wages, is very unfortunate, I would say. If really the Government think that capital is to be created out of wages, there is one way which I would suggest, namely, give us living wages and then ask us to make sacrifices. You have said that we should come forward with voluntary sacrifices. You cannot expect voluntary sacrifices out of minimum wages. You can get it only out of living and fair wages. So let the wages be increased to the level of fair wages or living wages and then we would agree to make a contribution—each worker paying at a certain rate per day—and that would create funds by which you could develop the country. If you could give us living wages, we would agree to contribute, say, two annas per worker per day, and that would bring into your coffers nearly Rs. 100 crores per year. In that way, we are agreeable to help you. But when it is said, 'No, we shall not make anything out of the increase in inflated business, but you must make a voluntary contribution', it becomes too hard on the working classes. I hope the Finance Minister will look into this question.

The whole difficulty in this country is that we have got a large percentage of our population which is unemployed. This is now borne by the consumers and the working class; this is not borne by the employers. Every relative of the employers is employed in this country today; but the relatives of the workers and the relatives of the consumers are unemployed. Therefore, the social cost is borne by them. It is not like other countries where there is unemployment insurance, where if a man is unemployed his cost is borne by the Government. Here the worker has to bear not merely his cost, but the cost of all the persons in his family who are unemployed. This is really the business of Govern-

ment. Therefore, in the taxation policy, Government should have seen that the pressure was not put un-wardly on the consumers and the working classes. In this Budget, the Government have come forward with a tax on footwear. The middle classes, who utilise this footwear mostly have been the hardest hit. Every Govern-ment report proves that. This is un-fortunate and this should not have been done. Similarly you have come forward with taxation on soap. Soap is a necessity for every individual. This will also fall heavily on the mid-dle classes, which should not have been done. On the other hand, you have not taxed the profit-making classes. You have a programme of Rs. 250 crores of capital being pumped into the country. The result of that will be that prices will rise, to howsoever small an extent it might be. There-fore, the consumers and the working classes will be hit, on the one side by the taxation policy and, on the other side by the rise in prices. The capitalist class will get increased profits and they will not be taxed. Here is a double disadvantage for the work-ing classes and the consumers and a double advantage to the employer class. So, I was not surprised when Mr. Kilachand came forward with bouquets to the Finance Minister. The whole difficulty is that nowadays the name of the working classes and the consumers is taken by the employers but nothing is done for them. I do not know how we can be a party to supporting the taxation of these items of footwear and soap.

With regard to the proposals of taxa-tion, a lot of discussion has taken place from the point of view of the employers and all these discussions go to show that the Finance Minister has been kind enough to the employers. This kindness has been reflected in the speeches in the annual sessions of the employers. Our Industries Minister is reported to have said in one of his speeches at one of these functions that there should be a ceiling on taxation of capital. But, it seems he has not learnt that there should be a ceiling on taxation of consumers! We have not heard that. I think this new idea of

[Shri K. P. Tripathi]

ceiling of taxation on capital seems to be a cue taken from the outlook of the Budget this year.

I think the Finance Minister would be kind enough to consider the situation that would arise on account of increased expenditure of Rs. 250 crores, which is likely to raise the prices, and in the light of that he would show some consideration for the working classes and the consumers of this country.

श्री झुनझुनवाला (भागलपुर मध्य) :
समापति जी, जिस दिन से हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने बजट निकाला है कई प्रकार की आलोचनायें हो रही हैं। डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग के ऊपर बहुत लोग आलोचनायें कर रहे हैं। और कुछ लोग यह कह रहे हैं कि यह जो डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग हो रही है यह हम लोगों को गत्ताल खाते में ले जायेगी यानी यह जरूरी हो जायेगा कि इनफ्लेशन का युग फिर आ जायेगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि जब वे लोग यह कहते हैं कि डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग से इनफ्लेशन फिर आ जायेगा तो उनका मतलब यह होता है कि हमारी सरकार ठीक तरीके से काम नहीं कर सकती। परन्तु मैं यह नहीं मानता। हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी जिस प्रकार से काम कर रहे हैं, और अभी तक जिस प्रकार से काम करते आये हैं, और जो आपके सामने रिपोर्ट है, उससे आपको समझना चाहिये कि हमारे यहां चीजों के दाम कम हो गये हैं और हमारा प्रोडक्शन भी बढ़ा है। हाँ, यदि आप एकदम से हर एक चीज में परफेक्शन चाहें तो वह चीज तो नहीं हो सकती है। हमारा देश अनडेवलप्ड देश है और अगर रकम मिलने का और कोई तरीका न हो तो सिवा डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग के और कोई दूसरा रास्ता नहीं है। तो चाहे तो डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग द्वारा अच्छी तरह रकम खर्च करके देश की उन्नति में विश्वास के साथ लग जायें चाहे भायूसी धारण कर हाथ पर हाथ दिये बैठे रहें। इसलिये

डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग को इस तरह से एकदम रूल आउट कर देना ठीक नहीं है, परन्तु डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग करते समय हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी यह देखें कि हमारा जो रुपया प्रोडक्शन में लगाया जाता है वह ठीक से काम में आता है और आगे प्लानिंग का काम ठीक से होता है। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से यह कहना चाहूंगा कि प्लानिंग जो किया जाता है वह ठीक है परन्तु एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन और एग्जीक्यूशन का प्लानिंग और भी अच्छी तरह से होना चाहिये और प्लानिंग करते समय यह देखना चाहिये कि जो चीज हम कर रहे हैं उसे हम ठीक से कामयाबी से कर सकेंगे या नहीं और उसको कामयाब करने में कौन कौन चीज की आवश्यकता है। मैं आपका ध्यान एक बात की ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। प्लानमेंट यह बात मान ली गई थी कि १९५४ में हमारा देश शूगर में सेल्फ सफिशेंट हो जायेगा। यानी १५ लाख टन शूगर पैदा करने लगेगा। परन्तु यह चीज किस तरह से होगी, कौन सी चीज की तरक्की करने से होगी, कैसे होगी कि जिससे अगर हम एक बार सेल्फ सफिशेंट हो जायें तो फिर वह हमारी हालत कायम रहे यह भी हमको देखना चाहिये। परन्तु यह जो चीज १९५४ में होने वाली थी वह हमारे यहां १९५२ में ही हो गई। अब मैं देख रहा हूँ कि १९५२ के बाद से प्रोप्रेसिव डिक्लाइन हो रहा है। जिस से कि हमारे देश में शूगर में सेल्फ सफिशेंसी हो सकती है, यानी गन्ने के दाम में कमी होने से, यानी गन्ने की एकड़ पीछे अधिक उपज होने से, उसमें हम देखते हैं कि सन् १९४२ से प्रोप्रेसिव डिक्लाइन हो रहा है। तो मेरी समझ में यह नहीं आया कि प्लानर लोगों के सामने कौन सी चीज थी जिस के आधार पर वह इस नतीजे पर पहुँचे कि सन् १९५४ में सेल्फ सफिशेंट हो जायेंगे और

फिर वह चीज कायम रहेगी—हां किसी समय खास अनहोनी की बात दूसरी है। यदि सेल्फ सफ़्टीफ़ोसी का मतलब यही है कि एक बार किसी ने जो गुड़ का गन्ना है उसका गुड़ न बना कर उसकी चीभी बना ली, तो इससे तो हमारे प्रोडक्शन की ताकत नहीं बढ़ी और मेरी समझ में यह ठीक प्लानिंग और एग्जीक्यूशन आफ प्लान नहीं है। अतएव मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से यह कहूंगा कि प्लानिंग करते समय और उसका एग्जीक्यूशन करते समय यह देखना चाहिये कि बेहतर सुपरवीजन हो और हमारे देश में अधिक प्रोडक्शन हो सके। यह चीज वित्त मंत्री महोदय को ध्यान में रखनी चाहिये। तो जैसा कि मैं ने कहा, हम आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता तरक्की कर रहे हैं, हां, एकदम से परफेक्शन तो नहीं है। इनफ्लेशन कम हो रहा है और हम डिफ्लेशन की ओर जा रहे हैं। मुझे पूर्ण आशा है कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय इस ओर ध्यान देंगे और वह इनफ्लेशन को नहीं आने देंगे और जो रुपये खर्च करेंगे वह अच्छी तरह से प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाने के लिये करेंगे। अब मैं एक बात और मंत्री महोदय से कहना चाहता हूं। वह बात यह है कि जिस दिन हमारे जो सभापति जी अभी बैठे हैं, वह बोल रहे थे तो वह कह रहे थे कि जो सभासद लोग हैं, वह हमारे वित्त मंत्री को इस तरह पकड़ते हैं, जैसे कि कुछ लोगों ने हाथी की सूंड को पकड़ा था : किसी ने आंख को पकड़ा था, किसी ने पूंछ पकड़ी थी, किसी ने बदन पर हाथ रखा था, इसी तरह हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी के ऊपर भी हर एक मेम्बर कोई तो कहीं पकड़ लेता है, और कोई कहीं और उनकी आलोचना करने लगता है। कोई क्या चीज पकड़ता है, कोई क्या चीज पकड़ता है। मैं इस तरह एक चीज तो पकड़ना नहीं चाहता हूं। मैं तो उनकी समस्त चीज को देख कर देश की उन्नति किस तरह से हो सकती है, उसको पकड़ूंगा।

मैं उनकी आंख की ओर भी पकड़ूंगा, कान की ओर भी पकड़ूंगा, उनकी बुद्धि को भी पकड़ूंगा और सबसे बेशी जो चीज है, वह उनके हृदय को मैं पकड़ना चाहता हूं।

श्री अलगू राय शास्त्री (जिला आजमगढ़—पूर्व व जिला बलिया—पश्चिम) : हृदय खाली नहीं है।

श्री मुनमुनवाला : परन्तु मुझे एक बात का डर है और वह यह कि वह इतने बुद्धिमान हैं कि अपनी बुद्धि से जो उनके हृदय में बात आती है वह ढक जाती है और दूसरे के हृदय की जो बात होती है उसको भूल भुलाने में करके वह अपने हृदय की बात को भी भुला देते हैं। अतएव मैं उन से यह प्रार्थना करूंगा कि देश की उन्नति की ओर ध्यान रखते हुये वह अपने हृदय को भी जरा सा खुला रखें, केवल बुद्धि का ही व्यवहार न करें। बुद्धि का व्यवहार अवश्य करना चाहिये, लेकिन थोड़ा हृदय का भी ख्याल रखें। जो लोग आजकल कुछ जनता के लिये बोलते हैं या कहते हैं, उन से कह दिया जाता है कि यह तो एक किस्म का फंड है, सुपरस्टीशन है। लोग इंटेलीजेंस से नहीं, सैंटीमेंट से बातें करते हैं। मैं वित्त मंत्री से कहना चाहता हूं कि मेरे मैं उतनी बुद्धि तो नहीं है, जितनी उन में है कि हृदय के असली भाव को बहस से छिपा देवे, परन्तु मैं कुछ बुद्धि लगा कर के और हृदय भी लगा कर देखता हूं कि जो नीति अभी हमारी सरकार ने अख्तियार कर रखी है, उससे जो हमारी बेरोजगारी का प्रश्न है वह कैसे हल होगा, यह हमारी समझ में नहीं आया। जैसे कि हम अपने यहां के उद्योग धंधे वालों को बाहर के उद्योग धंधे वालों से प्रोटेक्शन देना चाहते हैं और बचाना चाहते हैं, उसी तरह से जो हमारे गांव और कुटी के उद्योग धंधे थे, मैं माननीय मंत्री से कहूंगा कि आज उन के

[श्री नृनञ्जुनवाला]

बारे में भी विचारिये, देखिये कि किस खुश-हाल तरह से वह बंधे और आज उनका क्या हाल हुआ है। यह भी सोचिये कि यह क्यों हुआ है, कैसे हुआ है और कितने आदमी उससे बेरोजगार हो गये हैं। इस बात के ऊपर हृदय खोल कर मंत्री महोदय ज़रा विचार करें और इस बात को ज़रा हृदय से देखें। यदि आप उन उद्योग घंघों को फिर से चालू नहीं करेंगे तो मैं आप से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि कैसे उनकी बेरोजगारी खत्म होगी। मैं यह बात कोई फ़ैडिज्म से नहीं कहता, सेंटीमेंट से नहीं कहता। मैं आपसे यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जो आपकी स्कीम है, जो आपका प्लान है, जो आपकी पांच वर्ष के लिये योजना है और आगे के लिये भी जो आप योजना करना चाहते हैं, उससे किस तरह से हमारी बेकारी दूर होगी और उन लोगों का दुःख किस तरह से मिटेगा, क्योंकि मैं ऐसे चुनाव क्षेत्र से आता हूँ जहाँ पर कि इतने बड़े बड़े उद्योग घंघे नहीं हैं। वहाँ न तो बड़े बड़े उद्योग घंघे हैं और बाहर के जो बड़े उद्योग घंघे थे उन्होंने जो कुछ भी हमारे छोटे छोटे उद्योग घंघे थे उन को एकदम से खत्म कर दिया है। जहाँ हम जाते हैं वहाँ पर ही बेरोजगारी है। इन बेरोजगारों को खाने को नहीं मिलता। अब आप यह देखिये कि यदि एक दिन के लिये हम बेकार हो जाते हैं, कुछ दिन, पांच सात दिन, हमको काम नहीं मिलता है और हम चुपचाप बैठे रहते हैं, तो हमारी मानसिक स्थिति क्या हो जाती है। इसके ऊपर भी हम लोगों को विचार करना है। हमारे जो ३४ करोड़ आदमी हैं उन में से कितने आदमियों को रोजगार मिल रहा है और कितने अभी अनएम्प्लाय्ड हैं।

अब समय अधिक हो रहा है, कहना तो इस पर बहुत था, लेकिन अब अधिक नहीं

कह सकता। इसलिये मैं आपको एक बात यहाँ बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि आप बड़े उद्योग घंघे कायम करें, तो करें, हमको इससे कोई एतराज नहीं है, परन्तु मैं आप से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ पर हमारे गांव के और कुटी के उद्योग घंघों को आपके इन बड़े उद्योग घंघों से मार डाला जाता हो, उनको किसी भी प्रकार की हानि पहुँचती हो, तो उस तरह के बड़े उद्योग घंघों को आप तब तक प्रोत्साहन न दीजिये जब तक कि आप उन ऐसे गांव वालों के लिये भी कोई उपाय निकाल सकें, उनको कोई दूसरा रोजगार दे सकें। मैं ने यहाँ प्लानिंग कमीशन के सम्बन्ध में पार्लियामेंट में ही नन्दा साहब से प्रश्न किया था। उन से पूछा था कि आपकी जो यह स्कीम है, उससे आप हमको यह बतलाइये कि पांच वर्ष के अन्दर गांव की कितनी बेरोजगारी को आप दूर कर सकेंगे। उन्होंने जवाब दिया कि यह तो इस पर निर्भर करेगा कि हम कितनी तरक्की कर सकते हैं। यह तो प्लानिंग की कोई बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आई। जो वहाँ के उद्योग घंघे थे वह इन बड़े उद्योग घंघों से खत्म हो गये और इस वजह से वहाँ की आज क्या हालत हो रही है, यह हम लोग सब देख रहे हैं। अब प्लानिंग हो रही है तब हम उसी विषय में यह पूछते हैं कि आप उनकी बेरोजगारी किस तरह से दूर करेंगे तो उसका वह यह जवाब देते हैं कि हम कुछ नहीं कह सकते, जैसे जैसे हमारी तरक्की होती जायेगी, बैसे बैसे यह सब काम होगा। जब आप कोई ऐसा जवाब नहीं दे सकते हैं तो एक इसका उपाय है, और यह निश्चित उपाय है, कि जितने भी हमारे गांव के और कुटी के उद्योग घंघे थे, उन सबको आप रिवाइव कीजिये और उनको रिवाइव करके उनकी जो चीज़ें हैं, उन को तब तक रहने दीजिये जब तक कि आप उन के लिये कोई

दूसरा एम्प्लायमेंट नहीं दे सकें। उन की चीजों का आप व्यवहार कीजिये। हमारे सोमानी जी और तुलसीदास जी आदि जो लोग हैं उनको चाहिये कि उन लोगों की चीजों को यह व्यवहार में लायें। इनको समझना चाहिये कि सन् १९०५ और सन् १९०६ में जब स्वदेशी आन्दोलन चला उस समय यहाँ की जनता ही थी कि जिसने आपकी सहायता की थी, जिसने आपके मील का कपड़ा विदेशी मील के कपड़े से दुगुने दाम देकर और खराब क्वालिटी का कपड़ा पहना। इसीलिये आप इतनी तरक्की कर सके हैं।

अतएव मैं चाहता हूँ कि जितनी हमारी गांव की चीजें हैं, जो चीजें वहाँ पर बनती हैं, उन सब चीजों का व्यवहार कीजिये और उनको उत्साहित कीजिए ताकि वे अपने उद्योग धन्धों को फिर से जारी करें। अगर आप के पास इसके अतिरिक्त और कोई दूसरे उपाय हैं तो मैं आप से प्रार्थना करूँगा कि आप कृपा करके बतलाइयें। अगर नहीं बतला सकते हैं तो सिवाय इसके कोई दूसरा उपाय नहीं है और इसका आप जरूर अवलम्बन कीजिये। अगर आप ऐसा करेंगे तो जो अनएम्प्लायमेंट है वह कम होगी। अगर ऐसा नहीं करेंगे तो वह बेरोजगारी बनी रहेगी और कम से कम जिस चुनाव क्षेत्र से मैं आता हूँ वहाँ के लोगों को संतोष नहीं होगा और वे तकलीफ में ही रहेंगे।

बस, अब मैं इतना कह कर बैठ जाता हूँ, केवल एक बात और कह देता हूँ जिस में मुझे एक मिनट भी नहीं लगेगा। हमारे कामर्स और इन्डस्ट्री के मिनिस्टर ने एक स्पीच देते हुये कहा है :

“We as a Government have now taken away the political significance of *Khadi* to some extent and have begun to emphasise the economic significance of it.”

इस सम्बन्ध में हमको केवल यह कहना है कि यदि खादी और इस प्रकार की जो इन्डस्ट्री हैं इसमें कोई पोलिटिकल सिग्निफिकेंस पहले थी तो अब वह किसी तरह कम नहीं है, उस की पोलिटिकल सिग्निफिकेंस अधिक ही है। अतएव यह जो गवर्नमेंट ने डिसेजिन लिया है, यह जो उन्होंने निर्णय किया है, मेरी समझ में यह निर्णय गलत किया है।

Dr. Lanka Sundaram (Visakhapatnam): Mr. Chairman, my hon. friend. Shri Jhunjhunwala, has attempted an elaborate thesis on the scheme of deficit financing which the Finance Minister announced in his Budget proposals. That is a very fascinating subject and I wish I could have the time to look into it. I would only say two sentences about this particular question.

Today our note circulation is Rs. 1166.58 crores; the general index of wholesale prices of last year, i.e. 1953 is 381.5 whereas the index has risen to 395.0 in February 1954. The only remark I would like to make in this context is that Rs. 250 crores of credit money coming into circulation in the coming financial year and Rs. 500 or Rs. 600 crores coming into circulation within two years' time from 1st April will raise the prices further, and wages will go up to such an extent that I really shudder to think of the consequences. I regret to say that my hon. friend the Finance Minister has chosen to adopt the role of a remorseless pilgrim, to go to the Nasik Printing Press. I wish I had time to go into the matter in greater detail. But today I would like to make one broad observation and come down to one or two specific points connected with the manner in which the accounts of the country are kept and managed in terms of the numerous publications made available to the House.

