

management. Subbiah promised co-operation and after some further demonstration before the Mill, the Communist workers resumed work on the morning of 3rd March.

Despite Subbiah's assurance, on the 3rd morning, the Communists organised another incident when the police had to take prompt action. At about 11.30 a.m. on that date, some leaders from amongst the Communist strikers accompanied by about 150 other Communists formed themselves into an unlawful assembly with the object of intimidating and assaulting Nandagopal, the Mayor of Madaliarpeta, the reason for this aggressive plan being that other workers from Nandagopal's village had gone to work to the Bharathi Mill against the wishes of the Communist leaders. Nandagopal had also permitted non-Communist workers to make use of his garden for cooking food and taking rest after work. When this crowd of about 150 Communists led by Kathavarayan and Arumugham proceeded towards Nandagopal's house shouting threats and abusive slogans against him, Molava Ariputhiri of Nandagopal's party gathered together fifty men of his own group and started shouting slogans against Subbiah. Fortunately, the nearest police station got the news immediately and the Police Inspector with a posse of constables arrived just in time when the rival groups were hurling abuses and throwing stones at each other. The police dispersed the unlawful assemblies and arrested seven leading rowdies from the Communist group and four rowdies from the other group. The police investigation has been completed and the case will be put before the court.

GENERAL BUDGET FOR 1955-56

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Mr. Speaker: We shall now proceed with the further discussion of the General Budget. I might invite the attention of hon. Members to the

fact that, as a number of Members are desirous of speaking, it will be better if hon. Members try to curtail the time they take. I do not wish just today to fix the time-limit, though I would request them not to take more than about ten minutes or so; otherwise, it will be impossible to meet the desire of a large number of Members. This is only general discussion, and hon. Members will get further opportunities for discussing specific points, when the Demands for Grants and the Finance Bill come up. I would leave it to hon. Members. Otherwise, the only course for the Chair is to shut out those who do not get a chance.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Gurgaon): May I make a submission? If the time-limit is reduced to ten minutes, hon. Members will be in great difficulties in expressing their views on various subjects. At least fifteen minutes should be allowed to each hon. Member. If it is less than fifteen minutes, there can be no discussion, and there can be no well argued speech made.

Mr. Speaker: The point is that it is a general discussion, which does not go into all details, but touches only the general aspects. Of course, I am leaving it to the Members. But my point is that there need be no repetition of the same aspect of the same point made by the previous speakers, and thus time could be saved. It should be assumed that the House is now in possession of the general background of the entire Budget, and therefore, one need not go into that. That is how I feel about it. But if they want fifteen minutes, I have no objection. I said, therefore, that I would not place any time-limit. I only invite their co-operation for the convenience of other Members who are equally anxious, and perhaps entitled to have their say in this House. It is left to Members themselves as to how they should act.

Shri Mohiuddin (Hyderabad City): I was saying yesterday that, by and large, the rural areas have jumped from the static condition in which they were for the last hundreds of years into a dynamic state. This is a remarkable phenomenon for which the First Five Year Plan and the Finance Minister are responsible. But the President in his Address to Parliament had warned against complacency. The threat of food scarcity has now been removed. Shortage of foodgrains has been made up and we have a surplus of foodgrains. The other threat, of the communists, also seems to have been, to a certain extent, eliminated by the Andhra elections. So we have got to beware that the complacency, against which the President had warned the country, does not unconsciously creep on us so that our efforts are retarded towards the economic progress that we aim at.

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

The Finance Minister has referred this year as well as last year,—I do not know whether he made a reference to it previous year also—to the gearing of the administrative machinery to a state of affairs in which we could fully carry out and implement the Plan. I do not know whether the administrative and technical machinery is fully geared up for that purpose. The short-fall in the absorption of funds that have been provided to the various development schemes, into the details of which I shall not go, shows that we have not been successful in gearing up the administrative and technical machinery to fulfil all that the Plan has laid down. Now, that is very unfortunate, because it is proposed that in the Second Five Year Plan, allotment of funds for development expenditure in the public sector would be much larger than what was provided

in the First Five Year Plan. Therefore, I suggest that the Government and the Planning Commission should very carefully look into this question either by appointment of expert committees or otherwise to see that administrative and technical equipment is fully available for carrying out the various schemes in the larger Second Plan.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member has already taken 14 minutes.

Shri Mohiuddin: Two minutes more. I shall refer, in this connection to another important point, and that is, that the grants and aids given to States are on a matching basis. In this connection, I would suggest that the basis for grants and aids to those States whose financial resources are meagre should not be the same as those States whose financial resources are sufficient. For example, if grants are given on a 50:50 basis to Part A States, the basis of grant for Part B should be reduced, that is to say, Centre 75 per cent. and States 25 per cent.