The general observation I would like to make is this. I am very sorry to state—and I must state it—that the Budget Statement of the Finance Minister is shockingly complacent. Since the 15th of August last and even earlier the Prime Minister has been

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telling the country, in statements and in public speeches, about the grave dangers facing this nation as a result of certain developments beyond our border. The Prime Minister has asked for national unity, national consolidation, a sense of preparedness to meet any eventualities arising out of the proposed military pact of our neighbour country. I wish that the Budget reflected at least to one-millionth of the extent this, shall we say, new psychosis created in this country—whether we like it or not—by the Prime Minister; not a psychosis of fear but of anxiety. That is not in the Budget Statement. What do we find? Here I have got some figures.

Civil expenditure of this country has increased in the following progression: Accounts, 1952-53: Rs. 51.71 crores; Budget, 1953-54: Rs. 71.27 crores; Revised Estimate, 1953-54: Rs. 68.52 crores (slight drop); Budget for the coming year: Rs. 86.08 crores. This is the Civil expenditure as revealed by the books made available to us by the Finance Minister.

What do we find about Defence expenditure? I will quote the figures of net expenditure given. The figure for 1954-55 is Rs. 205.62 crores which is hardly Rs. 6 crores more than the revised estimate for last year. Beyond that I would not like to say much. The point is that we should have without, to quote the Finance Minister, indulging in an armaments race, done something to assure the people that preparations are afoot to defend our country in case danger is round the corner. I wish the Finance Minister had attempted to reflect the sentiments of the Prime Minister to prepare the country to meet the eventualities.

Having said that, I would like to explore within the few minutes at my disposal a certain type of territory which normally is not explored in debates of this character. I concede that the hon. the Finance Minister is a past-master in handling accounts and figures. It is also my personal good fortune to have been in a position to dabble in these figures to some

extent. But I must say that I have got a number of doubts as regards the manner in which accounts with respect to loans raised in small loans, grants-in-aid to States, Special Development and other funds and foreign aid are entered, as they are not really intelligible. I hope the House will bear with me if I go into some statistics—I am afraid, into a series of statistical tables or formulae. As regards Revenue and Expenditure the actuals are given in the Explanatory Memorandum. But I do not find the actuals given for loans to be raised and the amounts received by way of small savings. I am referring to pages 62-63 of the Explanatory Memorandum circulated to us. On the receipts side you will find a number of remarkable things. The original budget figure for 1950-51 shows 85.36 crores and the revised figure is 38.97 crores. Look at the wide gap! In 1951-52 the original figure was 104.84 crores and it becomes 43.61 crores in the revised figures. In 1952-53 the original budget figure was 26.06 crores and it rose to 35.79 crores in the revised figures. In 1953-54 the original figure was 100.79 crores and it came down to 77.36 crores in the revised figures. My point in quoting these figures is only to show that there is, what is called, a wild leap in the dark. In addition, I would like to draw the attention of the House to another thing. On page 53 of the Explanatory Memorandum for 1952-53, the budget figure for new loans for 1952-53 has been given as 26.06 crores, while on page 58 of the Explanatory Memorandum for 1953-54 the amount of new loans in the budget figures for 1952-53 has been shown as 39.06 crores. I am not able to understand this difference of 13 crores between the two figures. I am not trying to make any debating point about lack of reconciliation in figures between one memorandum and the other. What I say is that unless the actual amounts are known, it is difficult for this House to arrive at any conclusion about the principles of the borrowing policy of the Government of India. Now, as regards disbursements, under the head Budget and Revised Budget 1950-

51 to 1953-54, a number of variations again occur. Here again—I want my hon. friend to bear with me—I am quoting again from the Explanatory Memorandum. In the Explanatory Memorandum for 1952-53 the figure was 9.85 crores whereas in the Memorandum for 1953-54 the same figure is shown as 10.10 crores. It may be a typographical error—I am not sure—but I do not see how there can be such variations. If the actuals are given in the Memorandum for a series of years including the actual amounts for the previous year, I think this difficulty would not have been there.

Now I will take the grants-in-aid. I have worked out the figures for six years and it comes to 143.82 crores. Here, to my mind, the position is satisfactory, but I wish to say something as far as the loans given to the States are concerned. As regards this item, you will find that the actuals are not given anywhere in the Budget Memorandum, and in this connection I am quoting pages 61 and 62 of the Explanatory Memorandum for the coming year. Here again you find that the variations continue. There are wide variations between the budget and revised figures. That is not the only point which I am trying to emphasise with regard to grants-in-aid. The amounts shown by way of advances to State Governments do not include the amounts met from Special Development and other Funds. For instance, 93.28 crores is shown in the Budget as advances to States for 1953-54 and this does not include the amount of 37.92 crores met from the Special Development and other Funds. If you take the revised figure for 1953-54, it is 118.37 crores. This does not include the sum of 41.83 crores met from the Special Development and other Funds. Similarly, the amount provided for 1954-55 is 178.79 crores, and does not include the sum of 35.62 crores from the Special Development and other Funds. I make a reference to this point in order that the Finance Minister and the Ministry in general would in future give us a consolidated statement, so that we can get a clear

picture of the manner in which these loans are made to the States. It will, therefore, be appreciated that unless the amounts advanced from Special Development and other Funds are added to the amounts shown under disbursements of Capital Outlay, you would not get the correct figures of the financial assistance which the Union Government gives to the States in the shape of advances by way of loans.

As regards the Special Development and other Funds, you will notice that between 1951-52 and 1954-55 a total amount of 119.67 crores has been sanctioned. The difficulty here again is that I do not find the actuals anywhere. You will realise, Mr. Chairman, and I am sure the House will agree with me on this point, that the Government have invested these sums of money in various sectors. I do not wish to go in detail over the matter. The subject was raised by me on another occasion during the last Session of Parliament, and I would like to say that the Government must give us the actual capital invested year by year and the sums advanced by way of loans from the Centre, without which, I regret to say, it is not possible, obviously, to arrive at a proper appraisal of the manner in which the funds of the tax-payer are sought to be utilised.

I would like to have the indulgence of the House for some more statistical matter to be put into this debate. You will see the total amount of advances, etc., given to the States up to the moment since the Plan period. I have worked it out, subject to correction by my hon. friend, perhaps subject to a margin of error of 5 per cent. A sum of Rs. 667 crores has been made available to the States. How does this work out? A sum of Rs. 98.93 crores has been given by way of grants from 1951-52 to 1954-55 inclusive; Rs. 449.78 crores have been given by way of Advances to the States; Rs. 119.67 crores have been given as Advances from Special Development and other Funds during the same period. I happen to be in your distinguished company in one of the statutory Committees of this House. You will recall

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that, even in a report which the Estimates Committee made, it was observed that recoveries of advances are not easily possible. In other words, we enter a jungle, a veritable jungle, from which it is difficult for us to deduce any logical conclusion, with the result that I heartily agree with my hon. friend—I am sorry he is not here—Shri Tulsidas that this House must do something immediately to ensure that these Rs. 667 crores, and infinitely more money to be advanced in the next two years, under the Plan, has to be accounted for by the States. I am convinced, and I hope my hon. friend the Finance Minister would not disagree with me on this point, that this Parliament must have some kind of control over the issues.

For example, the House knows that when the International Monetary Fund makes a grant, a loan or an accommodation, it has its finger in the pie, so to speak. It controls the manner in which this money is utilised. On the same analogy, this Parliament should have an opportunity to study the manner in which all these funds made available to the States are expended. Otherwise, it will be a story of all the money going down the drain; I do not say so; until an investigation is completely made, no conclusion is possible.

Finally, I would like to direct the attention of the House to foreign aid. We find a number of advances have been made. The House would realise that the World Bank makes assistance available. It is by way of loan; it is not at all in the nature of a grant. An answer was given on the floor of the House on 21st April 1953 that a sum of 109.8 million dollars had been received from the Bank in a number of ways, and that, in parenthesis, 50.7 million dollars have been utilised, and that a certain amount is still available for utilisation. There are various types of loans: 14.7 million dollars for the Trombay Electricity Project of the Tatas, 8 million dollars to the Industrial Finance Corporation.

Then, the Indo-U.S. Technical Co-operation Agreement: I am unable to find the actual figures. I believe that about 50 million dollars under the Agreement of 5th January 1952; and 38.35 million dollars under the Agreement of November, 1952 have been made available. Economic assistance has also been received from Norway to the extent of about Rs. 27 lakhs. In each case India has to contribute something. Under the Ford Foundation, for example, India is to receive 10,41,310 dollars. There are similar aids given by various denominations, under the Colombo Plan by Canada, Australia, New Zealand, etc. In addition, there is the classic loan of 90 million dollars which has to be repaid with 2½ per cent. interest over a period of 30 years, for our wheat loan. The point to which I am directing the attention of the House is that all these loans must be tabulated, and we would like to know exactly where we stand as to the manner in which all these aids and gifts are sought to be raised from abroad as foreign aid, assistance or loans.

Without it, it is impossible for us. My regret is his figures are not intelligible. I concede the point that my hon. friend, the Finance Minister is very deft in bringing together figures dexterously. I have the greatest admiration for him, but this dexterity, I regret to say, may eventually, on the basis these figures are compiled now, develop into some sort of dangerous—I would not say manipulation—but certainly grouping together of figures out of which we in this House and the country in general will not be able to find any adequate material for forming right conclusions. I hope that in the next Budget statement something will be done for improvement of account in the light of what I have said.

Shri S. N. Agarwal (Wardha): I have heard with respect the speeches during the last few days by several Members of the Opposition on the

General Budget. In this imperfect world, there is hardly anything that could be called perfect, and therefore, the Budget also could be looked at from different points of view.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee talked of Alice in Wonderland, and he also talked of the hippopotamus. I would say that whenever I see Shri H. N. Mukerjee—he is not here at the moment—I remember of little Alice fretting and fuming and fidgeting in this wonderland of Indian politics! He talked of the hippopotamus, but I would request him—he talked of the hippopotamus in terms of deficit financing—not to forget the hippopotamus of totalitarianism in this country, because Lenin said: "Democracy is a bourgeois conception which must be overthrown by the revolutionary proletariat". It is this hippopotamus that I would like Shri H. N. Mukerjee to remember. He also talked of the coir workers in Travancore-Cochin. He said that he had seen their bruised, battered hands. We also have full sympathy with the coir workers of Travancore-Cochin, and I think the Government should do and will do all that lies in their power to improve their condition. But there is one great difference between India and the countries from which Shri H. N. Mukerjee draws inspiration, and that is this, that in this country even these bruised and battered hands have the right to vote—an equal right—and to establish a Government of their choice, whereas I was reading recently about the elections in the Soviet Union. The report says that all over the country there were Soviet people voting unanimously for the Communist candidates, and then the next paragraph goes on to say, because we might think that there were so many parties.—we all know there is only one party—that there were no other candidates to vote for, although voters could register opposition by deleting candidates' names and returning a blank ballot or writing a new name. This is a democracy that we do not want.

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty (Basirhat): No, no. Nominations are made.

Shri S. N. Agarwal: Therefore, I would very earnestly urge that in this country when we talk of democracy, let it be democracy for everybody, not merely democracy for the Communist Party, and for others only to listen and to obey.

Shri V. G. Deshpande talked against our policy of "dynamic neutrality", and he urged that we should take aid either from Russia or from America. I would earnestly request him and his party that we must give up the philosophy of the begging bowl, that we must learn to stand on our own feet, that we must not behave like helpless children resting on crutches. I am glad to find that in the Budget the Finance Minister has not entered a race for armaments. In fact, he has made it very clear that it is not the intention of our Government to try to compete with other nations in piling up armaments out of fear. We have also made it clear a number of times that we are against the Pak-U.S. military pact, not because there is any immediate danger to our country but because we are seeing with regret the reversal of history in Asia. During the last few decades, India has been trying to liberate Asia from the thralldom of the West and this aid is trying to reverse that process. That is our regret.

The Father of the Nation taught us that the ultimate strength of a nation lies in its own inherent strength, and we did attain independence through non-violent means. Therefore, the leader of our nation has also committed this country to the same peaceful and non-violent means, to that indomitable spirit of man, and I hope.....

Dr. N. B. Khare (Gwalior): Why not disband the army?

Shri S. N. Agarwal: ...that all the parties in this House will support this present policy of the Government.

[Shri S. N. Agarwal]

Then, Dr. Khare—his turn also comes—speaking in a certain context referred to the three R's: Rashid, Rauf and Rafi. I go a step further and take the next letter S. There are three S's in this country who are the bane of Indian politics: the Sabha (the Hindu Mahasabha); the Sangh (the Jan Sangh) and the Samyavadis (the Communists). I would urge upon my hon. friend to get this country rid of these three S's.

An Hon. Member: S's or asses?

Dr. N. B. Khare: But that is no answer to my charge, first answer my charge. You have not done that.

Shri S. N. Agarwal: Then a number of speakers referred to the problem of unemployment. We are all very much concerned about this problem. Some say that Communism is our enemy No. 1. I do not agree. I feel that the Communists are like a cloud that thunders for a while and then drifts away and passes into oblivion. But this problem of unemployment is a serious problem and our Government must try to tackle it in all seriousness.

Dr. N. B. Khare: Enemy No. 1 of the country is Congress itself.

Shri S. N. Agarwal: It is true that the Government of India and the Planning Commission have already announced a number of measures to combat unemployment. They have also inflated the Five Year Plan to the tune of Rs. 175 crores, but I am sorry to say that merely trying to have a few more industries—basic industries or big industries—will not help us.

Recently, the A.I.C.C. conducted a survey in the rural areas of the Delhi State and we were surprised to find that the average *per capita* income of the agriculturists is only Rs. 150 per year, and they are unemployed or under-employed for about three or four months a year. The main problem that these agriculturists face is about their subsidiary occupation,

and I am sorry to say that, in spite of the Government of India, and in spite of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board, wherever I go I find a number of cottage industries going to pieces. We are planning here in Delhi for the rural areas, but we do not get into the spirit of the rural areas. Therefore, planning becomes faulty. I would earnestly request the Finance Minister and the Government of India to view this problem from a realistic angle and try to survey the needs of the rural people. They will then find that the unemployment problem could be effectively tackled through the Gandhian way, through the decentralised way, and if that is done, then within a few years, not before very long, we can have some hope of full employment in India.

I am glad that the Finance Minister has talked of some administrative changes, and some changes in the procedure, because we find that although certain sums of money were sanctioned for different projects, they were not spent. We are glad that one senior officer is trying to revise the administrative procedure. But I would suggest to the Government: let them associate some Members of the Parliament in this important task. Do not leave the work of reforming the administrative machinery to the administrators themselves. If there are some senior persons who have experience of administration, associate them with this work and I am sure something substantial will come out. It is not merely a question of changing the procedure; it is the question of changing the psychology of the officers. If the officers feel that they are also partners in this great enterprise, and that they also have a mission to fulfil in the establishment of a welfare State, then and then only will these procedures have some value.

Shri Tulsidas Kilachand complimented the Finance Minister for what he called his 'gradual and conservative' policies. I was astounded to hear

this. I do not know whether he meant it to be a compliment or an insult. After all, if we want to establish a welfare State, gradualness and conservatism will not do. I am sure the Government of India and the Planning Commission do realise that if this country is to attain economic and social freedom and independence, then time is of the essence, and we must act quickly. The various proposals that the hon. Minister of Finance has placed before us for taxation are not very revolutionary. Of course, he says that he is awaiting the report of the Taxation Enquiry Commission. But I would urge upon him strongly that whatever may be the report of the Taxation Enquiry Commission, there are certain obligations imposed by the Constitution itself. The Constitution says that the State shall try to guarantee the right of work to everyone; that it shall also prevent accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few. These are sufficient directives which the Government should take inspiration from. I do hope that they will go ahead with their proposals to establish economic equality in this country. There is at present a gaping gulf between the rich and the poor and between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'. Unless this gulf is bridged, you cannot expect proper enthusiasm from the people.

In this Budget, which is mainly a development Budget, there are a number of points which the Finance Minister has placed before us. He has shown us how he has tried to provide for development, education, medical facilities, the grow-more-food schemes, the community projects, the national extension service and the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I would impress upon him one point, namely, that instead of resorting to indirect taxation, let us depend more and more on direct taxation for specific projects—projects which are implemented before the very eyes of the villagers, in which they are prepared to be partners, in which they also contribute their share

either in cash or in kind or in labour. Such projects have succeeded in many places in this country, and the more we depend upon the voluntary co-operation of the people and the willing, voluntary labour of the people, the better it will be for us, because in this country we are in need of capital but we have abundance of labour. It is this 'capital of labour', if I may put it that way, which has to be tapped. Public finance is not merely a question of rupees, annas and pies; it is not merely a question of clever calculations to balance the budget. The question to my mind is how to tap these idle resources of manpower, how to utilise these idle hands in the country that are a real asset and that are our real income.

I would mention one or two points about the taxation proposals and then close. The Finance Minister has done away with the import duty on foreign cotton. It is not very clear to me how this will affect the Indian cotton grower—whether the excise duty that he has levied on all types of cloth is meant only for the cloth manufactured out of foreign cotton or of all types of cotton. If it is for all types of cotton, then the Indian cotton grower is bound to suffer to some extent. But that requires closer examination.

4 P.M.

As regards soap, I would say that instead of levying a duty on soap, it will be proper to set some limit to the daily output. There may be some small units, which are using power, but which are nevertheless small industries; they may be exempted, and only the big manufacturers like Lever Brothers, and others should be effectively taxed.

The hon. Finance Minister talked of austerity. I would humbly say to him that talk of austerity will be effective only when it begins from the top. It should begin with us in all sections of this House, for instance. Unless we are able to inspire the masses with our own sense of self-sacrifice, it is no use asking them to work hard and

[Shri S. N. Agarwal]

to sacrifice. After all, we have to tighten our own belt, if we expect others to tighten theirs. And may I say that Delhi is not a suitable place for budget-making? It is a peculiar city which is out of tune with the Indian masses. It will make a world of difference if the budget is framed in Gandhiji's hut in Sevagram, for instance.

An Hon. Member: Or in Kalyani.

Shri S. N. Agarwal: Only then everybody will feel really how the Indian masses will react to it. Here in Delhi, all of us feel rather lost in this vast ocean of Indian humanity.

There is one talisman or one dictum that Gandhiji gave us, and I would like to read it out to this House, and to the hon. Finance Minister, for that gives us an insight into the working of public finance. He says:

"I will give you a talisman. Whenever you are in doubt, apply the following test. Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man, whom you may have seen and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him. Will he gain anything by it, or in other words, will it lead to Swaraj for the hungry and the starved millions... Then you will find our doubt melting away."

I would say that this is the dictum that all experts in public finance should place before themselves.

India is a land of destiny, and we expect great things from this country to re-make and re-fashion the whole world. In doing that, of course, we cannot overlook our own achievements, or under-rate our own work during the last six years. But we cannot rest on our oars. We must go ahead with radical reforms, economic and social, and we must place ourselves at the service of democracy, peace and freedom in this country. We must have that strong will that

can pluck stars from the heavens, and that unflinching faith that could move even mountains.