Now, reference has been made by many Members to reservation for small-scale and large-scale industries. Reservation is not a solution of the problem of production or employment. Reservation of course may be adopted and restored to as a temporary measure, but I am sure it will not solve the problem of employment and production. One of the most important and striking features of under-developed countries is the low level of technology. The gap in technology between developed and under-developed countries is more impressive than the great disparity in wealth which separates them. It has recently been decided to establish three or four institutes for cottage industries. We have not had details of those schemes, but what I feel is that if cottage and small scale industries are to make progress, it is only by the increased use of techno-

logy in production. Large-scale industries can import machinery, they can import blue-prints and designs, but for cottage industries we have to fall back on our own resources, our own inventiveness and our own genius. I think that so far very little has been done in regard to experiments for the introduction of improved methods of production in small-scale and cottage industries. I suggest that larger and more funds should be provided for experiments in this connection so that we may have some improvement in technology as far as Production methods in small-scale and cottage industries are concerned.

Another suggestion that I would like to make is.....

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member will kindly see that the next suggestion he is going to make will take at least another two minutes.

Shri Mohiuddin: I will take only one minute.

Mr. Chairman: That one minute also will be taken away from other Member's time. Let him conclude with it.

Shri Mohiuddin: Another suggestion is that Evaluation Committees should be appointed for schemes other than Community Projects. Large amounts are being given for other schemes like social work, sales organisation of handloom and other similar objects. We have got to see that there is no wastage of funds. They are all good objects, no doubt, but we have got to guard against wastage of funds. I suggest that Evaluation Committee should be appointed to look into expenditure under these heads.

श्री ए० एन० विद्यासंकर (जालन्धर) : मैं प्रारम्भ में अपने वित्त मंत्री महोदय को उनकी बजट स्पीच के लिए धन्यवाद देता हूँ और मैं

समझता हूँ कि उनके योग्य हाथों में भारत के फाइनेंस बजट ही सुरक्षित हैं। जहाँ तक हमारे फंड्स का ताल्लुक है और जहाँ तक हमारी आमदनी और खर्च का ताल्लुक है और उसे मिलाने का ताल्लुक है, हमें यह मानना पड़ेगा कि हमारा बजट और हमारे बजट की जो नीति है, वह बहुत ही साजुंड है और मजबूत है। हमारी साख दूसरे देशों के अन्दर बहुत ज्यादा अच्छी है और देश के अन्दर भी अच्छी है और इस बात की कोई खबराहट नहीं है कि हमारी आर्थिक नीति में कहीं पर डीलापन है या उसके अन्दर कहीं पर कोई ऐसी बात है जो खतर की हो। हमारा ज्यादा खर्च डेवलपमेंट पर बढ़ रहा है, और हमारा प्रोडक्शन, हमारा उत्पादन, ज्यादा बढ़ रहा है। यह सब फीचर्स ऐसे हैं कि जिन के लिए हमारे वित्त मंत्री धन्यवाद के पात्र हैं और उनको धन्यवाद देना चाहिए। मैं यह समझता हूँ कि जो हमारा बजट है, जो हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति है वह इतनी साजुंड है, इतनी मजबूत है कि इसके अन्दर हम इस वक्त से ज्यादा बोल्ले तरीके से, ज्यादा हाँसले के साथ आगे बढ़ सकते हैं। मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट जितना हाँसला इस वक्त डीफिसिट फाइनेंस के अन्दर दिखला रही है, उससे कुछ ज्यादा हाँसला दिखलाये और गवर्नमेंट कुछ ज्यादा आगे बढ़े। मैं मानता हूँ कि डीफिसिट फाइनेंस में हम काफी हाँसले के साथ काम कर रहे हैं लेकिन अभी और काफी आगे बढ़ने और हाँसले के साथ काम करने की गुंजायश है।

इस वक्त हमारे सामने मिसाल के तौर पर सबसे बड़ी समस्या अनएम्प्लायमेंट की है, बेकारी की है, उसके सम्बन्ध में मैं ज्यादा नहीं कहूंगा, क्योंकि अनेक सदस्य इस सम्बन्ध में काफी कह चुके हैं लेकिन मैं यह समझता हूँ कि अगर हम बोल्ले तरीके से और ज्यादा हाँसले के साथ काम नहीं करेंगे और जिस तरीके से हम गणनाएं करते हैं और जो गणनाएं देश की गई हैं, उसी तरीके से ही हम चलेंगे तो यह बेकारी की समस्या बहुत समय के बाद हल

[श्री ए० एन० विद्यालंकार]

हो सकती। बंकारी की यह समस्या तो ऐसी है, जैसे कि अभी उस दिन हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा था और सही तौर पर कहा था कि हम भले ही अपना हिसाब लगाते रहें, हम अपनी गणनाओं को गिनते रहें लेकिन जो लोग बंकार हैं या जो लोग भूखे हैं, वह इन्तजार नहीं कर सकते। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि मेरे देश के अन्दर ऐसी स्थिति तो नहीं है कि कोई बंकारी की वजह से या भूख की वजह से मर रहा हो, यह हमारी जिन्दा एकानामी की, हमारी मजबूत एकानामी की एक मिसाल है, लेकिन हमें देखना है, कि सिसक सिसक कर मरना एकदम मर जाने से ज्यादा तकलीफदेह होता है। इस समय हमारी जनता के अन्दर असन्तोष है और आज वह असन्तोष बढ़ता जाता है क्योंकि वह आधी बंकारी के अन्दर, हाफ एम्प्लायमेंट के अन्दर सिसक सिसक कर अपना जीवन गुजार रहे हैं। आज इस कारण से हमारे देश में काफी असन्तोष का वातावरण है। हमारे देश में आज इतनी साउन्ड एकानामी रहते हुए लोगों में जो उत्साह होना चाहिये था, इतना प्रोडक्शन रहते हुए जो उत्साह लोगों में होना चाहिये था वह उत्साह आज प्रतीत नहीं होता। बजट का जिस तरह से स्वागत हुआ है, जो कुछ रायें बजट के ऊपर दी गई हैं उन से भी यही प्रतीत होता है कि एक तरफ जहाँ लोगों में उत्साह है कि हम ने सोशलिस्टिक पैटर्न आफ सोसायटी को अपना आदर्श माना है, हम ने कहा है कि वही हमारा उद्देश्य है, वहाँ दूसरी तरफ उस से जो उत्साह लोगों में पैदा होना चाहिये था, डेवेलप-मेंट स्कीम्स से जो विशेष उत्साह पैदा होना चाहिये था, वह पैदा नहीं हो सका। हमें सोचना चाहिये कि अगर कोई गलती है, तो वह कहाँ पर है, अगर कोई कमी है तो वह कहाँ पर है और हमें उसे दूर करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये। जैसा मैं ने कहा कि लोग पूरे हॉसले के काम नहीं कर रहे हैं, हम और आप भी हॉसले से काम नहीं कर रहे हैं। तो हमें उन उखलानों को, जिन्हें को कंजर्वेटिव उखलाने कहा जाता है, पुराने ढाँचे और पुराने अर्थ शास्त्र के

अनुसार हम ने जो उखलाने बनाये हुए हैं, उन को थोड़ा सा बदलना होगा। मिसाल के तौर पर जैसी कि हम बहस भी कर रहे हैं कि हम प्रिंटिंग प्रेस पर डिपेन्ड कर रहे हैं। हम कोशिश कर रहे हैं कि जो काम हों उन को हम प्रिंटिंग प्रेस के ऊपर चलायें। मैं समझता हूँ कि अभी और गुंजाइश है और हम को प्रिंटिंग प्रेस के ऊपर और बॉझ डालना चाहिये। मैं समझता हूँ कि सिर्फ सोने के रूप में, फारन एक्स्पेंज के रूप में जो हमारी सिक्वॉरिटीज हैं उन के आधार पर हम नोट्स का एक्स्पेंशन कर रहे हैं, लेकिन आज की अवस्था में, आज गवर्नमेंट के पास जो रिजर्व्स हैं वह इस बात की डिमान्ड करते हैं कि हम और ज्यादा प्रिंटिंग प्रेस की मदद लें। मैं समझता हूँ कि यदि हम इस बात को सामने रखें तो देश के सारे रिजर्व्स इस कारिबल हैं कि हम प्रिंटिंग प्रेस का और ज्यादा एक्स्पेंशन करें। इस के अन्दर कोई खराबी नहीं है। जब हम दूसरे ऐसे एक्स्पेंशनों के साथ इस बात को रखते हैं कि जो पेपर करन्सी का एक्स्पेंशन है वह दूसरे एक्स्पेंशनों को बैलेन्स करता है या नहीं तो हम देखते हैं कि जो हमारा कम्पौण्डेड प्रोडक्शन है, जो हमारा आर्थिक प्रोडक्शन है जो उत्पादन है वह उसे बैलेन्स नहीं करता है। अगर दोनों चीजें बराबर बैलेन्स कर दी जायें तो हमें किसी बात का खतरा नहीं है चाहे हम कितनी ही पेपर करन्सी का एक्स्पेंशन कर दें। हाँ एक चीज का खतरा जरूर मालूम होता है और वह यह कि आज हमारी पेपर करन्सी काफी एक्स्पेंड हो रही है, हमारा काफी रुपया जा रहा है, अगर हम बजट के फिगरस को देखें तो पता चलेंगा कि हम कितनी बड़ी बड़ी रकमें व्यय करते हैं देशी एकानामी के अन्दर, हम करोड़ों रुपयों की रकमें देहाती अर्थ व्यवस्था के अन्दर फेंक रहे हैं, शहर की अर्थ व्यवस्था के अन्दर नहीं। हमें देखना होगा कि वह जो रुपया हम खर्च करते हैं उस में से कितना रुपया देहातों के अन्दर रह जाता है, कितना रुपया देहात के