श्री इंदर (जिला इलाहाबाद—पश्चिम):
समापति महोदय, मैं आज इस बहस के आखिरी दिन में खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मुझ को आशा थी कि शायद आज आखिरी दिन ये गवर्नमेंट की बेंचें खाली न रहें और मैं कुछ अपनी बात मंत्रियों को, उन मंत्रियों को सुना सकूँगा जिन के विभागों के बारे में मैं कुछ कहना चाहता था। इन दिनों में जब सब विभागों के सम्बन्ध में बहस होती है, क्योंकि जब बजट उपस्थित किया जाता है तो उसमें सभी विभागों के अनुमान होते हैं और उस समय हर विभाग का प्रश्न लाया जाता है, ऐसे दिनों में मुनासिब यह है कि सब मंत्रीगण यहां पर बैठे रहें और सुनें और समझें कि क्या उन के विभाग के बारे में कहा जा रहा है। अकेले वित्त मंत्री का यहां पर उपस्थित होना पर्याप्त नहीं, क्योंकि उनके सुपुर्दे वे विभाग तो हैं नहीं जो उनका दिया हुआ रुपया व्यय करते हैं। वित्त मंत्री तो रुपया बांटते हैं, खर्च उसको दूसरे करते हैं। मुनासिब होता अगर वे यहां पर उपस्थित होते।

अस्तु, अभी हम होली की ऋतु में हैं और होली की ऋतु के बाद यहां इकट्ठे हुये हैं। गुलालों का आकाश हमने देखा है। कहीं कहीं गुलाल के साथ गर्द का गुब्बार भी देखा है। यह हमारा बजट भी होली के आकाश के समान गुलाल और गर्द से छाया हुआ है। हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना में दोनों मिले हुये हैं। इन चन्द मिनटों में मैंने सब व्योरो में नहीं जाना है, परन्तु जहां मैं मानता हूँ कि पंचवर्षीय योजना में कुछ रंगीनी है दिलों को प्रसन्न करने वाली बस् है, वहां मुझको बहुत व्यर्थ का आडम्बर और गर्द का गुब्बार भी दिखाई देता है। मैं पूछना

चाहता हूँ कि जिन दीन और गरीब भाइयों से हमारा देश भरा पड़ा है और जिन के बारे में अभी मेरे मित्र श्री श्रीमन्नारायण अग्रवाल ने गांधी जी का एक उद्धरण पढ़ा उन दीनों गरीबों की झोपड़ियों में इस योजना से क्या अब तक हुआ। इससे अगले दो वर्षों में उनका क्या लाभ हो जायेगा, इस बात में मुझे बहुत गहरा सन्देह है। मुझे इस पंच-वर्षीय योजना से यह नहीं दिखाई देता कि हमारे गांवों की दशा कुछ बहुत उन्नत होने वाली है। उसके लिये तो योजना का कुछ रूप रंग अलग होना चाहिये।

मैंने दो एक बार कहा है कि गांवों का एक नया निर्माण होना चाहिये, युग बदलने के लिये मैंने बाटिका गृह योजना की बात रखी है जिस में मैंने कहा है कि गांव के हर कुटुम्ब के लिये घर हो और हर एक घर के साथ आधी एकड़ भूमि हो। ऐसा अगर हो जाय, तो आप देखेंगे कि क्या सूरत बनती है। मुझको ऐसा याद पड़ता है कि एक बार वित्त मंत्री ने कुछ शब्दों में मेरी इस बात का स्वागत सा किया था, परन्तु मुझ को तो मालूम नहीं कि आज तक यह जो रुपये खर्च हुये कई सौ करोड़, जो अब तक खर्च हो चुके, इस रकम का कोई एक टुकड़ा किसी ऐसे एक गांव के भी बसाने में खर्च हुआ।

मेरी यह कल्पना थी कि हर सूबे में या हर जिले में एक एक गांव तो इस नमूने का बन जाता। मुझे नहीं मालूम होता है कि आज देश भर में इस योजना पर एक भी गांव बसाया गया हो। दो सौ चार सौ घर इस तरह के बसाये जाते, हर घर में आधा एकड़ भूमि होती, बीघ में सड़कें होती और यह यत्न होता कि वह स्वच्छ रहे। मुझे इसके लाभ पर अधिक नहीं कहना है। आशा थी कि कुछ होगा लेकिन अभी तक कुछ नहीं हुआ है। मुझे यह मालूम होता है कि

इस पंचवर्षीय योजना में शहरी ढंग से रहने वाले लोगों का ध्यान है। देहाती लोगों के लिये यह योजना बहुत अधिक करने वाली नहीं है।

मैं गांवों में बढ़ती हुई बेकारी देख रहा हूँ। यहां चर्चा होती है पड़े लिखों की बेकारी की। ऐसा लगता है कि जो देहाती लोग हैं, गांवों के मजदूर हैं उनकी तरफ ध्यान नहीं है। उस सब के लिये दूसरी तरह की योजना की आवश्यकता है।

मुझे थोड़े से शब्द भाषा के सम्बन्ध में कहने हैं। मेरा निवेदन है कि भाषा के प्रश्न पर हमारे शिक्षा विभाग के भीतर सजगता नहीं है। ऐसा लगता है कि वह ऊंघता हुआ विभाग है। चार वर्ष बीत गये हिन्दी के सम्बन्ध में उन्होंने क्या किया ?

श्री नन्द लाल शर्मा (सीकर) : शत्रुता।

श्री टंडन : छोटे छोटे कुछ चार पांच शब्दकोष सामने आये हैं जिन में बहुत रुपया बरबाद हुआ है। उस दिन मेरे मित्र श्री गोविन्द दास जी ने पूछा हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री जी से कि जो काम संविधान सभा ने शब्दों के बारे में कर दिया था, अर्थात् संविधान का अनुवाद हिन्दी में हो चुका और हिन्दी शब्द स्वीकार हो चुके, क्या आप उन शब्दों को भी बदलने में लगे हैं। उन्होंने जवाब दिया कि हां हम बदलने में लगे हैं। उन्होंने पूछा कि क्या आप संविधान की यानी कांस्टी-ट्यूशन की अवहेलना करेंगे, तो उन्होंने कहा कि 'हां'। अवहेलना का मतलब उन्होंने नहीं समझा। स्पीकर साहब ने उनको मतलब समझाया तब उन्होंने कहा, 'नहीं'। मुझे अपने शिक्षा मंत्री की इत्थिपत्त में संदेह नहीं, बहुत आलिस है। शिक्षा विभाग से हम यह आशा करते हैं कि वह हिन्दी को प्रगति दे। लेकिन ऐसा जान पड़ता है कि हमारे शिक्षा

[श्री टंडन]

मंत्री जी का हिन्दी का ज्ञान बहुत कम है। मैंने सुना है कि वह बंगला बोल सकते हैं। बंगला भाषा में 'अवहेलना' बहुत साधारण प्रचलन का शब्द है, परन्तु उस शब्द की भी उनको जानकारी नहीं थी। मुझे इस के लिये शिकायत नहीं है। मैं सचमुच हृदय से उनका आदर करता हूँ। यह मैं आप से अपने हृदय की बात कहता हूँ। लेकिन आदर होते हुये भी यह मेरा निवेदन है कि यह जो हिन्दी के चलाने का काम है यह उनकी शक्ति के बाहर है। तब क्या किया जाय? वह शिक्षा मंत्री हैं। जो काम अब तक हम ने देखा उसमें तो उस विभाग में चेतना नहीं दिखाई देती। मेरा निवेदन है कि या तो इस के लिये एक स्थायी आयोग, कमीशन, बना दिया जाय जिस के कामों में शिक्षा विभाग दखल न दे और जिसको हिन्दी का काम करने का पूरा अधिकार हो, या एक नयी मिनिस्ट्री बनायी जाय। जरूरत यह है कि बिल्कुल एक नयी मिनिस्ट्री बनाई जाय जो हिन्दी को चलाने के लिये....

एक माननीय सदस्य : गोविन्द दास ।

श्री टंडन : मेरे दिमाग में कोई खास आदमी नहीं है। मुझे खुशी होगी अगर आप आ कर के काम करें। लेकिन कोई ऐसा आदमी बनाया जाय जो इस काम को लग कर करे और जिसमें चेतनता हो।

Shri S. S. More (Sholapur): Why not remove the present Minister if another is wanted?

श्री टंडन : तो मेरा निवेदन यह है कि यह विषय विचार करने का है। मैं आगे बढ़ता हूँ। समय थोड़ा है।

राष्ट्रपति के पास उर्दू का मसला आया है। मेरे सूबे के बारे में मांग आई है कि वहाँ

उर्दू एक क्षेत्रीय भाषा के रूप में स्वीकार की जाय, एक उर्दू की यूनिवर्सिटी बनाई जाय जहाँ उर्दू में शिक्षण हो। उर्दू के माने केवल उर्दू शब्द रचना नहीं है बल्कि फारसी लिपि है। सवाल लिपि का है। यही असली सवाल है। आज फारसी और अरबी लिपि का सपना हमारे भाई देखते हैं और आये हैं राष्ट्रपति के पास कि इसको जारी किया जाय। मुझे ऐसा दिखलायी पड़ता है कि यह दिमाग गलत है। इस दिमाग में मुस्लिम लीग के दिमाग की बूँदें हैं। आज भी वह अपने को पूरा भारतीय मानते हुये इस देश का जो चलन है उसमें अपने को प्रविष्ट नहीं करना चाहते। हमारे सामने किसी अलग कलचर का सवाल नहीं है। एक भाई ने लखनऊ में कहा कि हमारा मुसलमानी कलचर कुछ ईरानी है, हमको मौका होना चाहिये कि हम उसके अनुसार काम कर सकें, उर्दू के द्वारा। क्या आज हमारे देश में इस तरह के दिमाग की जरूरत है? यह साम्प्रदायिकता है। मैं उर्दू का विरोधी नहीं हूँ। मैं फारसी भी जानता हूँ। मुझे फारसी में मजा आता है। उर्दू में मुझे रुचि है लेकिन हमारे देश में क्या आज इन भाषाओं पर जोर देने की आवश्यकता है, इस लिपि की आवश्यकता है? कैसा तमाशा हम पाकिस्तान में देख रहे हैं? पाकिस्तान में जो आज मुस्लिम लीग की हार हो रही है उसका बड़ा कारण यह है कि वह उर्दू ज़बान को बंगालियों के ऊपर लादना चाहती है। बंगाली उसको स्वीकार नहीं कर रहे हैं वे भी मुसलमान हैं उर्दू सब मुसलमानों को मान्य हो ऐसी बात नहीं है। हमारे यहाँ के भी रहने वाले जो मुसलमान हैं वे भी इस प्रश्न को उस रूप से, मुसलमानी रूप से, न बढ़ावें। मेरा निवेदन है कि यह जो अनेक मांगों की गई हैं वे ज्यादातर गलत हैं। यह एक सही बात है कि अगर कोई उर्दू पढ़ना

चाहे तो उसके ऊपर कोई रुकावट नहीं होनी चाहिये। मैं जानता हूँ कि इस बात के लिये हमारे मूबे की गवर्नमेंट ने पूरा मौका दिया है। लेकिन यह कि हमारी अलग उर्दू यूनी-वर्सिटी बने, हम अरबी लिपि में अजियां दे सकें वह सब गलत मांगें हैं। मेरा निवेदन है कि इस तरह की मांगों का साफ जवाब यही है कि वे मानने के योग्य नहीं हैं।

हमारी मिनिस्ट्री आज जो काम कर रही है उसके एक आध कामों के बारे में भी मेरा कुछ निवेदन है। जो ज़ोर देना चाहिये राष्ट्र भाषा पर वह मिनिस्ट्री नहीं दे रही है और जो काम कर भी रही है वह सही तरीके से नहीं कर रही है। अभी उनकी रिपोर्ट निकली है। उन्होंने कहा है कि हमारा इरादा एक कोष बनाने का है। वह चाहते हैं कि कानसाइज़ आक्सफोर्ड डिक्शनरी का अनुवाद हिन्दी में हो जाय। रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि ६०,००० रुपया इस काम के लिये हिन्दुस्तानी कल्चर सोसाइटी को देना स्वीका किया गया है। मैं चाहता था कि शिक्षा मंत्री जी यहां होते और मैं उन से पूछता कि हिन्दुस्तानी कल्चर सोसाइटी ने अब तक हिन्दी का जो काम किया है क्या उसका कुछ पता है। मुमकिन है कि पता हो लेकिन फिर भी उसकी मदद करना उनको मंजूर है। इसी कोष, डिक्शनरी, के काम को दूसरी संस्था ने, मशहूर संस्था ने, उठाया है। हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन इस काम को कर रहा है। उसने बहुत सा काम आगे बढ़ाया है। उसने शिक्षा विभाग से कहा कि हमारे कोष के लिये रुपया दीजिये। शिक्षा विभाग ने उनको इनकार कर दिया। हिन्दुस्तान भर में इस संस्था का नाम प्रसिद्ध है। इसने हिन्दी को चलाने में खास हिस्सा लिया है लेकिन उसको इन्कार कर दिया गया। यहां से उस संस्था के पास खत गया कि तुम इस डिक्शनरी के काम को मत उठाओ। शायद यह खत इसी मतलब से

भेजा गया कि वह काम हिन्दुस्तानी कल्चर सोसाइटी से लेना था। मेरा निवेदन है यह कि ६०,००० रुपये की बरबादी है। हमें मालूम है कि इसी संस्था की ओर से संविधान का हिन्दुस्तानी में अनुवाद हुआ है। हिन्दुस्तानी में अनुवाद हुआ परन्तु वह अनुवाद आज किस काम में आ रहा है? कौन उसको उठा कर देखता है? हिन्दी वाले हिन्दी का संविधान देखते हैं, अंग्रेजी वाले अंग्रेजी का देखते हैं। हिन्दुस्तानी अनुवाद के ऊपर जो बहुत सा रुपया खर्च हुआ, वह किस काम आया? यह कोष बनाने का जो काम है, अगर मेरी आवाज़ मंत्री महोदय तक पहुंच सके तो मेरा नम्र निवेदन है कि इसमें इस तरह से आप रुपये को मत फेंकिये।

आचार्य कृपालानी (भागलपुर व पूनिया):
बहुत कम रुपया है।

श्री टंडन : जी, हां।

Shri S. S. More: For wasting.

श्री टंडन : रुपया तो कोष के काम में आप लगायें, लेकिन यह काम उसको दीजिये जो कर सकता है, सम्मेलन है, नागरी प्रचारणी सभा है, काशी की ये संस्थायें हैं जिन्होंने इस काम को किया है और कर रही हैं। हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन में इस समय लगभग २२५ आदमी काम कर रहे हैं। वह सोसाइटी जिसको आपने काम दिया है कोई ठोस चीज़ नहीं है। मैं पूछूंगा कि क्या उस सोसाइटी में दस आदमी भी काम करने वाले हैं। आज आपके रुपये से वह आदमी रख लें तो दूसरी बात है। मुझे उस संस्था का विरोध नहीं करना है, पर वह अवश्य कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा रुपया ठीक काम में लगना चाहिये।

कुछ इधर हमारे शिक्षा विभाग ने एक फंडेशन सा निकाला है अकादमियों के खोलने का। एक वाच सीखने के लिये अकादमी

[श्री टंडन]

खुली है, नाच और संगीत अकादमी। एक साहित्य अकादमी खुली है, क्या है अकादमी ?

आचार्य कृपालानी : एक आदमी।

श्री टंडन : यह नया शब्द हमको शिक्षा विभाग ने दिया। तीसरी एक कला की अकादमी खुलने वाली है। हमारे एक भाई घीरे से कहते हैं कि यह शब्द पुराना है। जी ! हिन्दी में यह शब्द नया है, अंग्रेजी में पुराना है, उसका उच्चारण भी दूसरा है। हमारे यहां साहित्य और अकादमी, इन दो शब्दों का इस होली की ऋतु में विवाह कराने का यत्न है। ऐसे विवाह कुछ अच्छे पुरोहित कराया करते हैं, कुछ सरस्वती पुत्र होते हैं वे शब्दों का विवाह कराना जानते हैं। यह अनमेल शब्द मुझे उचित नहीं लगता। लेकिन शब्दों की बात छोड़ कर मेरा निवेदन यह है, गहरी दृष्टि से, संजीदगी से, कि इन चीजों के ऊपर रुपया बरबाद करना अच्छा नहीं। मैं इनमें रुपयों की बरबादी देखता हूँ। मैं साहित्य का प्रेमी हूँ और शायद लोग न जानते हों कि संगीत का भी प्रेमी हूँ। परन्तु इस तरह से संगीत और नाच की अकादमी, यह मुझे बेतुकी लगती है। लखनऊ में किसी समय ऐसी अकादमी, नाम उसका अकादमी नहीं था, वाजिद अली शाह ने भी खोल रखी थी।

Acharya Kripalani: Every age has its Wajid Ali Shah.

श्री टंडन : कैसरबाग आज भी उसकी याद दिलाता है। लेकिन उनका जो मुख्य घर था उसमें आज हमारी गवर्नमेंट ने अक्लमन्दी करके एक विज्ञान का घर खोल दिया है।

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair.]

मेरा निवेदन यह है कि हमारे सामने बहुत गहरे काम हैं। हमारे माननीय प्रधान

मंत्री जी ने हमारा ध्यान खींचा है कि आज हमारे देश की स्थिति गम्भीर है। एक तरफ तो हमारी यह स्थिति रहे और दूसरी तरफ हम नाच और गाने के ऊपर विशेष ध्यान दें और रुपया लगायें, मुझे यह ठीक नहीं लगता।

मेरा यह निवेदन है कि ऐसे प्रयत्नों में पैसा न लगे, अच्छे कामों में लगे। शिक्षा विभाग के लिये बड़ी आवश्यकता यह है कि वह राष्ट्रीयता की तरफ ध्यान दे और राष्ट्र भाषा को मदद दे। यह साहित्य अकादमी जो बनी है, उसके विषय में एक दूसरी बात भी कहना चाहता हूँ। मुझको तो ऐसा लगता है कि हिन्दी को कुछ खिसका देने का असर इस के भीतर है। चौदह भाषाओं का यह एक संगम है, मैं अकादमी से संगम शब्द अच्छा समझता हूँ, १४ भाषाओं का यह एक साहित्य संगम है। सब भाषाओं की हमें आवश्यकता है। हम उनको मदद दें। लेकिन यहां हम क्या मदद देंगे? आवश्यकता यह थी कि अपने अपने राज्यों में उनको मदद दी जाय, उनको हम कुछ अनुदान ग्रांट्स दें। मगर यहां पर इस साहित्य संगम से उन भाषाओं का भला होगा यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती। और उल्टी बात क्या रखी गई कि १४ भाषाओं में एक हिन्दी है। पांच हज़ार रुपये का इनाम हिन्दी के लेखक को दिया जायेगा। उन्होंने कहा है कि हम हर एक भाषा के प्रमुख लेखक को पांच पांच हज़ार रुपया इनाम देंगे। पांच हज़ार रुपये का एक इनाम हिन्दी को मिल जायेगा जो राष्ट्र भाषा है, जिसके बोलने वालों की आबादी भी इतनी अधिक है। पांच हज़ार रुपया उर्दू वालों को भी मिल जायेगा और पांच हज़ार रुपया दूसरी भाषाओं को भी मिल जायेगा। यह क्या चीज़ है? शायद उनकी मंसा तो यह नहीं होगी, लेकिन जो इसका असर होगा वह यह है कि हिन्दी

का स्थान जो राष्ट्र भाषा का है उसको शिक्षा विभाग नीचे उतारे। मैं इसीलिये निवेदन करता हूँ कि आज आवश्यकता है कि एक स्वतंत्र आयोग बने जो हिन्दी की रक्षा करे और हिन्दी को प्रगति दे, या एक नयी मिनिस्ट्री बने जो केवल हिन्दी का काम करे और जो बाकी ११ वर्ष बचे हैं उनके अन्दर हिन्दी को अच्छी तरह चला दे।

The Minister of Agriculture (Dr. P. S. Deshmukh): I am very reluctant, Sir, to take the time of the House because I know how non-official Members are anxious to contribute to the debate, and yet not to say anything at all on the points that have been urged on the floor of the House would also not be fair either to the hon. Members who have advanced them or to the House itself. I, therefore, would be very brief in my comments and would like to touch only upon one or two important questions which have been raised.

I am glad that on the whole the House has agreed, and has accepted the fact, that the food situation in the country is far more satisfactory. I would like to say in this very breath that in spite of the fact that we have produced little more food we are not yet satisfied and we are not going to rest content with whatever little achievements we have to our credit, because the idea is not merely producing sufficient food—our ideal is to see that the whole of our people are better fed. That is an ideal for the achievement of which we have to strive and struggle for a long time to come, but we are prepared to undertake that task.