लोगों की पर्चीजग पावर बढ़ाने में मदद देता है। हमें यह देखना होगा कि हम जितना रुपया खर्च करते हैं कहीं वह वहां खर्च हो कर उलट कर काल आदीमियों के हाथ में तो नहीं आ जाता है, कुछ आदीमियों के हाथों में तो कंसेन्ट्रेंट नहीं हो जाता है। हमें देखना होगा कि हमारी जितनी कम्प्यूनिटी प्रोजेक्ट्स की स्कीम हैं या दूसरी स्कीम हैं, जिन को हम देहातों में चला रहे हैं, कहीं ऐसा तो नहीं है कि उस में से एक बड़ी रकम उस प्रोजेक्ट का प्रबन्ध करने वालों के हाथ में चली जाती हो या उन के हाथों में चली जाती हो जो सामान तैयार करते हैं। मिसाल के तौर पर मैं ने बजट में देखा है कि हमारी कम्प्यूनिटी प्रोजेक्ट्स की एक बड़ी रकम मोटरों को खरीदने में और पेट्रोल खरीदने में, सरकारी कर्मचारियों की तन्स्वाहों में या और इसी तरह के कामों में खर्च हो जाती है। तो जहां हमें इसे तब्दील करना है जहां हम अपने एक्स्पेंशन के ढांचे को बदलना चाहते हैं और अपने यहां अर्थ व्यवस्था को, हमारी जो आमदनी की आज व्यवस्था है, उस को ठीक करना चाहते हैं, वहां हमें अपने खर्च की व्यवस्था को भी बदलने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये। अभी तक हमारी खर्च व्यवस्था के अन्दर काफी गुंजाइश है, उस में काफी लूप होल्स हैं। हमारी काफी स्कीम्स ऐसी हैं जिन में से हमारा रुपया जाया हो जाता है। अभी हम ने उसे ठीक नहीं किया है। जितने हमारे डिपार्टमेंट्स का एक्स्पेंशन हुआ है उस में इस की काफी गुंजाइश है और हम उस को चेक कर सकते हैं। आज हम अपने इन कामों के अन्दर जो खर्च करते हैं और उन के लिये जो बजट बनाया जाता है उस में से बहुत सारा रुपया सरकारी अफसरों की तन्स्वाहों में और दूसरी चीजों में खर्च हो जाता है। हम को देखना होगा कि हम इस को कम करें क्योंकि वह रुपया सीधी तौर पर उस एकानमी को, जो कि देहातों की एकानमी है, बढ़ाने में खर्च नहीं होता, बल्कि वह लौट कर फिर शहरों के अन्दर आ जाता है या दूसरी जगहों पर चला जाता है। वह रुपया फिर कुछ

हाथों के अन्दर आ कर कंसेन्ट्रेंट हो जाता है। हमें इस बात को ठीक से देखना होगा।

मुझे अपनी खर्च व्यवस्था के सम्बन्ध में एक और चीज कहनी है। अभी तक हम ने इस बात की कोई मिसाल कायम नहीं की कि गवर्नमेंट के कामों के अन्दर जो लोग काम करते हैं उन की तन्स्वाहों के अन्दर जो भेद भाव है, जो अन्तर है उस को हम कम कर सकें। प्राइवेट सेक्टर और पब्लिक सेक्टर के ऊपर काफी बहस होती है, लेकिन हमें देखना होगा कि गवर्नमेंट पब्लिक सेक्टर को क्यों अहमियत देती है, हालांकि पब्लिक सेक्टर बड़ा अच्छा होता है, क्योंकि जिन नये उस्तूलों पर हम चलना चाहते हैं, उन की इन्स्ट्रुक्शन्स को हाथ में ले कर हम क्रिया में ला सकते हैं, लेकिन पब्लिक सेक्टर के हक में होते हुए भी मैं कह सकता हूँ कि आज हमारे पब्लिक सेक्टर के अन्दर जिस तरह से काम हो रहा है दरअस्त वह बहुत सन्तोषजनक नहीं है। मैं ऐसे पब्लिक सेक्टरों की मिसाल दे सकता हूँ जहां कि बहुत ज्यादा वेस्टेज होता है, बहुत ज्यादा फर्जुलखर्ची होती है। वहां पर मुझे कुछ स्टोर्स को देखने का मौका मिला है। स्टोर्स भर हैं और वह स्टोर्स बगैर किसी प्लान के खरीद लिये जाते हैं और जाया होते हैं। जो फिक्क प्राइवेट सेक्टर में की जाती है कि एक एक चीज को जांच कर खरीदा जाता है, वह फिक्क पब्लिक सेक्टर में नहीं है। मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि पब्लिक सेक्टर बड़ इस लिये कि जो काम करने वाले हैं, मजदूर हैं, जो कर्मचारी हैं, उन के साथ मनुष्यता का बर्ताव किया जा सके और जो उन की ह्यूमन नीड्स हैं, आवश्यकतायें हैं, उन की पूर्ति की जा सके और उन के साथ बेहतर मुलक किया जा सके। इस विषय में गवर्नमेंट को आदर्श बनना चाहिये, लेकिन वहां पर इस समय वह चीज नहीं है। आज पब्लिक सेक्टर के अन्दर हम उन्हीं आदर्शों पर चलते हैं जो प्राइवेट सेक्टर ने अपने यहां रखे हैं। अगर हमें उन्हीं पर चलना है और उसी तरह की व्यवस्था करनी है जिस तरह से कि प्राइवेट सेक्टर में चल रही

[श्री ए० एन० विद्यालंकार]

हैं तो मैं समझता हूँ कि पब्लिक सेक्टर को ज्यादा बढ़ाने का जो लाभ है वह पूरा नहीं हो सकेगा। यह बात बहुत ज्यादा जरूरी है अन्यथा पब्लिक सेक्टर की तमाम यूटीलिटी, जिस के लिये हम उसे बढ़ाना चाहते हैं, वह खत्म हो जायेगी।

अब मैं एक बात कह कर अपना भाषण खत्म करूंगा। हम ने एक्साइज ड्यूटी की जो लिस्ट रक्खी है, उसे बहुत सोच विचार कर रखना चाहिये था। मैं समझता हूँ कि जो एक्साइज ड्यूटी रखी गई है, उन पर फाइनेंस बिल पर बहस करते समय गौर किया जायेगा लेकिन मैं अर्थ मंत्री का ध्यान इस तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि छोटी छोटी इन्डस्ट्रीज, मिसाल के तौर पर सोडिंग मैशीन इन्डस्ट्री, या इसी तरह की दूसरी इन्डस्ट्रीज, पर जो एक्साइज ड्यूटी लगाई गई है उस का पूरा असर उन छोटे छोटे लोगों पर पड़ रहा है जो स्माल स्कैल पर काम कर के अपनी रोटी कमाते हैं। इस लिये मैं चाहता हूँ इस से पहले कि फाइनेंस बिल हम पास करें, हमारे अर्थ मंत्री इन चीजों पर गौर करें।

अन्त में, मैं सिर्फ एक बात और कहना चाहूंगा। पिछले साल पोस्टल रेट्स बढ़ाये गये थे। मैं चाहूंगा कि इस विषय पर विचार किया जाय। पोस्टल रेट्स के मुताबिक जो शिकायतें हमारे मंत्री महोदय के पास आई हैं उन के होते हुए यह जरूरी है कि उन को कम किया जाय। चूंकि इस चीज का असर आम लोगों पर होता है इस लिये इस को जल्दी से कम किया जाना चाहिये क्योंकि हम जनता को मद्दद देना चाहते हैं। आज वह जनता बंधे परेशान है, जो भी टैक्स लगाये जा रहे हैं, खास तौर पर इंडरैक्ट है जैसे कपड़े पर एक्साइज ड्यूटी लगाई जा रही है, या दूसरे टैक्स हैं, उन सब का बोझ ज्यादातर आम जनता पर पड़ता है। यदि हम इस तरह से टैक्स लगाते चले गये तो जो सहायता जनता की करते हैं वह दूसरे रास्ते से वापस होती चली जायेगी।

Shri N. M. Lingam (Coimbatore):
Within the short time at my disposal it is not possible to examine all aspects of the Budget. So I propose to confine myself to matters which have not been referred to by speakers who have taken part in the discussion already.

Before I go to specific questions, I shall present to the House the main features of the Budget as they strike me. In the first place, it appears that our economy is not able to sustain development expenditure even on the scale envisaged in the Plan. We are in the final year of the First Five Year Plan and out of an outlay of nearly Rs. 1,000 crores, we are resorting to deficit financing to the tune of Rs. 300 crores. So, the first lesson that we draw is that we cannot raise by loans and taxes more than what the Finance Minister has proposed to do in the Budget proposals. Secondly, where increased investment is the need of the hour—and the Finance Minister is straining every nerve of his to achieve this end—our organisation and trained personnel are unequal to the task. So, I would like to know from the Finance Minister how he proposes to utilise the increased investment to the maximum possible advantage. The third main feature, according to me is that although we have resorted to deficit financing on a considerable scale now, prices have tended to lower, especially agricultural prices. This aspect of our economy also needs explanation. To a student of economics, it is clear that the development expenditure has not dealt with all sectors of the country for raising the income or employment potential. This is an aspect which the Planning Commission has not looked into carefully and before we launch on the Second Five Year Plan, it is absolutely necessary that a survey is carried out regarding the segments of society that have been helped

by the First Five Year Plan. Otherwise, our economy on the surface will be sound, but our permanent ills like unemployment, lower agricultural prices and under-employment will remain as they are. It is also necessary to have an assessment of the physical targets achieved under the Five Year Plan. Every effort is made to see that the outlay on the Five Year Plan is extended to the maximum possible extent, but unless we know the targets achieved physically, more expenditure, as shown in the progress report, is not going to help us in making a correct appraisal of the progress of the Plan.