My hon. friend, Mrs. Kripalani asked a very pertinent question. She agreed with us that we had produced more food but she wanted to know how much of this was due to our efforts and how much was the result of good rains, good weather and good fortune from above. It was a year ago that we started some intensive

propaganda to grow more paddy. According to the most conservative estimate, it is apparent that we have covered under the whole of this system at least an acreage of 2½ lakhs, and partially this system has been observed over an area of about 30 lakh acres. We have got detailed figures from about a dozen States which indicate that on an average, wherever the Japanese method has been fully observed, we have got an extra yield of rice to the extent of 15 to 16 maunds per acre. I am prepared to reduce it a little in order not to eliminate all possibility of exaggeration, or in order to be more conservative in my calculations. Now, if we calculate at the rate of half a ton of extra yield per acre on these 2½ lakhs of acres, we get 125,000 tons as extra yield on this acreage. So far as the rest of the 30 lakhs of acres are concerned, even according to the most conservative estimate we can calculate that we have gained at least a quarter of a ton extra. If we calculate the extra yield on both, the total yield comes to 8½ lakh tons. If we calculate it at the rate at which we have purchased Burmese rice, there is a saving to the country of about Rs. 60 crores. In addition to this, there has been extra production to the extent of some millions of tons. Those figures and the final calculations are not available but they will be given to the House and the public at large at a later stage. This additional production that we have had this year has also come to our hands as a result of the minor irrigation schemes, some efforts at providing more and better seeds, the greater use of fertilizers, and various other measures like giving extra credit facilities to the agriculturists, asking them to utilise the human waste to a greater extent than in the past, the utilisation of a larger quantity of compost etc. All these factors are responsible for this additional yield.

The next point that I wanted to refer to is the Burmese rice deal. Three pertinent questions have been

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asked about it. The first is: what was the necessity to import this quantity of rice? My hon. friend, Shri Gurupadaswamy was prepared to exceed our estimate of production and say that we have produced 34 lakh tons and not 23 lakh tons—I think he probably meant millions. He credited our production to be 34 million tons as against 23 million that we claim.

Shri S. S. More: He is beating you in your game of exaggerating estimates.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: I do not mind his taking advantage of these figures for the sake of making his own point, but all along the policy that we have followed in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture is a policy of safety. We know that we have greater production of rice and that in all probability we will not require anything from outside. Yet, we do not want to take any risk, because we know the distress that is caused and the misery that follows whenever there is any feeling in the country that our production or our stocks would not be sufficient for the country as a whole. We know how speculators come into play and how prices soar up, causing very great misery to the people. Therefore, we wanted to err on the safer side and it was the view of not only the Famine Commission but other commissions and committees that we should always hold at least a million tons of foodgrain in the country by way of reserve and that was the reason why we entered into this deal.

The second question is: why should we have paid higher prices? I may categorically say that it is not a high price that we have paid. All the talk about offers having come to us which were very much lower than this are absolutely wrong and false. There is a certain gentleman who established a firm only a month before he went to Burma for this purpose and he wants a commission of four annas per maund. He sometimes styles himself as a leader of the Socialist Party

in India, but after return here, he does not find his Socialist friends welcoming him and so he wishes to go to the Communists.

Shri Punnoose (Alleppey): Take him into the Congress.

Shri Nambiar (Mayuram): May we know who is coming to us?

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: I am very sorry that an intelligent person like Shri Gurupadaswamy should have been taken in by such a gentleman. My friend opposite is younger than me and I am in a position to advise him. There are many people who catch hold of M.Ps. and I have myself been a prey and sometimes I have been cheated by some such persons. I am afraid he has fallen into the snare of some persons.

Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy (Mysore): Let me say that I have not fallen a victim to anybody.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: If you compare the speech delivered by my friend and the notes which have been provided almost to every M.P., you will agree that he has not even changed the construction of sentences which have been given to him.

Shri S. S. More: He is so very faithful to the brief.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: The allegation of our being interested in seeing that some big capitalist's money was recovered is absolutely news to us and there is not a grain of truth in it. How can this deal have anything to do with the recovery of some advances made by somebody? I would like to say that we have been importing rice not for the first time. If you look at the prices for the last few years, it will have to be accepted that this was the lowest price that we ever paid. Secondly, even after the gentleman was prepared to offer a phenomenally low price according to him, there are countries like the United Kingdom and other foolish governments who are not purchasing from this gentleman but are prepared

to pay prices more or less of the same order as we have paid!

Shri S. S. More: Why should other countries purchase from him when he is not honoured in his own country?

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: It is also wrong to suggest that we have blindly purchased some specific old stock of rice from Burma which is rotten, which is not fit for human consumption, and that with our eyes closed we are going to import it. This is absolutely wrong. We have purchased good, eatable rice from Burma and we have laid down the standard and the specification it should answer and every grain of rice that will be imported into India will be permitted to come into the country after due scrutiny and examination, and if it falls in any way below the standards we have specified, it shall not be and will not be accepted. I think I have answered all the three suggestions or criticisms that have been made.

Shri A. M. Thomas (Ernakulam): Is it a fact that last year we were prepared to go only up to £40 per ton and, if so, what is the reason for offering a higher price this year, especially when our position is more comfortable?

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: Offer does not mean acceptance. All our Members are supposed to be people with common sense and they all have ample experience of offers when they go to shops. I do not think much meaning should be attached to such offers alone. As a matter of fact, we were subjected to some criticism when we said that we were prepared to take rice from anybody if he brings it into India and sells it. Nobody came forward to import rice from any country, and even this busy-body, who is trying to allege all sorts of things, was given sufficient opportunity to give us a firm offer and get rice at the price he was quoting—sometimes even up to the limit of £34. There were other reputable firms who were doing business for hundreds of years and had accredited representatives in all the rice-growing countries and

their quotations were with us right up to the date on which we entered into this contract and made the purchase. None of them even approached the rate of £48 and every one of them was above £50 and about £60, £70 and so on. There is one other snag that I would like to refer to. The price, which is being quoted as £34 or £35, is for broken rice in which we are not interested.

Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy: No, Sir.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: If anybody could get the rice which we are purchasing, it was open to him to give us a firm quotation. In fact, one or two people have come to grief who were more reputable than this gentleman and who promised us that they would be in a position to import the rice. I may assure the House that this complaint is absolutely wrong and unfounded, and, therefore, I would like the House to accept my word that when entering into this deal, we have considered the interests of the country and of the people at large before arriving at our decision.

Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy: May I ask a question?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let the hon. Minister go on.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: There are a few other points, not of very great importance, for which I may take some time of the House. My friend from Uttar Pradesh wanted us to reclaim the *usar* lands in U.P. and he wanted the Indian Council of Agricultural Research to take up this work. As everybody knows, this is a research organisation and it has interested itself in this matter so far as research is concerned. It has sanctioned a scheme for investigation and research and are prepared to spend Rs. 35,000. provided the U.P. Government also comes forward with a share of 50 per cent.

My hon. friend Dr. Khare referred to this Burma deal and he brought in certain R's saying that these three

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R's had really conspired to make this bad deal. I interjected then and said that he had brought together the wrong R's. The real R's which he should have brought together were: Rafi, more Rice, greater Relief, and effective Rebuff to profiteers. These are the four R's which he should have more properly brought together and that would have summed up the position correctly.

Two friends from Bombay, I believe, were concerned about certain advances and loans we give to the State Government, and they even suggested that the Central Government should pursue the matter with a view to seeing whether the loans given were properly utilised or not. **I am afraid this is not possible with the staff that the Central Government have at their disposal: nor would it be, I think, appreciated very much by the State Governments themselves.** We do certainly take every possible care to see that the schemes are properly framed and they are executed and expedited as much as possible. Beyond that I am afraid it is not possible for us to go.

My hon. friend Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava once again told us of the value the House and the country should attach to cattle improvement and milk supply. We are absolutely at one with him, so far as this ideal is concerned. And, as he himself knows, we are trying our best to intensify our efforts to see that there are better cattle and more milk supply. Of course improvement of cattle is not in the hands of any person. It is a somewhat lengthy process but I am glad that we are on the right path. All the same I am prepared to accept that there is room for improvement so far as this matter is concerned.

My hon. friend Mr. Somana suggested that we should pay more attention to minor irrigation schemes. From the last year, Government has

done this, and in addition to the bigger schemes, very large amounts of loans and smaller amounts of subsidies are being given to the States for minor irrigation works. There are hundreds and thousands of wells which are being subsidised and given loans for. Similar help is extended to tanks, and small bunds etc. So far as this matter is concerned, Government is already pursuing the right course.

Shrimati Maniben Patel complained that if the sugar production was insufficient, Government should authorise new factories being brought into existence. I may tell her that Government has already accepted this suggestion. In spite of the fact that the Planning Commission had arrived at a certain target, it seems necessary to work towards a higher target than that, and Government would be prepared to give licenses to a limited extent if more sugar factories are brought into existence. But we should realise that it is no use adding factories to areas where the sugar-cane supply is not adequate. Therefore, we are inclined to encourage sugar factories being put up in places where the average yield per acre is much higher. In spite of the efforts of the Sugar Cane Committee and several research institutions for the improvement of sugar-cane and sugar technology, we have not made much progress so far as yield per acre of sugar-cane is concerned. However, we are trying to pay greater attention than we have done in the past and we expect we will be able to report somewhat better results by next year.

I do not think I should take more time of the House. There are some small points which I assure the House will examine.

Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy rose—

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member will have a chance at the time of the discussion of Demands for Grants of the Food and Agriculture Ministry.

Shri Jaipal Singh (Ranchi West—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, before I come to the Budget, I would like to advert to something very unfortunate and undesirable that fell from the lips of a seasoned Congressman from West Bengal, Shri Atulya Ghosh, who ought to have known better than to have come before this House and accuse the Bihar Ministers, or Bihar Congress leaders at that, of atrocities against people in Manbhum. He used strong language. Whatever may be the truth behind his grievance and the grievance of the people of Bengal in regard to the so-called Bengali-speaking areas in the State of Bihar, I think it is grossly unfair that the whole State should be accused of what has been done at the instance of unwise Congress leaders in Bihar.

After all, he should have remembered that Manbhum is a tribal area essentially and any charges that he makes against the State is bound to react vehemently against himself and against the Bengalis, because, whether he likes it or not, anything by way of disgrace to that particular area would react violently against the very cause he wishes to advocate. I say this more, Sir, because there has been now appointed the States Reorganisation Commission. That impartial body should be able to look at things from a detached point of view, far away from the heat of provincialism and linguism. I have to say this, Sir, because the Bengali Press loses no time in making capital of the least lack of wisdom on the part either of the district officers of Manbhum or of the power-mad Congressmen of Bihar. As far as the people of South Bihar are concerned, they are never against Bengalis, as my friend Mr. Atulya Ghosh has suggested. Bengali which is the most advanced language in this country, not excluding Hindi, is not hated, as Mr. Atulya Ghosh would have us believe. Sir, I wanted to say this because it is necessary. I come from that part of the State of Bihar.

My hon. friends from Bengal, if they want any fair treatment, if they wish to elicit any sympathy from us, should be careful in the language they use on the floor of this Parliament. I would extend this piece of advice to my friends from Orissa also.

Coming to the Budget, Sir, practically all my life I have been used to deficit financing. So any proposals that may have come from the hon. the Finance Minister this year do not shock me. I am used to it. All that I wish to say is that he should not experiment too far, or make it a permanent feature of our national budget. I know that I can sleep although I may be deficit. I know our country will be able to go through with this limited amount of deficit financing, so long as our friends on the other side do not lose their head. That is the main point. Deficit financing has to be very carefully and cautiously controlled if it is not to lead the country to disastrous results.

I want to speak about my own pet constituency—if I may so call it—that is in regard to the provision that the hon. the Finance Minister hints he had made in the present Budget. He is very careful in the language he uses every year. I have tried to listen intently to whatever he has to say in regard to India's ancient millions. I am really surprised that he, as an old civilian from one of the States that has the second largest number of Adivasis in this country, has not been able to find enough amounts, or has not provided more generously for the tribal millions. Here is what he says:

“I think I could truthfully claim that the increase in expenditure in the coming years is mostly on development, in accordance with the approved plan.”

This is with particular reference to the backward classes. I have been searching very hard in the Five Year Plan as to what the approved plan is. I find that there is nothing very particular except an inventory

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of five things that the Planning Commission is supposed to have made. They are—I shall just enumerate—educational and vocational training schemes, roads and communications, social service schemes, schemes for economic betterment, improvement of administrative service.

I want to ask the Government and in particular the Finance Minister whether the Government of India have in any way implemented articles 275 and 339. Article 339 empowers the Central Government—the Government of the Union—to give directions to States in regard to what plans should be carried out. I have been asking for this information year after year and I have not been given any concrete reply yet. Here in the Budget speech itself, he says that there is an approved plan. I very much like my hon. friend to put the approved plan on the Table of the House so that at least backward M.Ps.—Members of Parliament belonging to the backward sections of the Indian community—may have an opportunity to know the concrete plans the Government of the Centre as well as the State Governments have for the betterment and advancement of the backward sections of the Indian community.

We have been told again and again—it is in the reports—that the nature of work connected with the backward classes is complicated and delicate. That is all very well. We are also told that it is necessary to improve and reorganise the administrative services. What has been done? I know the North-East Frontier Agency cadre has been instituted. That is certainly an excellent move. But is it that the tribal people are only in the North-East Frontier and nowhere else? Even in regard to that cadre my fair friend here the other day pointed out that none of the tribal people have been given an opportunity. Let a single Member in the Treasury Benches tell me that in the State of Assam there are no competent graduate

tribal people who could fill these posts equally ably and perhaps more competently. After all they are tribals themselves and know the needs of the people of that particular area.

Last year when it came to the appointment of an Assistant Commissioner for the Eastern Zone under the Special Officer of the President, what happened? All the tribal candidates were disqualified from appearing before the Selection Committee here. It would appear as if it is only the non-tribals who could solve the problems of the tribal people. That is not the way of tackling the problem.

The Prime Minister again and again—here and outside tells us that there should be a right approach. I do not see how this is a right approach. I believe that under the appropriate demands, these things will be discussed in greater detail.

I would like to support what Mr. Purushottam Das Tandon said, and emphasise the point that it is not respectful to this House that when a matter has to be discussed in which all the Ministries are under fire, many Ministries are unrepresented. I would also like to see that some specific convention is laid down here whereby we are not robbed of the time that is our due—that is to say, non-official Members.

For instance, today there was such a speech. I am very glad my friend Dr. P. S. Deshmukh has been here and it is nice to hear his voice every now and then. But I certainly object to his taking away the time that was not his. Because the debate on Demands for the Ministry of Food and Agriculture is his occasion and that is the time when he will have to reply to the points that he had noted down in the present discussion—not at this particular time. After all, it is the Finance Minister who will give the reply from the angle of finance and we do not want any great

details at this stage. But I would insist that Ministers, Deputy Ministers and their henchmen should be here to make note of whatever every Member has to say—either from the Opposition or from the back-benches of the Treasury itself. I think that this will be a healthy convention.

One thing has disappointed me. I hoped very much that my hon. friend, the Finance Minister would have come forward with a certain reorganisation of the Ministries. Something has already been said. I do not see why it is still a continuation of Cinderella Ministries. In the old days Education, Health and Lands were under one Ministry. 'Lands' disappeared and for the rest we have a separate Ministry for each. It is really remarkable how this bifurcation has been made. The Minister of Health cannot deal with matters of the deaf, dumb and maimed; they go to the Education Ministry. I am giving only one instance as to how there has been no scientific distribution of the portfolios. I do not know whether something has been done about it.

While talking of the Budget, there is only one point which I would like to stress. I do hope my hon. friend and his Ministry will be more and more careful in watching as to how money—that is, the money doled out by him—is spent because that is the main concern here. He should have a proper surveillance over the expenditure. It is not much of a comfort to us to be told that so many crores of rupees have gone down the drain, whether it is for the D.V.C. or Hira-kud or something like that, and that subsequently steps have been taken to undo the mischief so that no recurrence of such mischief will be there again!

I would like to say what I myself feel in regard to what a good many people have said this time over the American aid to Pakistan. I am surprised at the peculiar psychosis that has developed overnight because of a certain mild protest made by the

Leader of this House about this particular aid. It is a delicate matter and the less we talk about it the better. But let us not get into a depression of fear as if we are now without any defence. My friend, the Finance Minister has already stated in his Budget Speech that the security of our country is in no way jeopardised. Let us accept that and examine those words very carefully as to what they mean. I would say from what I know myself that we can face any emergency, if there is to be an emergency—God forbid that there should be any—but it would be unfortunate to the other side. We are strong enough. Let us not pay heed to this hostile attitude that some of us have developed—may be towards Pakistan, may be towards America, may be against ourselves—and say things that have no truth behind them. (*Interruptions*). Are we not taking fairly large aids which are being flown here across the Atlantic? Do we forget that? Can we genuinely and honestly say that we have received no aid whatever of military nature? Why do we bother about the unwise step that our next-door neighbour has taken? All that matters is whether the security of our country is intact or not. He tells us that the security of this country is not jeopardised. (*Interruptions*).

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: Why do you welcome it?

5 P.M.

Shri Jaipal Singh: I welcome it advisedly; I will state my arguments when the Defence debate is on. My objection is that those people who live in glass houses should not throw stones at others. You have been receiving help and you are getting upset over some small help that somebody else is getting.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Shri Jaipal Singh: I am amazed at the colossal ignorance on military matters of some Members of the House. What is the quantum of aid that has been given, what is the

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quantum of strength? (*Interruption*). I do know. I have not got it from anybody else. But the speeches display considerable ignorance of our military strength. I am not justifying or saying: they should get it, let them get it. But the particular psychosis that is being developed by certain utterances in this House is not a healthy thing for the country, and we should be rather careful in what we say. (*Interruption*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let the hon. Member proceed.

Shri Jaipal Singh: I say this and I repeat that we should not let things come out of our lips unguardedly. I can speak with a certain amount of real knowledge and not superficial information obtained here and there, that with our military strength we will ever be able to cope with any emergency which may develop, regardless of who gives the help to the next country. That is all that I have to say.

Shri K. K. Basu (Diamond Harbour): The Finance Minister concluded his Budget Speech with these words that "no idea of the vast upsurge in the national life can be conveyed by translating all this in terms of money or compressing it into a classified table of estimates and expenditures". He believes that "the face of the country is changing" and that "we are on the right road". Similar expressions have also been echoed by Shri S. N. Agarwal from the other side who said, referring to the incident in Travancore-Cochin, that he sympathised with the coir workers but that they had a democratic right to vote in comparison to what he considered to be the conditions in a totalitarian state—as if after seven years of Congress rule and three years of planning our people are not entitled to look forward to anything in terms of money and in terms of tangible benefits and have to be satisfied only with the right to vote! This is a dangerous attitude for the Finance Minister and for a

number of people in the party supporting him to take.

Our Finance Minister tries to propound that we are in a developing economy, that our country's industrial output has increased. So let us for a moment try to analyse what has been the increase in our industrial output. In one of the biggest of our industrial undertakings, namely textiles, there has been a certain improvement. But I would here ask the Finance Minister to take a more realistic view and compare the conditions of the textile mills in the different parts of the country. The other day the Chairman of the Millowners' Association of West Bengal has said that out of sixteen mills in the State only four will be in a position to survive. This is the criterion for judging the development of our economy so far as the textile industry is concerned. Persons concerned with textile matters say that though the production has gone up to some extent and the per capita requirement of fifteen yards can be supplied, the difficulty is that there is no market. There is a glut of textile goods. We are expecting, and the Finance Minister also hopes, that we should have export markets. But we know that when Japan is coming into this field, what will be the fate of our textile mills?

Let us consider the position of other industries like machine tools. The complaint is that Government only tries to help the big bosses in our industrial units and not the ordinary persons. We have to see what is the total effect on our economy as a whole so far as industrial output is concerned. By having an increase in one or two units or in one or two particular industries or in certain categories of industries we cannot say that we are in a progressively developing economy.

If we take the case of industries like wood screws, nuts and bolts and plywood, there is a crisis and many of the units are going to close.