I must, in this connection, utter a warning that it should not be our aim, within the framework of our institutional weaknesses, to go ahead with expenditure, because in such an event, the expenditure will not yield good results, but it will only result in waste. For instance, take the National Extension Service and Community Projects schemes. These schemes are well conceived, but as long as the agricultural labour is what it is today, that is, under-employed, and as long as it has not *per capita* land or other gainful employment, even the Community Projects and National Extension Service schemes will help only the well-to-do class in the village. It is true that roads, hospitals and colleges are intended for the benefit of all, but the enormous outlay, as much as Rs. 64 lakhs per Block, will help only the "haves" in the village. That does not make any difference to the "have-nots". So, it is necessary that we go ahead with land reforms, that we also go ahead with the development organisation of small-scale and cottage industries. Unless these are attended to simultaneously and employment given to all, the enormous outlay on National Extension Service and Community Projects will help only people who are already on their feet and will not contribute to the largest

number in the village. So, I would utter this word of caution in proceeding fast in the matter of spending money on these projects.

Then I come to the expenditure on roads. Towards the end of 1953, this House discussed the question of unemployment, then considered to be very serious, and the Plan itself was enlarged and a sum of nearly Rs. 200 crores was added to the Five Year Plan for meeting this specific situation. Under this scheme, a sum of Rs. 10 crores was earmarked for roads. Although it is nearly two years since we considered this problem, the expenditure has been very slow. It is difficult to see how in a matter like this we could not keep to schedule. This is what the *Explanatory Memorandum* on the Budget proposals says:

"The estimated expenditure during the current financial year is Rs. 1.75 crores, while the budgeted expenditure for 1955-56 is Rs. 5 crores. There is thus expected an expenditure fall of Rs. 3.25 crores, as compared to the provision in the Plan. This shortfall in expenditure is mainly due to the fact that the scheme has been put into execution only from 1st April 1954, that some time was taken in finalising the programme of works...."

I have chosen only one item to show how bureaucratic delay is causing an upset in the implementation of the Plan. With regard to the expenditure on roads, we have organisations already, for instance, even on the district level, we have engineering staff, etc., and if the sum only had been allotted to the States to be distributed among the districts, it could have been utilised already. I know the District Boards are now starved for want of funds and they are not able to maintain the roads even. They have the engineering department and they have other

[Shri N. M. Lingam]

machinery and there is no bottle-neck anywhere.

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): What is the hon. Member referring to?

Shri N. M. Lingam: I am referring to the item of Rs. 10 crores on roads. I only want a slight change in the administrative set-up involving decentralisation of the authority to spend. I mean to say that if the allotment have been placed at the disposal of the States, we would have succeeded. Now the delay has been caused because all the schemes have to go to the Centre and naturally when district schemes go to the State first, and then to the Centre, it takes time.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: There is no Central machinery for roads.

Shri N. M. Lingam: But the Central Roads Organisation sanctions the schemes. They want to see every item of work suggested by the districts before the schemes are sanctioned. There is naturally delay.

The Minister of Revenue and Civil Expenditure (Shri M. C. Shah): We have sanctioned Rs. 20 crores to the States for the purpose.

Shri N. M. Lingam: The Progress Report shows that there has been delay. That was a scheme drawn up to alleviate the acute unemployment problem. Even now we have spend only Rs. 1.75 crores. If our progress is so slow on an item like this where we have the machinery and technical personnel, it is not difficult to imagine how we will not be able to spend the allotments in respect of other schemes. This inevitably leads to the question of decentralisation in the administration. I have some experience at the district level, and I find that unless the district is made the unit for administra-

tive purposes, our success not only in the National Extension Service and the Community Project but also in the organisation of small scale and cottage industries will not be so full and complete as we would like them to be.

In this connection, I venture to suggest that now that the National Extension Service is made a permanent organisation, we must create one statutory body to control all the planning, and the expenditure thereon. Now, there are many agencies at the district level—there are the panchayats, there are the District Boards, and then there is the Planning Body, and there is an organisation almost for this, that and the other. So, it is best to have one statutory body consisting of the district heads of departments, the legislators and other technical experts to attend to all these things—planning, National Extension Service and the Community Projects, and to see generally to the implementation of the Plan in the district. Otherwise, there is bound to be a lot of overlapping, delay and waste. Since the district administration is dealing with the entire administration of the country, as much power as possible should devolve on them. Even with regard to the cottage and small-scale industries, if every district is charged with the task of surveying the existence of industries and organising them, progress would be faster.

Now, we have achieved great things; we have constructed huge projects, but with regard to the cottage industries, we have talked so much and after so much delay, we want the Ford Foundation to come here and examine the conditions, and they have just suggested that we should start regional institutions.

I want to know if the Ministers met these people in the villages, who are engaged in the industries and

asked them what their difficulties are, what their needs are and how they could be best helped. I want the Central Ministers to go to these people and the villages, get contact with the people who are engaged in the small-scale and village and cottage industries, see what their difficulties are and realise how best they could be helped and the difficulties solved. To depend on reports, to have schemes chalked out and make plans here, sitting in Delhi is not going to help matters. I would earnestly urge up on the Government to see that the cottage and small-scale industries are given the highest priority in the matter of rehabilitation of the rural folk.

In the Explanatory Memorandum, I came across the lot of the cinchona plantations. During the war, Madras and West Bengal Governments were asked to extend cinchona cultivation, and Rs. 99 lakhs were given to them. We hear that these plantations in Bengal have failed and in Madras, the harvesting is not over and the return expected is only Rs. 14,000 from West Bengal. We have incurred a loss of Rs. 1 crore. But now I understand that the Assam Government is going ahead with the extension of the cinchona plantations. I would ask the Finance Minister whether this has been done with the concurrence of the Centre and even if it is done, it should not be stopped. Because, unless there is co-ordination, we cannot proceed far in the implementation of the Plan.

I have only two points more.

Mr. Chairman: I am very sorry. He has taken 16 minutes.

Hon. Members might have heard the speaker saying today that only ten minutes should be taken. But I want that every Member should have full time. So I do not ring the bell before 12 minutes are over. But if I have to ring the bell three or four times for every Member, then I will

not be able to control the debate and allow many Members to take part. I request the hon. Members not to take up the new points at the end of their speeches.

Shri T. Subrahmanyam (Bellary): I congratulate the Finance Minister on the note of optimism that he has struck, for the confidence that he has created now and for the hope that he has created for the future. There was a line of criticism adopted by a Member in the Opposition group saying that deficit financing was bad, it is risky, it is dangerous and that it should not have been resorted to. There was another Member who said that there has not been adequate deficit financing, that there were short-falls which should have been avoided with better organisation of our institutions and organisations. There is also a complaint against fall in prices and the lack of adequate price support. It is gratifying in this connection to note that we have reached a stage in our country when the controls over food distribution have been lifted. We must remember that three years ago there was severe food shortage in our country and we had to import 4.7 million tons in 1951, 3.9 million tons in 1952, 2 million tons in 1953 but in 1954 we imported only .8 million tons. It is gratifying that we have reached food self-sufficiency, and with the removal of the zonal restrictions on the movement of wheat in this country, it marks the culmination of the Government's policy of decontrol.

With regard to price support of the Government, I urge that it could be rendered more effective with deficit financing and greater and more vigorous implementation of the developmental plans and putting more money in those plans and projects, and also extending the price support which has been done by the Finance Minister. The implementation of the de-

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velopment plan and should be more effective, and price support give more encouragement to the agricultural producers.

Favourable weather conditions played a large part in achieving this satisfactory food position, but at the same time, we have to recognise that the introduction of improved seeds and improved methods of agriculture and also an increase in the irrigated area had much to do with it.

In this connection, I suggest that there should be no complacency in this matter. I come from a chronically bad famine zone and I suggest that full utilisation of the waters of the Tungabhadra Project must be made to maximise the benefits from this great project. Today, it is the largest reservoir in India but that will not be enough solace or consolation unless the water is put to full and maximum use. I suggest that the high level canal also should be taken up. Then the ryots should be enabled to have loans so that they may level up their lands and make them fit for irrigation. Otherwise, there will be a bottle-neck and we will not be getting the maximum results by bringing all those lands under irrigation. I suggest to the Government that they must keep a little check over this aspect and see that the development of this area is done to schedule and achieves the target.

Other minor irrigation schemes also should not be ignored. I suggest the taking up of Malvi project in the Hadagalli taluk of Bellary District. It is a small project irrigating about 7,000 to 8,000 acres and should be taken up.

I now come to industrial production. Mill cloth production has increased to 5,000 million yards. The handloom cloth production has increased to 1,400 million yards. In this connection, I urge with all earnestness that the employment potential of handloom is twenty times more

than that of the mills. Therefore, it is desirable and necessary that the weavers should be helped with loans to use improved types of handloom, so that we can put more purchasing power into their hands. Then they should also be supplied with adequate quantities of yarn at reasonable prices.

Coming next to cement, the production in 1954 was 4.38 million tons. It marks a large increase: that is, from 2.6 million tons in 1950. But this is not adequate. There have been some persons from South India who have been trying to get licences to start cement factories. I earnestly urge that they should be enabled to start those factories and instal them at an early date.

1 P.M.

Then there is the sugar industry which is the only major industry to show a decline in production of nearly 2 lakh tons. This is second only to the cotton mill industry possessing a capital of nearly Rs. 35 crores and employing about 1.35 lakhs of people. It also encourages and supports 20 million agriculturists to produce sugarcane. The output of sugarcane in our country is generally very low—an average of about 14 tons per acre. But, in South India, I know in some places—for instance, Hospet taluk—where 50 to 60 tons per acre have been produced. When I recently went to Hospet one person told me that he was able to produce even 90 tons. It may be an extraordinary thing. But, I suggest that sugar factories may be started in South India. At Kampli in Bellary District, it is proposed to start a sugarcane co-operative factory. I earnestly urge that, because it is started as a co-operative concern with the support of the local agriculturists, maximum financial aid should be rendered to this factory.