The Finance Minister's figures show that in industries like electric fans, ball-bearings, diesel engines and some other industries there is a certain increase in the units of production. But at the same time all these units have complained that there is no market for the goods that they produce. Therefore, if we want to establish a regular and developing industrial economy we have to see that the products that come out of the units of production have a market both internal and, if possible, external also. If we compare the figures given in the Report of the Planning Commission about the progress in relation to installed capacity we find that only 30 per cent. of the installed capacity is all that we have been able to work up. Is this the progress in our industrial output after three years of the Plan?

If we take the figures regarding electric energy, even after three years of planning of which our Finance Minister is so proud, only 18 to 20 per cent. has been consumed. There are no industries to consume the rest of the electric energy.

This is the position so far as our industrial output is concerned.

Let us turn to foreign trade. Here I would like to emphasise one point. We see here that foreign trade has gone adversely and against us. To what extent? The import prices of the goods that we consume have increased by four per cent. The export price of the goods that we send out has been reduced by 26 per cent. If you talk in terms of tangible benefits we are losing so far as our export trade is concerned. The Finance Minister seems to feel that there is an improvement so far as our import trade is concerned. But if we analyse the important items in our imports like machinery, dyes and colours, chemicals, iron and steel we find that there is a decrease in the quantity of imports of these items. In our country where machinery and manufactured goods are so necessary for the development of our national

economy, we find that there is a decrease so far as imports of these items are concerned. On the other hand the policy of the Government has been to increase the import of electrical goods, much to the disadvantage of the small indigenous manufacturers in this country.

Therefore we have to see the overall picture of the industrial and economic position of our country and not sit and have a complacent attitude that as there is improvement in production in three or four industries we have achieved a developing economy and that we can think of a brighter future.

Even in our export-import trade we have the domination of foreigners. Among the entire financing by the banks, only 30 per cent. is supplied by Indians and the rest goes to foreigners. Is this the way in which the Finance Minister should try to establish our economy after three years of planning? And yet he says that we have a developed economy and that we have a brighter future before us.

In this connection I would also like to say that in a country where the Government says that there is improvement in the industrial production we all expect that there should be greater avenues of employment. If we look to the figure of the working class cost of living index it has practically remained static, if not risen slightly. But so far as food prices go there has been a definite increase. So far as the general index of wholesale prices is concerned, there also there has been a slight increase. On the subject of unemployment I do not want to say much now. The Finance Minister himself has stated many a time, and in his speech, that there has been growing unemployment in the country. We are not in a position to do anything about it. We know that on a moderate assessment, if we take into consideration the unemployment in the registered factories and in a number of small factories which possibly are not registered, or possibly there are other

[Shri K. K. Basu]

types of work which normally under the present system of administration we may not find in our statistics, not to speak of rural unemployment, we have a figure of not less than 25 lakhs unemployed.

The other day the Finance Minister quoted figures from the employment exchanges. We know what a small percentage of the unemployed get their names registered with the employment exchanges. He said that only 5,07,639 people have got their names registered as unemployed. After three years of planning the Government wants the people to work hard to produce more and increase the national wealth. On an analysis of the figures we find that nearly 48,000 people of the skilled category who are registered with the employment exchanges are still unemployed, 1,51,345 of the clerical class are unemployed; 2,39,187 unskilled people are unemployed and so far as supervisory staff are concerned, we have 4,931 people. We want our national wealth to develop. We still find that there are skilled workers in our country without any possibilities of developing their skill and with a bitter experience they have to go about in search of employment. According to the employment exchange figures nearly 25 lakh people are employed and if you calculate the proportion, it is only one-fifth of the total that are unemployed and registered with the employment exchanges. Over and above, we do not include the unemployment that is prevalent so far as the Government organisations or undertakings are concerned. We have had three years' planning and we have a progressively increasing economy, as said but we find that even in the Government organisations, all of a sudden people are thrown out of employment. We find that all of a sudden, after twelve years of service in Calcutta about thirty to forty Stationery workers have been thrown out of employment with a day's notice. We also see that

after many years of service, young men who have settled down in life and working in the Food Department in West Bengal have been demobilised and asked to go and seek fresh jobs, with little prospect. We now find unemployment in so many Government departments and several thousands of people are thrown out in the streets. This is the economy our Finance Minister is boasting of; he says that we are improving and that we are developing; Not to speak of the special industries, if we go on analysing, even in the textile industry—where we admit there is some improvement—where there has been a certain increase in the production, many of the mills have been closed down and lots of workers thrown out of employment. If you take the case of tea industry, there are nearly 9,000 people in West Bengal alone; in the case of the paper mill in Calcutta nearly six thousand people are unemployed. The same industries have made profits and doubled the paid-up capital amassed nearly more than Rs. 2 crores as reserve fund. It is true that certain industries are showing improvement, but along with that some of the small industries have completely stopped production and closed down. Therefore it amounts to a different picture than what the Finance Minister has painted. We know that there has been a talk of lack of proper financing. So far as the capital investments are concerned, we have seen that in respect of the eighty typical industries are concerned, they have made a profit of nearly Rs. 17 crores in one year, created a reserve fund of Rs. 68 crores and given a dividend of Rs. 11 crores.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have given him full fifteen minutes. I will give two more minutes for the hon. Member to wind up.

Shri K. K. Basu: Sir, on a further analysis we find that in spite of the fact that they could not give Rs. 40 crores as expected, they have been

given a number of concessions. Indirect taxation has been reduced from nearly 40 per cent. to 28 per cent. I do not want to speak much about the foreign capital. The other day the Finance Minister said that the foreign profits amount to Rs. 150 crores. We have the foreign shipping companies, insurance companies and other such business and nearly Rs. 150 crores are remitted out. We have been told that even these foreign companies are indulging in tax evasion and Government were thinking of bringing in a legislation. One year has passed but nothing has been done in that direction.

Therefore, today if we want to improve the industrial economy of our country, we must see to what extent this money can be utilised for our development. I have one suggestion to make. It is true that large reserve funds are necessary for many of the industrial undertakings. But, in view of the planned economy we have it is not absolutely necessary that the entire reserve should be utilised at once. Why not the Government and all the foreign companies utilise a portion of the reserve fund for the development of our economy and industrial development? At any time, if the particular units want any reserve fund, the Government may, as is done by the Reserve Bank in the case of banks, send back a portion to these undertakings.

Lastly, Sir,.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am afraid I will have to call the next speaker. Hon. Members will get many more chances to speak.

Shri K. K. Basu: The other day we were not called and today most of the speakers got even more than thirty minutes whereas I am only given fifteen minutes. I want some more time.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I will not allow any more time.

Shri Nambiar: Let him at least finish that paragraph.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members will have many more opportunities. I would not forget their names. I told the hon. Member to conclude and he ought to have done it much earlier. I will bear this in mind and will give him time on the next occasion.

Shri K. K. Basu: But, hon. Members on the other side have been given twenty-five to thirty minutes and I am given only fifteen minutes. I do not understand the meaning of it. (Interruption).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

We have apportioned the time among various groups. It is true, with regard to the Communist party they might have ten or fifteen minutes more. Unfortunately, in this discussion we are not able to give one minute this way or that way. I will certainly bear this in mind and give more time on some other day, but not today.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta North-East): But let him wind up his argument.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I told him four minutes ago to wind up. Instead of winding up he goes on further arguing. Hon. Members should note that hereafter I will be very strict.

श्री कजरोलकर (बम्बई नगर, उत्तर, रक्षित, अनसूचित जातियाँ) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज मैं दो विषयों पर बोलना चाहता हूँ, एक तो हरिजनों के बारे में और दूसरे अन्धों के विषय में। १९५४-५५ के बजट में वित्त मंत्री ने जो रकम शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट, शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स और बैकवर्ड क्लासेज के लिये रखी है उसके लिये मैं उनको धन्यवाद देता हूँ। बैकवर्ड क्लासेज के लिये एक कमीशन बनाया गया है। शिड्यूल्ड-कास्ट और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लिये शिक्षा आदि के लिये जो सुविधायें दी गयी हैं वही बैकवर्ड क्लासेज के लिये भी होनी चाहिये। इसलिये मेरी प्रार्थना है कि जो शिक्षा के लिये

[श्री कजरोलकर]

अर्थात् शिड्यूल्डकास्ट और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लिये रकम रखी गयी है वह कम है। तो कम से कम डेढ़ करोड़ रुपया और रखना चाहिये। इससे बैंकवर्ड कम्युनिटी को भी फायदा होगा उन में जागृति आ गई है।

सरविसेज के बारे में हमारे लिये जो रिजरवेशन दिया गया है लेकिन जैसी प्रगति होनी चाहिये वैसी नहीं होती है।

अनटचेबिलिटी रिमूवल बिल पेश किया गया है उसका हम स्वागत करते हैं लेकिन सन् १९५३ में जो वित्त मंत्री ने अनटचेबिलिटी रिमूवल प्रोपोजंडा के लिये ५० लाख रुपया रखा था उसका उपयोग संस्थाओं ने और स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स ने पूरा नहीं किया। मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि जो यह ५०,००,००० रुपये की ग्रांट थी यह संस्थाओं के हाथों में आज तक नहीं आई और आप जानते हैं कि यह ग्रांट मार्च के अन्त में खत्म हो जायेगी।

तो मैं वित्त मंत्री से प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि अगले साल में वह जो ग्रांट बढ़ाना चाहते हैं तो वह एप्रिल में से ही शुरू होना चाहिये। नहीं तो जो संस्था ने यह प्रचार का काम हाथ में लिया है, उसके लिये जो पैसा खर्च होता है वह वेस्ट हो जायेगा। इसलिये मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री इस बारे में कुछ वचन दें।

दूसरी बात यह है कि हरिजनों की समस्या के बारे में मैं जहाँ जहाँ गया था वहाँ वहाँ हरिजनों के लिये पानी के बारे में और ज़मीन के बारे में देखा कि उनकी हालत बहुत ही खराब है। बहुत से गांवों में ऐसी हालत है कि जानवरों के लिये तो अच्छा पानी मिलता है, लेकिन हरिजनों को अच्छा पानी नहीं मिल पाता है। यह बात सच है कि गवर्नमेंट कुछ प्रयत्न कर रही है, लेकिन वह

प्रयत्न बहुत ही कम है। तो गवर्नमेंट को चाहिये कि हरिजन भाइयों को स्वच्छ पानी मिले, इसका प्रबन्ध करे। पानी के बारे में ज्यादा से ज्यादा खर्चा होना चाहिये।

ज़मीन के बारे में वेस्ट लैंड के लिये गवर्नमेंट की तो नीति है कि ज्यादा से ज्यादा वेस्ट लैंड हरिजनों की दी जाये। लेकिन इसका उनको लाभ नहीं मिलता है। अगर कोई कलैक्टर के पास अरज़ी दे तो कलैक्टर बोलता है कि तुम को अफसर के पास जाना चाहिये। जब अफसर के पास जाता है तो अफसर रिकमेंड करता है, लेकिन फिर बाद में कहता है कि जानवरों के चारे के लिये कहां ज़मीन रहेगी। तो हरिजनों के लिये तो ज़मीन नहीं मिल सकती, लेकिन जानवरों के लिये वह ज़मीन रखी जाती है। इस तरह से जानवरों के लिये तो वह लोग प्रेम रखते हैं, लेकिन आदमियों के लिये प्रेम नहीं रखते हैं। मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि यह जो वेस्ट लैंड है, और कल्टीवेबल लैंड है वह हरिजनों को ज्यादा से ज्यादा मिलनी चाहिये।

शिड्यूल्डकास्ट और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स और बैंकवर्ड क्लासेज का प्रश्न इतना बड़ा है कि इसके लिये एक मैपरेट मिनिस्ट्री होनी चाहिये। लेकिन आज तक उसकी ओर ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट कमिश्नर तो निमा गया है, लेकिन उनके पास पावर्स नहीं हैं। वह खाली रिकमेंड करते हैं। हम जब उन के पास जाते हैं और कहते हैं तो वह कमिश्नर कहते हैं कि हम क्या करें, हमने तो स्टेट को लिखा है, उसको बोला है, लेकिन वह सुनते ही नहीं तो क्या करें। तो इसके लिये अमल भी होना चाहिये। काम भी होना चाहिए। हम को जो दस वर्ष के लिये स्पेशल फंसीलिटीज़ हैं, उन में से तीन वर्ष तो निकल गये। अब सिर्फ सात

वर्ष है और इन सात वर्षों के अन्दर हमारी सब कठिनाइयों को निकालना है। इसलिये गवर्नमेंट को इसके लिये सदेच्छा हो तो इस काम के लिये जरूर प्रगति होनी चाहिये।

साथ ही इस शैड्यूल्ड क्लास कमिश्नर के साथ एक ऐसी कमेटी भी होनी चाहिये कि जिसमें आफिशियल्स और नान आफिशियल्स दोनों हों और जो शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब और बैकवर्ड क्लासेज के मामले को देख सके।

अब मैं अन्धों के विषय में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। आप जानते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में करीब करीब २० लाख अंधे हैं। इन बीस लाख अंधों के लिये सारे हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर सभी स्टेटों को मिला कर, केवल ४० संस्थाएँ काम करती हैं। गवर्नमेंट की एक संस्था है जो देहरादून में है। उसके ऊपर बहुत काफी पैसा खर्च होता है, लेकिन उसका फायदा बहुत सी स्टेटों को नहीं मिलता है, और अंधों को भी नहीं मिलता है। आप जानते हैं कि :

With the possible exception of Egypt, India has the highest incidence of blindness in the world. Whereas the number of blind persons per 1 lakh of the population is 175 in the United Kingdom and U.S.A., 66 in Australia, 57 in Bulgaria and Italy, 60 in Germany, 43 in Belgium, it is as high as 500 per 1 lakh in India.

With due respect to the Chair I may be permitted to say that the time has come when the Government should take up the question of the blind and evolve a system whereby this colossal problem of the blind population could be solved and they could be turned into useful members of the society. I would suggest the following points for the active consideration of the Government. Government should, first of all, ascertain the incidence, the exact number of blind people in India by a regular census. Blindness

occurs mostly in villages. Each village should be equipped with an ophthalmic unit with a small hospital attached to it. These existing ophthalmic hospitals should be equipped with adequate facilities for treating patients and sufficient grants should be made. Government should set up State Councils on Blindness in each State like that in Bombay with headquarters in Delhi. The Government should recognise the National Association for the Blind which was set up in Bombay during the time of the All-India Conference for the Blind, convened by the first Provincial Conference.

In each district, there should be an institution for the blind where the blind people of all age groups should receive education and training. Each province should have a workshop.

The blind people coming from the various villages after receiving training should be absorbed in the workshops and the existing institutions should be given annual grants. The ultimate aim of the blind welfare work is not to clothe them and feed them, but to secure employment for the blind. The blind can show better results in the work assigned to them. After going through the report of the N.S.D. Industrial Home for the Blind, I find that some of the inmates of this institution are working as bobbin cleaners and folders in the Tata group of mills and their work is reported to be satisfactory. The orchestra party of the said institution which stirred Delhi during the last fortnight by its melodious orchestral music shows that most of them could be absorbed as musicians at the All-India Radio. The blind could be suitably employed as teachers, musicians, packers, cleaners, typists, telephone operators, weavers, book binders and in many other capacities. I earnestly appeal to the Government kindly to reserve some percentage of vacancies for the blind both in Government and private industries.

Lastly, although this matter relates to the Ministry of Railways, I would

[Shri Kajrolkar]

appeal to them through the Finance Minister. So far as I understand, railway concession is granted to sighted escorts accompanying the blind proceeding on leave or for other purpose whereas the blind has to pay for his journey.

The concession should be extended to the blind whether he is accompanied by the escort or not. It has to be observed that in most of the cases, the blind travel without escort.

अंधों की संस्था के जो लोग अन्दर आनरेरी काम करते हैं में चाहता हूँ कि ये फेलोशिप के स्कालरशिप उनको देना चाहिये। बस इतना ही कह कर में खत्म करता हूँ।

श्री आर० डी० मिश्र (जिला बुलन्दशहर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मझे अपने वित्त मंत्री पर बड़ी दया आती है, जब मैं यहां देखता हूँ कि इस पूरे हाउस के अन्दर चारों तरफ से सभी भाई आप के बजट का क्रिटिसिज्म करते हैं, सिवाय दो, चार मेम्बरों के किसी सदस्य ने भी आपके इस बजट की कोई तारीफ नहीं की है। इसका क्या कारण है? उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, बजट आजकल कोई मामूली बात नहीं है, बजट एक तरीके का शीशा है जिसके अन्दर हमको गवर्नमेंट की पालिसी का पता चलता है कि गवर्नमेंट किस पालिसी से काम कर रही है। इस बजट को देख कर हमें पता लगा कि गवर्नमेंट ने जो काम पांच साला योजना को सफल बनाने के लिये करना चाहिये था उसको पूरा नहीं किया है। स्वयं वित्त मंत्री ने अपनी स्पीच में हमको बतलाया कि सन् ५३ के अन्दर हमारे देश में बेकारी बहुत ज्यादा बढ़ गई है। आपको मालूम है कि हमारा जो पांच साला प्लान है वह वित्त मंत्री जी का ही बनाया हुआ है, आप ही उसके मेम्बर थे। बड़े बड़े और मोटे मोटे वाल्यूम बना कर वह पांच साला प्लान हम को दिया गया, पार्लियामेंट ने उसको पास किया, लेकिन उस

प्लान के मुताबिक न तो फाइनेंस मिनिस्ट्री ने काम किया और न कामर्स मिनिस्ट्री ने ही काम किया। और न गवर्नमेंट के अफसरान ने ही काम किया। मेरे हाथ में जो कागजात हैं ये कागजात गवर्नमेंट के भेजे हुए हैं किसी अखबार के कागजात नहीं, किसी रास्ता चलते के कागजात नहीं हैं। उन में हम क्या देखते हैं। यह प्रॉप्रेस आफ फाइव इयर प्लान की रिपोर्ट है इसके अन्दर हमें क्या बताया गया है। फर्स्ट फाइव इयर प्लान में कमीशन ने इस बात पर जोर दिया है कि हमारे देश में बेकारी दूर करने के लिये कौटेज इन्डस्ट्री और स्मोल स्केल इन्डस्ट्री पर ज्यादा जोर दिया जाय। सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के खर्च के लिये १५ करोड़ रुपये रखे गये थे कि वह इस काम पर खर्च करे, लेकिन हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार ने तीन साल के अन्दर पचास लाख रुपये से ज्यादा खर्च नहीं किया है। कहां पन्द्रह करोड़ रुपया और कहां पचास लाख? इसी के साथ साथ इस में आगे लिखा है कि वह क्या कारण हुआ कि जो इस रुपये को खर्च नहीं किया जा सका। खुद यह रिपोर्ट बताती है कि जो उसको तीन बोर्ड बनाने चाहिये थे वह बोर्ड देर से बनाये गये, आल इंडिया खादी बोर्ड, हंडलूम बोर्ड और स्मोल स्केल इन्डस्ट्री बोर्ड। ये बोर्ड क्यों नहीं बनाये गये? इस के लिये खुद गवर्नमेंट जिम्मेदार है, क्यों उन्होंने इनके बनाने में देर की? जनवरी सन् १९५३ में हमने एक आल इंडिया खादी बोर्ड बनाया, उसने काम शुरू किया और जब उसने अपनी तजवीजें रखीं तो फाइनेंस डिपार्टमेंट ने उस में रोड़ा अटकाया और उसके लिये रुपया मंजूर नहीं किया। इस रिपोर्ट में लिखा है :

“Various difficulties were experienced by the Board in obtaining financial and other sanction.”

यह है फाइनेंस मिनिस्ट्री का काम, ऐसी दशा में आल इंडिया खादी बोर्ड किस तरह से

अपने काम को चला सकता था। इसी के साथ हम देखते हैं कि इस रिपोर्ट में लिखा है कि जब मिलों के ऊपर संकट आया और उनका कपड़ा नहीं बिका तो गवर्नमेंट ने एक्सपोर्ट ड्यूटी छोड़ दी और दूसरी ओर रियायतें मिल वालों को दीं। कहीं ये इन्डस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स भूखे न मर जायें। लेकिन जब हैडलूम पर काम करने वालों पर संकट आया तो मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि उसके सम्बन्ध में कामर्स मिनिस्ट्री या फाइनेंस मिनिस्ट्री ने क्या किया? उनको कोई रियायतें या छूट दी? मैं अपनी गवर्नमेंट से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आपने उनके लिये क्या प्रबन्ध किया? जब ऐसा कोई कार्य नहीं किया तब ऐसी दशा में बेकारी बढ़ना अनिवार्य ही था। यह इतनी मोटी किताबें बजट के सम्बन्ध में हमें दी गई हैं वित्त मंत्री ने अंग्रेजी में ही तमाम लिटरेचर अपना बांटा है, मानो हिन्दी जानने वालों को इनसे कोई काम नहीं लेना है, बजट की सब वानें अंग्रेजी जानने वाले ही जानते हैं, हिन्दी वालों को अंग्रेजी की किताब दी गई है ताकि वह उसे रद्दी की टोकरी में फेंक दें। मैं अपने वित्त मंत्री महोदय को कहना चाहता हूँ कि पार्लियामेंट की भाषा हिन्दी और अंग्रेजी दोनों हैं। आपको यह सब लिटरेचर हिन्दी और अंग्रेजी दोनों में देना चाहिये, जब तक कि अंग्रेजी यहां पर प्रचलित है। इसका रास्ता हमको हमारे प्रेजिडेंट साहब ने दिखा दिया है, उन्होंने अपना अभिभाषण हिन्दी में पढ़ा, और इसके बाद अंग्रेजी में पढ़ा, ताकि हिन्दी और अंग्रेजी जानने वाले दोनों इससे लाभ उठायें। आप तमाम लिटरेचर हिन्दी और अंग्रेजी में उस वक्त तक देते रहें जब तक कि अंग्रेजी भाषा इस देश की राजभाषा है। हमें यह सदा ध्यान में रखना चाहिये कि हिन्दी अब राजभाषा हो चुकी है, हिन्दी के प्रति अब उदासीनता का बर्ताव नहीं किया जा सकता है। क्या आप

यह समझते हैं कि अंग्रेजी पढ़ने लिखने वाले बजट सम्बन्धी मॅथमेटिक्स या गणित अच्छी तरह जानते हैं और शेष जितने हिन्दी वाले हैं वह नहीं जानते हैं, मैं मानता हूँ कि बहुत से अंग्रेजी वाले बहुत ही काबिल और होशियार हैं, लेकिन उन्हें यह मालूम होना चाहिये कि हिन्दी वालों में भी कुछ ऐसे हैं जो कि अंग्रेजी वालों को भी भात दे सकते हैं। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप इस लिटरेचर अर्थात् बजट सम्बन्धी साहित्य को आयन्दा हिन्दी में जरूर बांटा करें, क्योंकि यह हमारी पार्लियामेंट की भाषा और हमारे राष्ट्र की भाषा है। इसी के साथ मैं यह देखता हूँ कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री साहब किस तरीके से काम करते हैं, मुझे नहीं मालूम कि फाइनेंस डिपार्टमेंट जो उनका है वह इन को सब बातें बताता है, या नहीं या वे स्वयं उससे अपने को अलग रखते हैं। कुछ ऐसी बातें सामने आती हैं जिन्हें देख कर मुझे ताज्जुब मालूम होता है कि गवर्नमेंट चल कैसे रही है? एक चीज सामने आई है। एक संक्षिप्त रिपोर्ट हाउसिंग मिनिस्टर की तरफ से मुझे प्राप्त हुई है, उसमें यह लिखा है कि हाउसिंग के मामले में दिक्कत आ रही है और वह लिखते हैं :

"The biggest obstacle in the way of a sufficiently large number of houses being put up is the present high cost of construction; and one of the main features of the housing policy of Government should be to reduce the building costs so as to bring reasonable housing accommodation within the means of the large masses of our people, particularly those in the low income groups."

यह है एक मिनिस्ट्री की रिपोर्ट, लेकिन जब हमारे सामने बजट आता है तो हमको मालूम होता है कि फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने सीमेंट पर पांच रुपया प्रति टन एक्साइज टैक्स लगा दिया ताकि बििल्डिंग मैटीरियल अर

[श्री आर० डी० मिश्र]

ज्यादा कीमती हो जाय, कुछ समझ में नहीं आता कि आखिरकार गवर्नमेंट की क्या मंशा है? एक तरफ गवर्नमेंट कहती है कि दर कम करो और दूसरी तरफ हमारे वित्त मंत्री कहते हैं कि सीमेंट पर टैक्स बढ़ा दो, अब आप बतलाइये कि किस मिनिस्टर की बात मानें?

हम इस चीज से बड़ी गलत पोलीशन में पड़ गये हैं, मैं अपनी गवर्नमेंट से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि इस तरह का कंट्रेडिक्टरी परस्पर विरोधी लिटरचर गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से हमारे पास नहीं आना चाहिये।

तीसरी बात में यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यहां पर तमाम मेम्बरान ने कर बढ़ाने की शिकायत की। अभी हमारे आल इंडिया कांग्रेस कमेटी के जनरल सेक्रेटरी साहब ने भी इसकी शिकायत की कि आपने बेकारी के दूर करने के लिये ग्राम उद्योगों में कोई तरक्की नहीं करी और हैंडलूम की कोई बढ़ावा नहीं दिया। जहां तक हम कांग्रेस वालों का ताल्लुक है हम तो खादी खरीदते ही हैं, खादी तो हमारी जिन्दगी से वाबस्ता है, लेकिन जैसा अभी इस सदन के एक सदस्य ने बतलाया कि हमारे कामर्स मिनिस्टर ने यह कहा है कि अब खद्दर की पोलिटिकल सिगनिफिकैन्स जाती रही है, हम लोग इसको ठीक नहीं समझते, खद्दर की पोलिटिकल सिगनिफिकैन्स नहीं जा सकती, खद्दर की पोलिटिकल सिगनिफिकैन्स यह है कि इस के पहनने वालों ने अंग्रेजों को इस देश से बिदा कर दिया और उनको बिदा करने के बाद देश की हुकूमत अपने हाथ में ली, यह सिगनिफिकैन्स हिस्टी-रिकल है अर्थात् ऐतिहासिक है और जब तक हिन्दुस्तान रहेगा यह पोलिटिकल सिगनिफिकैन्स अर्थात् राजनैतिक महत्व इस देश में बाकी रहेगा। पोलिटिकल सिगनिफिकैन्स

के अलावा खद्दर की आर्थिक महत्व या सिगनिफिकैन्स यह है कि अगर आप हैंडलूम और खादी को तरक्की देंगे तो देश में बेरोजगारी दूर होगी। खद्दर की सोशियल सिगनिफिकैन्स अर्थात् सामाजिक महत्व यह है कि अगर आप खद्दर को अपनायेंगे तो यह जातपांत और छुआछूत के जितने भेद हैं वह जल्द नष्ट हो जायेंगे, जितने खद्दरघारी हैं उन लोगों में यह ऊंच नीच, छुआछूत और जातपांत का भेद भाव नहीं है, यह भेद भाव उन्ही लोगों में पाया जाता है जिन्होंने खद्दर को नहीं अपनाया है। इसलिये हमें खद्दर की सिगनिफिकैन्स या महानता को समझ लेना चाहिये। अभी जब हमारे हिन्दू सभा के जनरल सेक्रेटरी साहब बोले तो अमरीका द्वारा पाकिस्तान को मदद देने पर बोले और कहने लगे कि अमरीका कृष्ण जी हैं और अमरीका को कृष्ण जी मान कर हमें अर्जुन और दुर्योधन की तरह उसके मिरहाने और पैताने बैठ कर सहायता लेनी चाहिये, हिन्दू संस्कृति का नाम लेने वालों के लिये ऐसा कहना लज्जा जनक है, अमरीका को उन का कृष्ण बनाना शोभा नहीं देता। मैं तो कहूंगा कि भारत कृष्ण है, एशिया पांडव है और ये जितने यूरोपियन वेस्टर्न पावर्स, योरोपीय पाश्चात्य राज हैं ये सब कौरव हैं।

कौरवों को और पांडवों को कृष्ण के पास आना पड़ेगा। वह यह कहेंगे कि तुम हमारी तरफ रहो और फिर यह हमारी मर्जी है कि हम किस तरफ रहते हैं या किस तरफ नहीं रहते। कृष्ण ने हथियार नहीं उठाया था। उन्होंने पांडवों से कह दिया था कि मैं साथ में रहूंगा जरूर मगर मैं हथियार नहीं उठाऊंगा भारत ने तो कृष्ण की ही निष्काम भाव की पालिसी को अपना रखा है। इसलिय मैं अपने दोस्तों से कहूंगा कि वह एसी बातें इस हाउस में न कहा करें। इतना कह कर फिर मैं

वित्त मंत्री से कहता हूँ कि आपके बजट और आपके तीन साल के काम की रिपोर्ट हमको प्रेसीडेंट साहब ने अपने एड्रेस में दी है और उन्होंने यह सर्टीफिकेट इस गवर्नमेंट को दिया है :

My Government attach special importance to the development of cottage industries. I regret, however, that progress in this respect has not been very satisfactory.

जब किसी अफसर को "नाट सर्टिफिकेटरी" का सर्टीफिकेट दे दिया जाता है तो उसके बाद उसको उस जगह काम करने का हक नहीं रहता है। अगर आपके नीचे किसी अफसर को यह सर्टीफिकेट दिया जाय कि उसका काम "नाट सर्टिफिकेटरी" संतोषजनक नहीं है तो आप उसको निकाल देंगे। तो हमारे सामने प्रेसीडेंट की यह रिपोर्ट आती है कि फाइव इयर प्लान के काम को आपने अग्रे नहीं बढ़ाया है। मैं आप से कहता हूँ कि आप की यह रिपोर्ट है कि आपने खदर और कुटीर घंघो की उन्नति के बारे में कोई काम नहीं किया है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member must resume his seat.

Shri R. D. Misra: I think I am entitled to fifteen minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I cannot give him fifteen minutes today.

Shri R. D. Misra: That has not been announced. I have for only eight minutes. I may be given two minutes more.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Every hon. Member cannot have an opportunity. I am finding it extremely difficult to distribute the chances. There are a number of hon. Members who have not opened their mouths. Then, there are local and State interests. Every kind of consideration has to be taken

into account. So, I am going to call another hon. Member.

Shri R. D. Misra: I only want two minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Not a minute more.

Shri R. D. Misra: I belong to U.P. There are 86 Members from U.P. and 55 from Bihar. Out of them, only 5 Members have spoken. You are not giving even ten minutes to me.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Very well, I will give him two minutes more.

श्री आर० डी० मिश्र : इसके बाद मैं आपके सामने यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि दूसरा सर्टीफिकेट हमारे पास हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब का है। प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब भी इस गवर्नमेंट के कामों से खुश नहीं हैं। उन्होंने भी एक आर्टिकल लेख लिखा है जो मार्च सन् ५४ के कृषिक्षेत्र में छपा है। उसमें उन्होंने लिखा है :

And yet, we have many failings and the greatest of these is the tendency to grow complacent. Our administrative machinery, good in many ways, has not yet been fully adapted to the changed circumstances in the country and has not been geared up for swift action. Delays occur at every step and even the money we allot for various development schemes is not spent. We tend to work in fits and starts and that constant pressure, which is so necessary, is not maintained. Our people tend to rely on Government agencies far too much and, at the same time, criticise those agencies. A high rates of progress can be kept up by constant pressure from every side—from the people, from their representatives in Parliament and Assemblies and from the Government.

इसलिये मुझे भी यह प्रेशर क्रियट करना अर्थात् दबाव देना पड़ रहा है। हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब को सारा काम प्लान के मुताबिक करना चाहिये। आपने ही प्लान बनाया

[श्री आर० डी० मिश्र]

है, आपने ही उसे छपाया है. आपने ही उसे मंजूर किया है, फिर कौन सी वजह है कि आप प्लान के मुताबिक काम नहीं करते हैं। क्यों आपने १५ करोड़ रुपया खर्च नहीं किया। ईस्टर्न ईकानोमिस्ट के पढ़ने से मालूम हुआ कि इसकी जांच के लिये वन मैन कमेटी बनाई गई है। जब आपने इतनी कमेटीयां बनाईं और काम नहीं हो पाया तो यह वन मैन कमेटी क्या काम करेगी मैं समझता हूँ कि आप काबिल आदमी हैं, आप सब बातें जानते हैं।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon Member will kindly address the Chair.

श्री आर० डी० मिश्र : मैं नहीं जानता था वन मैन कमेटी क्या रिपोर्ट करेगी। इसलिये मेरा कहना है कि जो पंच वर्षीय प्लान बनाया गया है उसके अनुसार चलिये। इससे देश का अधिक से अधिक भला होगा।

ठाकुर युगल किशोर सिंह : (मुजफ्फरपुर उत्तर पश्चिम) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, समयाभाव के कारण मैं कुछ ही प्वाइंट आपके सामने अर्ज करूंगा। हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने यह बतलाया है कि जो भी उन्होंने दो साल में स्कीम में रुपया रखा था उसको स्टेट गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से खर्च नहीं किया गया। मैं इस सम्बन्ध में यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिन स्टेटों के बारे में वह यह बातें करते हैं उन स्टेटों का मंत्रिमंडल उनके और उनकी पार्टी के द्वारा संचालित होता है। ऐसी हालत किसी अफसर को बहाल कर के उसके कारण का पता लगाने की बनिस्बत यह अच्छा होता कि दूसरी कोई मैशिनरी आप उन स्टेटों में कायम करते जो कि विकास का काम करती क्योंकि इस काम को करने में मंत्रिमंडल नाकामयाब साबित हुए हैं। अगर आप उन मंत्रिमंडलों को हटा नहीं सकते, बदल नहीं सकते तो उन सब जगहों में दूसरी मैशिनरी

कायम कर सकते हैं जो कि विकास के काम को आगे बढ़ाये।

मैं सरकार की मजदूर नीति के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। एक जमाना था कि जब हिन्दुस्तान गुलाम था और उस वक्त ब्रिटिश की हुकूमत थी। ब्रिटिश के सामने यह प्रश्न था कि उनको वार मैटीरियल और दूसरे मैटीरियल चाहिये। उस समय उन्होंने मजदूरों के एक मात्र हथियार हड़ताल को गैर कानूनी करार दिया लेकिन साथ ही उन्होंने इसका भी प्रबन्ध कर दिया था कि मजदूरों की जो मांगें हों उन को कानून के जरिये ट्राइबुनल के द्वारा दो महीने के अन्दर रफा कर दिया जाय इस तरह की कोशिश भी उनकी होती थी। लेकिन जब स्वतंत्रता आई तो लड़ाई के जमाने में जो हड़तालों पर प्रतिबन्ध रखा गया था उसको ढीला नहीं किया गया वह वैसा ही जकड़ा रहा। लेकिन मजदूरों की मांगों को जो दो मास में रफा करने की बात थी निश्चित समय में समझीते का जो कानून बनाया गया था उसकी ढीला कर दिया। यही कारण है कि इसलिये आज मजदूरों की मांग. वर्षों से खटाई में पड़ी है। आज एक अपीलेंट ट्राइबुनल कायम करके उसकी तकलीफों को और भी बढ़ा दिया गया है। मिल वालों के पास पैसा है। वह अपीलेंट ट्राइबुनल के पास जाते हैं। मकदमेबाजी में मजदूरों को ज्यादा पैसा खर्च करना पड़ता है और इससे मजदूर परेशान होते हैं। साथ ही साथ जो अपीलेंट ट्राइबुनल बना है उसमें जजों का अभाव है जिसका नतीजा यह होता है कि दो दो साल तक उनके पास मुकदमे पड़े रहते हैं और कोई फैसला नहीं होता है। बहुत से मजदूर छांट दिये गये हैं, बहुत से सस्पेंड पड़े हैं। उनके मुकदमे ट्राइबुनल के सामने हैं लेकिन उसको फुरसत नहीं कि उनके मुकदमों को देखें और

इस तरह से जो दुर्दशा मजदूरों की हो रही है वह आप जानते हैं। कुछ दिन पहले जब यह नया मंत्रिमंडल नहीं बना था तो त्रिदलीय पार्टी की धूम मची हुई थी। सरकार की ओर से उस समय ट्राइबुनल थे। लेकिन लड़ाई के बाद मिल मालिकों के पास पैसा था मजदूरों के संगठन थे और वे मिल वालों से मांग आसानी से मनवा सकते थे। उस समय सरकार ने कंसिलियेशन मैशिनरी और एडजूडीकेशन मैशिनरी बनाई और इस तरह जो मजदूरों की बारगेनिंग शक्ति थी उसका फायदा उनको नहीं उठाने दिया। लेकिन आज जब लड़ाई के बाद डिप्रेशन आ रहा है, बेकारी बढ़ रही है, मजदूरों की बारगेनिंग पावर घट गई है तो सरकार की तरफ से एक नया नारा निकला है और उसमें कहा जाता है कि मिल मालिक और मजदूर आपस में ही अपना झगड़ा तै करो।

यह बात सही है कि मजदूरों को अपने झगड़े अपने आप तय करने के लिये तैयार होना चाहिये और वे तैयार भी हैं। लेकिन सरकार को भी देखना चाहिये कि इस के पीछे कौसी पृष्ठभूमि होनी चाहिये जिससे कि यह झगड़े खत्म हो सकें। अभी यूनियन्स के सम्बन्ध में एक ट्रेड यूनियन ऐक्ट बना हुआ है। लेकिन किस ट्रेड यूनियन को मिल मालिक रिकग्नाइज करें, किसको मंजूर करें या न करें, इसके विषय में कोई कानून बम्बई के अलावा और किसी जगह नहीं है। न सेंट्रल ऐक्ट में है, न कहीं और राज्य में है। ऐसी हालत में मिल मालिक आज क्या करते हैं? वह अपनी तरफ से दस प्रतिशत या पांच प्रतिशत मजदूरों की यूनियन बनाते हैं और उन के साथ समझौता करते हैं। उन समझौतों को सरकार स्वीकृति देती है और कहती हैं कि बाई पारट्राइट एग्रीमेंट हुआ है अतः सभी मजदूरों पर वह लागू होता है। मैं समझता हूँ अगर सरकार

चाहती है कि जो यह उनका नया स्लोगन, बाई पारट्राइट एग्रीमेंट का नारा, सफल हो तो उसको जल्द से जल्द इस तरह की हालत को देखते हुए कोई कानून बनाना चाहिये, जिसमें कह दिया जाय कि किस तरह के यूनियन से समझौता हुआ मिले, किस तरह के यूनियन को स्वीकृति दी जाये।

कल परसों की बात है कि वर्नपुर तथा और और जगहों का जिक्र किया गया कि प्रोडक्शन कम हो रहा है, जितना प्रोडक्शन दोना चाहिये उतना नहीं हो रहा है। लेकिन मैं कह देना चाहता हूँ कि मजदूरों की ओर से नहीं, बल्कि मिल मालिकों की ओर से गो स्लो हो रहा है। जितनी उनकी कॅंपैसिटी है, उस कॅंपैसिटी के मुताबिक वह काम नहीं कर रहे हैं, और उसके साथ साथ उतना कॅंपीटल भी नहीं लगा रहे हैं। वे स्ट्राइक पर हैं, वह गो स्लो कर रहे हैं, हड़ताल कर रहे हैं लेकिन आज मजदूरों के लिये स्ट्राइक का कानून है, मजदूरों के लिये ही गो स्लो का कानून है। मजदूरों के लिये ही प्राइम मिनिस्टर इत्यादि लेक्चर देते हैं कि प्रोडक्शन अधिक होना चाहिये, उत्पादन अधिक होना चाहिये। लेकिन इन मिल मालिकों के लिये गो स्लो के बारे में, इन मिल मालिकों के स्ट्राइक के बारे में, कुछ नहीं कहते, उनके खिलाफ कोई भी कानून नहीं बनाते। उन के खिलाफ किसी तरह की बात नहीं होती। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन के लिये भी उसी तरह का कानून होना चाहिये।

मैं एक मिनट और लेना चाहता हूँ। केन्द्रीय सरकार की ओर से जब कोई कानून बनता है, जब प्राइवेट सेक्टर के लिये कोई कानून बनाना चाहती है, तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि उसको अपने कर्मचारियों को भी देखना चाहिये कि कर्मचारियों के साथ क्या हो रहा है। हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब बतलाते हैं कि सात वर्ष ही स्वतंत्रता को हुए हैं

[ठाकुर युगल किशोर सिंह]

बीच में क्या किया जा सकता है । मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या सात वर्ष का समय जो स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद गुजरा है, इस बीच में आप अपने कर्मचारियों के सम्बन्ध में कुछ नहीं कर सकते थे । अंग्रेजों ने नियम बनाये थे कि रिकामिशन आफ यूनियन किस तरह से होगा । उन लोगों ने कहा कि वे कोई डिमांड उनके सामने रख सकते हैं, लेकिन उसके बारे में फौसला वे ही करेंगे । कोई भी मशीनरी सरकारी नौकरों की तकलीफों को दूर करने के लिये अभी तक कायम नहीं की गई । उन के कंडेक्ट रूल्स वे ही आज तक बने हुए हैं, जो कि अंग्रेजी हुकूमत के ज़माने में थे, जिन में न उनको नागरिक स्वतंत्रता है, न संगठन करने की स्वतंत्रता है, न उनकी अपनी मांगों को पूरा कराने की ही सुविधा है । उन को यह स्वतंत्रता भी नहीं है कि जो प्राइवेट सेक्टर के मजदूरों को है । मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार जल्द से जल्द कानून बनाये या जल्द से जल्द ऐसी कोई मशीनरी कायम करे, जिसके द्वारा दो मिलियन के करीब जो कर्मचारी काम करते हैं उनको राहत मिल सके और उनकी तकलीफ दूर हो सके । यही मुझे आप से निवेदन करना था ।

Sardar Hukam Singh (Kapurthala-Bhatinda): I will have to move telegraphically perhaps. (*Interruptions*). At the same time, I have to make four or five observations for the consideration of our Finance Minister.

I feel that the whole assumption on which these budget proposals have been based is "return to normality". I want to submit, Sir, that this key foundation on which the whole budget has been framed is not correct. As we have seen there was a fall in prices in 1952. But in 1953 we saw there was a rise in prices, though it was checked from August to December. We find subsequently that that rise is

again visible. Therefore, our assumption is not correct.

The second observation I would like to make is that the Finance Minister has admitted that though the economic situation continues improving, still there is aggravation of unemployment. But, he has not given us any remedy for it. He satisfies himself with saying that if ordinary implementation of the Plan takes place, everything will be all right. We have been told and it is quite certain that the Plan is expanded by Rs. 175 crores. After giving us that much, the only solace that the unemployed gets is that if the Plan is implemented, then every difficulty would be removed.

So far as the private sector is concerned, when he talks about Government assistance, the things that he tells us are very illusory. He says that it is under consideration to set up an Industrial Development Corporation. So far as expansion is concerned it is still rather in the melting pot and he does not know whether it is likely to come up at all. He ends in pessimism and says that we have to be content with the orderly implementation of the Plan. Whether such implementation is possible or not is doubtful, because the circumstance under which we have proceeded so far do not give us any hope. It has been complained that the States have not played their part, the small savings have fallen short, that the public debts have not been subscribed in full and there are big lapses in development expenditure. I think that in addition to that it should be idle to expect foreign aid under the circumstances though the Parliamentary Secretary or Deputy Minister says that there is greater opportunity for the same. Further, I would say it is reckless to count upon Pakistan recoveries. It is very strange that we are not getting the money we want for the implementation of the Plan and, at the same time, we are not able to spend what we have got. This is a dilemma that we have before us and unless it is solved we cannot certainly proceed

further. There are lapses in the development schemes—I need not go into the details—but that should cause much concern. How is it that we have not been able to spend on all these schemes which are essential for us?

The appointment of an officer has been announced—it may be a good sign—but he is to tackle procedural matters. It would not be a solution so far as administration is concerned. Unless the administration is geared up to work the Five Year Plan, we cannot hope for tangible results.

Then, I come to another item of Rs. 9 crores, which I referred to just now, the recovery from Pakistan. This amount makes the whole Budget unreal. I do not know how our Finance Minister relies on it. Not only that; in 1952-53, he counted Rs. 9 crores as the first instalment. Pakistan, at that time, did not make any entry so far as their Budget was concerned. Then, in 1953-54, he brought that also into our estimates and added a second instalment, making it Rs. 18 crores. The Pakistan Finance Minister included only Rs. 5 crores—he made a mention of it, though he did not include it in the Budget and this time he is hoping to recover Rs. 9 crores. He says he is confident that there will be some compromise and that he will get that sum. I can only say that he is either a prophet or a die-hard. I cannot believe he is a prophet because his prophesy has failed in the past two years (*Interruption*). He is not believing in actual facts and insists on adding this to the Budget. This has been made clear because in the Pakistan Budget they have not shown even a single pie as payment to India.

Shri Algu Rai Shastri: It is adding insult to injury.

Sardar Hukam Singh: The more the rebuffs we get from Pakistan, the greater the trust we repose in them. How is it that we develop such mentality is a thing which I cannot understand.

6 P.M.

It has been said that there is danger ahead. The country has been announcing it; the Ministers have been going round and convening meetings and saying that there is danger so far as U.S. aid to Pakistan is concerned, and that Pakistan is becoming our potential enemy. At the same time, we have been sleeping over it and, indeed, our Budget does not disclose anything to show that we really see danger ahead. It would not be over by simply shutting our eyes to it. Nobody can deny that we are being driven to war whether we wish it or not. This *mantra* of 'peace, peace' would not bring us peace. The only way in which we can bring peace is to prepare for a war. Unless we prepare ourselves, there will certainly be no solution if we go on saying that we are determined that we should not take foreign aid from one quarter or the other. Is there any harm in preparing ourselves for meeting the danger? If we are not getting some aid from outside, would we fight with our moral force? Would our moral force come to our succour? I am reminded of the *sadhu* who became the Rajah. The people of the town could not decide amongst themselves as to how to choose their ruler and they said, "Whoever knocks at the door next morning will be made the ruler by us". This very pious man who could not sleep in the night knocked at the door and he was made the ruler. He sat on the throne, but he could not prepare the defence of his kingdom and the neighbouring ruler found out that this man was sleeping. He was pious and always preached morality and a good many other things; he did not listen to his advisers who asked him to prepare the country to meet any danger of attack from outside but went on repeating his *mantra* 'Shanti'. The neighbouring ruler conquered his kingdom. but the *sadhu* was very polite and said "I shall have better peace in the mountains". I am anxious that might not be the fate of our country. As our friend just now said, we are a greater force. We are told that Pakistan is

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becoming weaker by accepting this aid from U.S.A. I cannot believe that. So far as America is concerned, Pakistan might be becoming amenable to certain influences, but so far as India is concerned, we should not deceive ourselves that Pakistan is not becoming a potential enemy. Unless we prepare ourselves, we will not rise to the occasion if an attack comes. Pakistan is making no secret of her intentions and she is determined to solve the Kashmir problem by the aid that she gets from America, and yet our Budget continues this attitude. The Government is misleading the people, because on the one side we are being told and meetings are being held everywhere saying that there is danger to the country and on the other side the Budget shows that everything is all right and nobody need worry over it. Several proposals are given so far as civil defence is concerned, and this time nobody can believe that it is only the army that will fight. In the case of India, particularly, which has got such vast borders, we cannot depend entirely on our army, and, therefore, civil defence should be taken in hand immediately. The Budget, so far as one can see, does not give us any indication that there is anxiety on the part of our Government to prepare our citizens for the coming danger that we see ahead.

Very little has been done so far as refugees are concerned. We are told that there is a sum of Rs. 6 crores in the revenue budget and that there are other provisions also in the capital budget, but there is also a false presumption in the mind of the Government that refugee rehabilitation is almost over. That is wrong. We have been crying over it for some time, but this is false idea under which Government is labouring namely, that they have completed the rehabilitation of the refugees. Six months ago, the question of compensation to refugees was taken up, but very few cases are there that have received compensation.

One more point, so far as the Camp College is concerned. There are 3,000

persons who are getting their training here; they learn and also earn. That should also be our objective, and we should open more colleges and even universities for that purpose, but every attempt is being made to close down this institution. If there were space and some more room for that College certainly there ought to be about 5,000 or 6,000 more students who would be coming up. During the day time, it is turned into a school and school boys learn, and during the evening hours, those people who are earning, refugees and others from all the States, get their training there and pass examinations and they earn for themselves. It is very said that Government is not doing anything for the rehabilitation of the refugees in this matter, and as the local colleges and universities cannot provide any accommodation for others, this institution, which is doing very useful work, should not be allowed to close down.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I find it harder to deal with the debate arising out of this general discussion than to deal with almost any other debate. This is due not only to the fact that the debate extends over such a wide range, but it is also due to the fact that while I have to collect my scattered ideas, I have also to listen to hon. Members. I think, for the future, it might be less hard on the Finance Minister if he was allowed to reply to first thing the next day after the conclusion of the debate.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Each day?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: The last day. Supposing this debate is finished today, it should be possible for me to reply first thing tomorrow morning.

Some Hon. Members: Then, he may reply tomorrow. (*Interruption*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: If the hon. Finance Minister feels that he would be more effectively replying to the debate tomorrow, the House seems to be in a mood to grant it. Of course, I leave it entirely to the hon. Finance Minister.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I threw that out as a suggestion for the future. I shall try and do my best. I am not an *ashtavadhani*; but I have been trying to be a *Drivadhani*. I have been trying to give one ear to hon. Members and using the inner ear of my mind so to speak, to go through what has already been said. But without wasting any more time I shall come to the other difficulty, and that is, that I have already replied to a general debate in the Council of States and I have made a statement. Now I find that hon. Members do not take much notice of what has been said by me there, except when they want to criticise what I have said. That makes it necessary for me to go over the same ground again. That is another dilemma....

Shri S. S. More: Abolish the other House.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: . . . in which I have been placed, and, as usual in other things, I shall have to try and find a golden mean out of these two difficulties.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: May I suggest to the hon. Finance Minister that when he makes a statement in the other House he may kindly circulate a copy of that to hon. Members of this House.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I shall also bear that in mind for the future.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Hooghly): Why was it not made on the floor of this House?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That debate seems to have concluded earlier.

Shri S. S. More: It is this House that makes the grants.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I do not understand this question. I was not responsible for arranging the business in the Council of States, but I was expected to reply to the debate and I did so. I do not know whether I did anything wrong there.

Sir, I have noted the suggestion made by one hon. Member, Shri Jaipal Singh, that it would be better if my colleagues were here in greater force to support me during the course of the debate. I have a great deal of sneaking sympathy myself for that idea, but the only thing I can do is to convey these observations to them and to hope that in future they may find it possible to improve their attendance here so that they may be able to make note, personally, of what has been said in relation to their Ministries.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: At least their Deputies must be here.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: As I said, I am inclined to support that idea.

Then, with clear conscience I can tell the hon. Members that there are certain points of detail which would be dealt with when the Demands of Ministries are debated by the House. For instance, there have been points made in regard to civil defence, points in regard to specific cottage industries points made by the hon. Member opposite in regard to refugee rehabilitation. I think it would be better if these points are answered in detail at the time when the demands are discussed rather than during this one hour or a little over that is vouchsafed to me to deal with all these matters as well as matters of general importance. I mention this in order to convince hon. Members that, whereas I take everything they say very seriously, it is not always possible for me to answer them here and on this occasion.

Sir, I do not doubt anybody's *bona fides*; indeed, I welcome all criticism because I consider that the problem we are dealing with is a common problem, namely, putting in brief, the economic development of the country in so far as it can be done through this channel of the annual Budget. It is however rather hard when hon. Members take an excessively pessimistic view of matters and start doubting even the figures that are available to everybody. In that respect, for instance, figures on the

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movement of the wholesale prices or the movement of the cost of living index figures, we are both, on either side, dealing with material which has already been published and therefore, to say that the Finance Minister is trying to mislead someone or to give a false picture is not really a very just criticism.

I am as much entitled to draw an inference from the figures as hon. Members are and I do admit that it is not easy to draw a correct inference. I have on former occasions flung a great many figures at hon. Members but I find that I have not been able to make the point which I wanted to make, namely, it is most difficult to predict trends from the course of index figures in the past. I thought perhaps if I exhibit this graph, hon. Members will see how the ups and downs occur—this is a working cost of living index graph.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Minister may tell the hon. Members how many lines there are.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: It is the vagrancy of the lines that is very prominent; they go up and down and what one has to do is what statisticians call a 'fitted curve'—that is to say, a graph that runs through all these in order to show what the trend is.

If you look at these figures from that point of view I do think that generally the inference that we have drawn is correct; that more or less we are where we were in 1949, perhaps with a deterioration of about 10 per cent. so far as the cost of living index is concerned; and that I submitted, was not too unfavourable a situation. But, as I said, if hon. Members wish to be Cassandra-like and think that this is the harbinger of disaster, they are welcome to hold that view! I only fear in that case the remedies that they will suggest will possibly not be very appropriate.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Formerly they used to put these graphs in the central hall in the Economic Adviser's Office. If they are put here hon. Members will be able to see.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I think it is a very good suggestion, Sir, because we should be agreed about the facts. If we are not agreed about the facts, about the volume of production, for example, if even the general index of the volume of production is a subject of dispute—that there has been loss of production in certain light engineering or other industries—it is very difficult to go on arguing. There must be some common platform. I am very anxious, no matter to which party hon. Members may belong, that we should be agreed on the appraisal of the facts as they are. I am not talking now of drawing inferences.

Shri K. K. Basu: That is disputed. We say that it does not reflect the real economic development.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: If the general index shows a rise from 100 to 136, in the overall position there must be an improvement. It is no use saying that there has been a very serious fall in, say, tea or jute. It obviously has been matched by an equally satisfactory rise. . .

Pandit K. C. Sharma (Meerut Distt.—South): In terms of population.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I shall stop after having made this point. I am very anxious that we should be agreed on the facts. These are the facts and we shall argue further on a common basis.

Now I come to the form of the Budget. Again, I have a great deal of sympathy for the hon. Member who complained that the Budget papers were not available in Hindi. The budget is really a race against time, and almost every day, every hour counts as the figures come in and are consolidated and compiled. But I realise that this is no answer. Because sometime or other we shall have to start the exercise of getting our Budget out in Hindi. And I do think the sooner we make a beginning in

order to find out what the difficulties in the way are, the better it would be for us. Six years hence I shall not be able to give this reply. It probably means the entertainment of some special staff, sworn also to secrecy, who will have to go on translating the budget documents as they come along and as they are being compiled. So next year I shall try and see what can be done in this direction.

Certain hon. Members have complained about the presentation of certain things in the Explanatory Memorandum. Dr. Lanka Sundaram has made certain observations in regard to the figures relating to loans and advances and the Special Development Fund. 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. But, as I have explained in the Explanatory Memorandum, in paragraph 6 on page 2 and on page 15, the Budget statement shows the net amounts under each head while the gross outcome is shown in the Demands for Grants, the reconciliation between the two being given in Annexure IX to the Memorandum on pages 166—179. The amounts of loans, as also the portions thereof met from the Special Development Fund, are shown on pages 1593—1600—Demands for Grants Volume III, I hope the Members who were interested in this will take down the page numbers. The credits and debits against the Special Development Fund are also shown on pages 18 and 22 of the Budget statement.

He has made a suggestion about giving the progressive figures of loans and foreign aid in future. I think that is a very useful suggestion. I shall try to comply with it.

Then I think it was Dr. Krishnaswami who had also some difficulty in

regard to the Explanatory Memorandum. He cited a few instances. The first one is the figure of development expenditure on pages 53 to 57 of the Explanatory Memorandum. This statement gives the provision included in the Budget year for the various Demands for Grants as well as the actual expenditure in the previous years. Thus, as regards the two items mentioned by him, namely, the handloom and *khadi* industries, the previous years' figures would be found in Demand No. 2—Industries—on page 9, volume I of the Demands for Grants. The other item which puzzled him is the provision for Machine Tools Factory, shown under Industrial Development, on page 66 of the Explanatory Memorandum. The explanation for the large savings in the revised figure is the transfer of the control and management of this factory to a private limited company, namely, The Hindustan Machine Tools Limited, which figures immediately after this entry, the provision for the latter being Rs. 50 lakhs this year and Rs. 2 crores next year. This is explained on page 96 of the Explanatory Memorandum. He also required a detailed picture of the progress of the Plan. A progress report on the lines of the previous one will be prepared by the Planning Commission in due course. It is difficult to get it ready with the Budget papers as the actual papers, particularly of the States, are not available by that time, that is January-February, when the Budget is finalised. Then he enquired whether the write-back of capital expenditure to revenue will be in equal instalments or it will vary from year to year to suit budgetary expediency. The intention is that each year's expenditure on items in question will be written back in fifteen annual instalments following the year in which the expenditure was incurred. That, Sir, is as far as the form of the Budget is concerned.

While on this factual aspect of the Budget, I might deal with the repetition of the criticism about the increase in expenditure on civil administration, which I had dealt with in

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my reply in the Council of States. Now, next year is the fourth year of the Plan. As I have pointed out in my speech, the targets aimed at are to be achieved in time and expenditure is bound to be high. Civil expenditure includes development expenditure. Hon. Members cannot ask for acceleration of the implementation of the Plan and at the same time complain about the increase in the provision. For 1952-53, or the second year of the Plan, the final plan was actually drawn up some time in December 1952, when nearly half that year was over and the quantum of expenditure on the Plan was, therefore, low. I am giving the analysis of the additional items:

General Administration	Rs. 3 crores
Police	Rs. 1 crore
Tribal Areas	Rs. 2.2 crores
External Affairs	Rs. 0.5 crores
Scientific Departments	Rs. 2.5 crores

Education	Rs. 9.5 crores.
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This is not extravagant; this is a provision for implementation of some of the schemes of the Education Ministry. Then—

Medical and Public Health	Rs. 2.5 crores
Agriculture	Rs. 2.8 crores
Industries and Supplies	Rs. 8.5 crores
Other heads	Rs. 1.5 crores.

That accounts for the increase of Rs. 35 crores to which one of the hon. Members referred. I shall not go into this matter much further, because, as I say, hon. Members can read the transcript of my speech in the Council of States on that subject where I have given some more details.

Again, dealing with facts, certain matters were mentioned in regard to coir industry and the coffee industry. I hope that during the discussion of the Demands for Grants for the Commerce and Industry Ministry, it will be possible for my colleague to deal with some of the statements

made. But, I must remove some misapprehension from which the Deputy Leader of the Communist party seems to be suffering, namely, that the wages in the coir industry for 13½ hours' work amount to only 3½ annas a day.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: That was what I was told. I cannot vouchsafe for that figure.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I am not blaming the hon. Member. It is his duty to bring that to our notice. He went on an election tour probably and it was not possible for him to go into the merits of that complaint. It is equally my duty not to allow this impression to remain, if I am in possession of facts which he could not have had the time to collect then. That is my reason for mentioning this.

Shri Nambiar: If it is not 3½ annas, let us know what it is.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: If the hon. Member will have a little patience, this is the information.

As I have said, I am not elaborating it. There was a Labour enquiry into this industry and their finding was that the minimum daily earning of a worker with full work available is not less than Rs. 1-6-0 per unskilled worker and Rs. 2-8-0 to Rs. 3-8-0 per skilled worker. It is possible that the figure quoted to Shri H. N. Mukerjee may be based on the earning of an under-employed piece worker or the income of a homestead worker supplying yarn to a small factory, the product being made by his family labour. I do not know the conditions in Cranganur, which I think was the place mentioned. The State Government have given certain figures. These are not the figures. They are higher than the figures that I have quoted. I have quoted conservative figures. This is only to remove any misunderstanding. Otherwise, 3½ annas per day for 13½ hours of work seems most unconscionable and should not be permitted in any country.

There are certain general points in regard to cottage industries and rationalisation about which I should like to speak. So far as cottage industries are concerned, during the last year, Government's contribution to the development of what are known as cottage industries has increased manifold. Government spent Rs. 50 lakhs during the four years ending 1952-53 mostly by way of assistance to State Governments. During 1953-54, the expenditure rose ten-fold to Rs. 5,80,00,000. By cottage industry one generally means all forms of production other than organised production in big industries. Those engaged in it depend mainly on their own effort and skill using only simple tools, working in their homes. Only a few of these industries have sprung up recently in response to specific needs. Mostly they are traditional activities, struggling in various degrees for survival against modern techniques and forms of production. In a country where there is so little of capital available, and there are so many under-employed people, rapid development of these forms of production certainly appeals to the eye as an obvious way of at once increasing employment and wealth. That was the point made by Shri S. N. Agarwal. So, indeed, it should be. Yet, this obvious development has, it has to be confessed, constantly eluded us, and that is why that observation was made in the President's Address. What is more, the mere maintenance of existing cottage industries presents problems of great difficulty. When they are too pressing, one seeks the easy expedient of curbing the more efficient forms and techniques of production. For a time this certainly will protect employment, but the total production is bound to suffer. Therefore, clearly our objective should be more employment along with more production, as otherwise more employment with less production might mean the distribution not of wealth but of poverty. To increase the national wealth and the standard of living, we must produce more and more goods

which people would voluntarily buy for their consumption. Propaganda and sentiment cannot sustain demand for any length of time. Any rational policy for the development of cottage industries should, therefore, be designed—this is important—to enable the producer to make and market ever-increasing quantities of goods. This will be possible only if the quality is attractive to the consumer and the price is within his reach. Props may have to be maintained for a time, but unless further development is directed on realistic lines the props are bound to crumble down.

Therefore, our policy is: (1) to assist and sustain our traditional cottage industries and simultaneously to improve their condition, so that the need for public financial support should gradually disappear, except when they are undertaken as some form of unemployment insurance; (2) to assist and encourage the development of cottage and small scale industries in those fields where they can most usefully contribute to the growth of the national economy. I shall not now go into details of how this policy is applied in the case of *khadi* and handloom and silk and handicrafts.

A word probably is necessary in regard to what are known as small-scale industries. In 1953-54 we have sanctioned an expenditure of Rs. 36 lakhs for assisting what are known as small-scale industries. These are somewhat different from cottage and village industries in the sense that they include small entrepreneurs employing labour. Most of the expenditure has been directed to the improvement of the technological processes employed by these industries, and here I think there is a most promising line of development which would combine increased production, employment and standard of living. And if I might interject a personal observation for the benefit of my colleague who is not here but whose associate Minister is here, I think it might be better if small-scale industries were made the concern of a

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separate Board, because I do not think that the present Board of handicrafts and small-scale industries will be able to deal with two different categories of problems which are implicit in this matter.

In this field of small-scale industries we have excellent opportunities for combining effectively economy in the use of capital, the harnessing of electric power, the potential skill of our workers and the springs of initiative and enterprise throughout the country. Here we can adopt modern techniques to the requirements of a largely rural economy. In order to exploit these potentialities, we have invited a team of international experts under the auspices of the Ford Foundation. They have made an intensive study of the problems in several promising areas, and their report is expected very shortly. We have already created, both in the Centre and the States, a nucleus of an organisation to implement concrete recommendations.

As regards rationalisation—a matter which was dealt with obliquely by some of the hon. Members on the other side—I think it is necessary that we should state our views, at least my views, and I believe they are shared by my colleagues. The need for increasing productivity, of course, is admitted by every one. There is a special observation on this in the chapter on Industrial Development and Policy in the Planning Commission's report. With the emergence of a buyer's market, the growing necessity to seek outlets for our industrial products in export markets, and the increasing severity of international competition in such markets have stressed the need for a proper solution of this complex problem. Now we have been handling it on various fronts. We have been promoting measures for the improvement of managerial efficiency as well as of labour productivity. Expert productivity studies have been undertaken. An institute of labour productivity is

contemplated to be started. Quality control is being encouraged vigorously, and in diverse other ways, we are encouraging the promotion of higher standards of managerial efficiency and productivity.

Now, the replacement of obsolete and outworn machinery by improved machinery of higher productivity—which is known technically as rationalisation—is obviously one of the essentials of technical progress and industrial development. Notwithstanding the imperative need to increase productivity and reduce costs by rationalising the industrial processes, such measures are often resisted because of the displacement of labour which is temporarily caused by them.

Shri K. K. Basa: You give alternatives to them.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Hon. Members are very impatient. I was trying to develop this.

The Planning Commission have specifically considered this issue in the chapter on Labour, and have suggested certain safeguards in the interests of labour temporarily displaced, so as to facilitate the progress of rationalisation. They have, for instance, recommended that where rationalisation is expected to lead to such displacement, fresh recruitment should be stopped, surplus workers engaged in other departments, as far as possible, retrenchment to be just as amongst the persons involved, those last employed being first discharged, etc. While the prejudicial incidence of such displacement on the individuals concerned should be, we admit, alleviated to the greatest possible extent as a measure of social policy, it would be wrong and against the general interests of the country to discourage or prohibit rationalisation altogether. That is the point that I wish to make.

A little over two and a half millions of persons are engaged in organised industry, with reference to

which this question of rationalisation is generally raised. It is common ground that without a substantial growth of employment opportunities in the field of industry, we shall not be able to cope with the large number of additional persons annually joining the labour force as a result of the growth of population, and the trend towards greater urbanisation. Apart from this, there is the vast and unmeasured extent of under-employment in the rural economy. It is obvious that the growth in the level of general employment must not be negated by a short-sighted policy in respect of technical progress. I maintain that it is possible to reconcile the claims of the individuals affected temporarily by any such displacement, with the requirement that we must provide for an expanding economy in the general interest. This is one more illustration of reconciling the economic imperative, so to speak, with the dictates of social justice.

The House is aware of the recent enactment to provide for the grant of retirement benefits, and benefits during periods of temporary lay-off to labour. The House will recall that in view of an emergent situation in a certain industry, Government first enacted the measure by resorting to ordinance, as the House was not in session, which would just show the importance which was attached by Government to this safeguarding of the interest of work-people affected by retrenchment.

While everything possible must be done, as I said, to alleviate hardships caused to labour temporarily displaced, and to provide for its re-employment, what I say is that we must not get involved in a policy that would ban all technical progress and inhibit the growth of employment.

At any given moment, industry comprises a large number of undertakings of various degrees of efficiency, some of them just started or starting, some others developing or contracting and others which may become senile and

may be on the verge of closure. Now it is essential for the healthy development and growth of industry that there should be a certain measure of elasticity about the labour force engaged by the different individual units according to their own circumstances. We ought to concern ourselves with the volume of total employment. A policy that makes retrenchment impossible by an undertaking could only have the result of inhibiting the growth and development of new lines of production by other undertakings and would possibly cause a far greater hurt to the economy than it would avoid, including of course the labour community itself, taken as a whole. I agree that in the special circumstances of our country, rationalisation must be graduated and discriminating and according to a plan, if possible. The pace of rationalisation must be so graduated that, overall, the growth of employment opportunities more than keep pace with the temporary displacements occurring consequentially by improved processes at particular points.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: What about alternative employment?

Shri K. P. Tripathi: May I ask a question? What will be the number of persons thrown out through rationalisation out of these 25 lakhs of people if rationalisation is permitted according to the plan?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: It is very difficult to answer that question. This process of rationalisation will be spread out over a very long period. It is not as if one takes a decision in one's parlour that from tomorrow there shall be rationalisation and enough finance is available for implementing that rationalisation!

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Will labour be given alternative employment before rationalisation takes place? That is the point.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Sir, I talked of alleviation and of the hope of finding employment in due course.....

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: In between?

Shri Nambiar: They will have to starve.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There are certain things which are inevitable.

Shri Nambiar: Yes, starvation?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members who have been battling here had their own say. This is the answer of the hon. Finance Minister.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: My answer is that the problem has to be approached as a reconciliation between the need for technical progress and alleviation of temporary hardship caused to particular persons. Let a method be evolved whereby rationalisation is regulated, if you like. Let us, at the same time, pay due regard to the individual interests of the workpeople temporarily displaced, as indeed we have done by our recent legislation, but press on measures for the general growth of employment and towards an expanding economy which alone can be a lasting solution to our problems. I would suggest to hon. Members that they should at least ponder over my observations before joining issue immediately.....

Shri Algu Rai Shastri: Quite so.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh:because a great deal is at stake in what I am saying here in regard to the economic development of the country. As I say, this is no question of parties at all; this is a question of the development of the country which is a common objective.

Sir, as I have said previously, every budget now is really a phase of the Plan and therefore our main concern must be with a review of the progress of the Plan and a consideration of the residual work that has to be done. Now, first with regard to the progress, over the three years 1951-52 to 1953-54, expenditure on the Plan—this is based on more recent figures than were available to me when I put together the budget statement—by the

Central and State Governments is now estimated at Rs. 945 crores instead of Rs. 1,000 crores, the round figure which I gave. Internal resources raised for meeting this outlay work out at Rs. 600 crores. External assistance taken credit for in this period is Rs. 120 crores. Now this gives a total of Rs. 720 crores of resources available as against the expenditure of Rs. 945 crores. The balance of Rs. 225 crores was met by a drawing down of cash balances by sale of securities held in reserves and by increase in the floating debt. The Centre's expenditure during the three-year period is estimated at Rs. 492 crores. Domestic budgetary resources available to the Centre in this period were Rs. 260 crores which, with the external assistance of Rs. 120 crores, makes a total of Rs. 380 crores. The balance is met—or would be met because the year is not yet over—by drawing down of cash balances.

Now, the point I wish to make is that budgetary deficits do not always involve equivalent creation of new money; when a part of the deficit is financed through sale of securities or through increase in floating debt, the crucial question is, who advances the money? If it is the public, the receipts to the Exchequer are no different from those from taxes and loans, so far as the monetary system is concerned. If, on the other hand, the moneys are borrowed from the Reserve Bank, the consequence is a net addition to the money supply. It is significant in this context that the Reserve Bank's holdings of Government securities went down—not up—by Rs. 94 crores between the 31st March 1951 and the 5th March 1954. Therefore, it is not inflationary at all. I feel that the sale of securities by the Central and State Governments has not been inflationary.

Another factor to be taken into account is the balance of payments deficit. At the end of March 1951, India's sterling balances were Rs. 884 crores. They now stand around Rs. 745 crores. This fall of Rs. 139 crores

has been a very material factor in reducing domestic money supplies. Briefly, then the fall in cash balances of the Centre and the State Governments ever since the beginning of the Plan period has been more or less matched by a similar fall in sterling balances and the overall consequence has been that budgetary deficits have had little expansionary effect on money supplies. The latest position is that money supply is at present around the pre-Korean level. The velocity of circulation—that is another factor which governs prices—the velocity of circulation of bank deposits is now 12 as compared to 11 in 1949, showing a little greater activity and there are no indications of any change in the velocity of notes and coins, for which we have no separate statistics. Prices, as I have said before, are already round the pre-Korean level. Our production of cereals has increased, either by luck or through our efforts, by some 4.3 million tons, and the index of industrial production is now roundabout 133 as compared with 106 in 1949 and 105 in 1950. I am quoting these figures not out of complacency or in order to boast, but in order to give a right perspective to this question of money supply and deficit financing. It is the total economic situation, as seen from these indices, and the emergence of unemployment, which has led me to the conclusion that deficit financing on the scale envisaged this year probably does not involve risks outside the limits of prudence. That is the main point which I wish to make in regard to this Budget.

Shri B. Das (Jajpur-Keonjhar): You are right there.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I did not quite hear the hon. Member.

Shri B. Das: I said, you were right.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He said the hon. Minister is right there.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: It is very refreshing to hear that there is some-one agreeing.

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I would like to give an idea of the task that is before us. The outlay on the Plan is now Rs. 2,244 crores. The budgetary resources that we already have raised or are likely to raise in the first four years are put at Rs. 848.4 crores and the estimates for 1955-56 are Rs. 275 crores. Therefore, as against a total estimate of Rs. 1,258 crores made when the Plan was formulated, the budgetary resources for the fulfilment of the Plan that we are likely to have are now estimated at Rs. 1,123 crores; that is to say, I fear that there will be a shortage of Rs. 135 crores for the Five Year period.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is it for the Centre?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: This is the statement both for the Centre and the States concerned, because Rs. 2,244 crores is the amount of the total Plan. I fear that there is going to be a shortage of budgetary resources of the order of Rs. 135 crores for the Centre and States together. The principal items are: (1) savings from railway earnings—down by Rs. 53 crores, and (2) on deposits, funds and other miscellaneous sources there is likely to be a short fall of Rs. 98 crores, mainly on account of State Governments. There are pluses on certain other items, which gives you the overall figure of Rs. 135 crores.

Now, I come to the difference between our Plan and the domestic resources therefor. Under the Plan this was Rs. 811 crores. Now, according to the figure that I have mentioned, this difference works out at Rs. 1,121 crores. The House will notice that the difference between the earlier estimate and the new one is Rs. 310 crores and it is made up of Rs. 135 crores, which I said was the shortage in resources *vis-a-vis* the original Plan, and Rs. 175 crores which we have added to the Plan. On the one hand, there will be a shortfall on resources, and on the other hand, in order to meet the unemployment situation, we have added to the size of the Plan. So, the sum of Rs. 175 crores and Rs. 135 crores is Rs. 310 crores.

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Therefore, on Rs. 811 crores, we have to raise another Rs. 310 crores. So far as external assistance is concerned, for the four years, including the one comprised in this year's budget, for which explanation was given by the Parliamentary Secretary, it is Rs. 165.5 crores net. Of this, grants will be Rs. 79.9 crores and loans will be Rs. 85.6 crores and that is how this figure has been made up. It may be that we shall continue to get loans from the International Bank, for instance, because I believe our debt servicing capacity has still some residue in it to justify such a loan and, of course, there are good and worthwhile projects. I have taken for the next year, 1955-56, again some sum and the result is that as against Rs. 521 crores, which was at one time the expectation of external assistance, we shall have received Rs. 231 crores by the end of the Plan period and that leaves a deficit of Rs. 290 crores. This Rs. 290 crores, added to Rs. 310 crores, gives Rs. 600 crores, which is the measure of our increased difficulty, so to speak, in implementing the Plan. Whereas under the original Plan we thought that we ought to be able to do with deficit finance to the extent of Rs. 290 crores, we shall now have recourse to deficit finance to the extent of Rs. 890 crores. Already for the first four years we shall have, it might be of interest to note, incurred a deficit of about Rs. 495 crores and that for the year 1955-56, other things remaining equal, such as, the size of the Plan and its implementation, we shall have to have a budgetary deficit of the order of Rs. 395 crores. That certainly is a tremendous task and it means that you may have to create money almost to the extent of the size of our General Budget. Whether we shall do so or not is another matter, to which I shall come later. These figures, however, give you an idea of the difficulty of the task that is now before us, which is on account of various reasons firstly, shortfall on our own resources; secondly, the addition that we have deliberately made to the Plan; and thirdly, the shortfall in foreign assistance which I have just mentioned.

Shri Bansal (Jhajjar-Rewari): May I suggest that the hon. Finance Minister circulates the statement from which he has been reading?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: This is in two parts: one is a statement for the States and the Centre combined; then I have a separate statement for the Centre and another statement for the States. I think it will be useful if hon. Members studied this, because it does give a very clear picture of the task before us and the resources that are likely to be available.

I shall not be able to finish my speech today.

Several Hon. Members: Tomorrow.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I have a few important points to make.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: May I know how long the hon. Minister will take to finish his speech?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Another half an hour ought to be sufficient.

Shri Algu Rai Shastri: One hour will be needed by the hon. Minister.

Sardar A. S. Saigal (Bilaspur): In that case, we can dispense with the question hour tomorrow.

श्री अलगू राय शास्त्री : प्लान खतरे में है ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is it the pleasure of the House to dispense with the question-hour tomorrow?

Several Hon. Members: Yes.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: If you will give me another ten or fifteen minutes, I have an important statement to make.

Several Hon. Members: Tomorrow.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: It is necessary that I should make that statement today rather than tomorrow. There are certain other points which I can develop tomorrow.

I am now coming to the heart of the matter, namely, the taxation proposals. My justification for this, if I am permitted, I shall place before the House tomorrow. But I would like the House to know what I have in mind in regard to the observations that have been made. If the House will hear me out in this then they will understand why I want to say this today. It rather disturbs the thread of my speech. It is important that I should make this statement, because I had planned to make it today.

Criticisms of various kinds have been made at my proposals regarding excise duties on soap, footwear and art silk fabrics. It has been said that these duties would affect the middle and poorer classes. Now, I have not pretended at any time that excise duties are not intended to touch these classes of population. The House is aware that in a country like India it is impossible to raise excise revenue of the order required for the country's needs without taxing articles of general consumption. It is in pursuance of this principle that even articles of daily necessity such as kerosene and matches have been put on the excise list. But care has been taken to see that the burden of this tax is not heavier than the poor man's family budget can bear. The excise duties I have proposed this time are expected to yield about Rs. 12 crores without affecting, except to an insignificant degree, the cost of living. I have stated in the Council of States that a first estimate shows that the effect of the new duties is to raise the cost of living index by a quarter per cent. or so.

It has also been said that the soap, footwear and art silk industries are not at present in a position to pass the burden of the excise on to the consumer. I have no intention of belittling the significance of this argument. I shall develop that tomorrow, although I am bound to point out that the distribution of the incidence of an indirect tax between the producer and the consumer is subject to continual variations. The present advantage in favour of the con-

sumer may just as well change over to one in favour of the producer, according to the circumstances. In any case, this argument cannot apply to all sections of the industry. I know that the prices of the newly excised commodities have already risen in some cases to the full extent of the duty. The incidence of the tax which I have proposed for soap and footwear is in any case not more than ten per cent. However, any hardship that may arise would be considerably mitigated by affording a measure of relief to the medium-sized units which constitute an appreciable section of these industries. And having considered this and all the various arguments which have been put forward both on the floor of this House and in many representations I have received, I have decided to raise with immediate effect the exemption limit in the case of the non-power operated section of the footwear industry to factories employing up to forty-nine workers per day. In regard to soap the first 125 tons of laundry soap and 25 tons of toilet soap cleared from any taxable factory after the 1st April in each year will be exempted from the duty. Since most of the middling groups do not produce in the aggregate more than 150 tons of soap in any year, the effect of this exemption would be that the excise levied would not touch them at all. This will take effect from the 1st April, 1954.

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Criticism on the art silk excise has been mainly about incidence on the selling price, particularly of fabrics of smaller widths. I have considered this very carefully and I am satisfied that there is case both for reduction and readjustment of the duty. I have accordingly decided to convert immediately the existing excise duty of one anna six pies per yard, exclusive of the handloom cess of three pice per yard, into a duty of one anna per square yard. Apart from the fact that a duty by the square yard is obviously more equitable than duty by the linear yard, the conversion which I have proposed will cut by nearly 40 per cent

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the present duty inclusive of cess on the smaller widths on artificial silk fabrics which constitute the bulk of the production. Even the larger widths will derive some benefit by this adjustment. By this adjustment, I would be sacrificing about Rs. 40 lakhs in revenue or about a quarter of the yield I was expecting from this duty.....

An Hon. Member: What about betelnut?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: By a process

of exclusion, I am afraid, the House will have to understand that, in my opinion—which I will elaborate tomorrow,—there is really no case for reducing the duty on betelnut.

Sir, if you will allow me to stop at this stage, I will continue my speech tomorrow.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There will not be any question-hour tomorrow.

The House then adjourned till Two of the Clock on Tuesday, the 23rd March, 1954.