Next I come to small-scale and cottage industries. For lack of finance, technical assistance and marketing facilities, these industries have not developed as fully as they should. During the Plan period Rs. 15 crores was provided for expenditure on these items, but actually the accounts show an expenditure of Rs. 14.3 lakhs in 1951-52, Rs. 29.3 lakhs in 1952-53 and Rs. 79.9 lakhs in 1953-54. In addition to this, from the mill cloth cess about Rs. 6 crores was to be collected and a substantial financial assistance to khadi and handloom industries was provided. I suggest that in future these industries should be specially taken up as the employment potential there is very great. We propose to provide employment to 24 million people in ten years and therefore, these industries should be taken up very seriously.

With regard to State industrial enterprises, the Sindri Fertiliser Factory has reached its rated capacity. There are proposals now for additional units or fertiliser production. In this connection I suggested that besides the large unit to be started at Bhakra-Nangal, smaller units should be set up in South India with a manufacturing potential of about one lakh tons per annum. This would mean decentralisation and also help in removing the bottle-necks in distribution and a reduction in the freight charges.

With regard to iron and steel industry, I would like to say a word. Its production in 1954 was 1.23 million tons. The United States is producing about 125 million tons and the United Kingdom 25 million tons. We cannot compare ourselves with those very advanced countries. We have made a good beginning at Rourkela with Rs. 70 crores. A good unit is to be started and the production—initial output—may perhaps increase from 5,00,000 tons to 1 million tons, which is a gratifying thing to note. Then at Bilhai in Madhya Pradesh

with the co-operation of U. S. S. R. there is a proposal to instal another plant with a capacity of 750,000 tons. In this connection it is gratifying to note that other countries like the United Kingdom, United States of America and even Czechoslovakia are all coming forward with proposals to help us. I suggest that smaller units or pilot projects should be taken up in South India. In Bellary District we have got a very excellent and precious variety of iron ore. There is water also provided by Tungabhadra. Power also is generated there by the Tungabhadra hydro-electric works and also in other projects of Mysore. There is lignite also which will be made available for industrial purposes in South Arcot. With the help of these factors I earnestly urge that pilot projects should be taken up in Bellary District and other places in South India.

Then, with regard to the balance of payments, I would like to say a word. On page 7 of the Budget speech it is said:

“Although the balance of payments position has so far been satisfactory, the increase in imports, which would become necessary with increased investment expenditure, would place considerable strain on the payments position in the future. It is therefore, necessary to increase foreign exchange earnings through increased exports and considerable attention is being paid to export promotion.”

In this connection, I would like to refer to one item, that is, the export of manganese and iron ore from this country. If it is the policy of the Government to conserve our mineral resources and prohibit or discourage export of manganese and iron ore I have nothing to say against such a proposal. But, I find that the export of manganese has decreased from Rs. 3.57 lakhs in 1953-54 to almost nil in 1954-55.

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There is also a fall with respect to export of iron ore. It has fallen 19 lakhs to 4 lakhs. When I went to my district recently I found there plenty of stocks of manganese and also plenty of stocks of iron ore which have been collected there for export. I do not know where the bottle-neck lies. If it is due to inadequate allotment of wagons, I suggest that adequate allotment of wagons may be made. It is possible to give export facilities for other countries. Czechoslovakia is willing to take our iron ore and Belgium and Germany are willing to take manganese. We need plants for our sugar factories, other machines and tractors. If these countries can send us the much-needed tractors and other machines in exchange for our manganese and iron ore, I suggest with all earnestness that it should be taken up.

Sir, the expenditure for next year is placed at Rs. 498.93 crores of which Rs. 202.68 crores is under Defence Services and Rs. 296.25 crores under civil heads. Two years back there was a criticism that we are spending too much on Defence Services. Now that criticism is not made; probably, it may have something to do with the American military aid to Pakistan. It is gratifying that our Defence Services have actively associated themselves with the relief work and national welfare activities. They did excellent service for famine relief in South India three years back. During the floods last year in Assam and Bihar they did excellent work by air—lifting food packets and other much needed relief articles. Then in the field of afforestation also they are doing excellent service to arrest the march of the desert on the western side. This is a moral equivalent to war.

In this connection, I would like again to congratulate the Finance Minister because he proposes to pro-

ceed boldly with the work of implementation of the Five Year Plans and initiate the socialistic pattern of society in our country. People say: what is the socialistic pattern? A resolution was passed recently at Avadi. I say that it is the socialistic pattern which is suited for a democratic structure and a democratic climate. The Indian socialistic pattern is rooted in our culture, heritage, leadership, in truth and in non-violence. I am confident that with the present policy adopted by the Finance Minister we are going to achieve this socialistic pattern.

Dr. J. N. Parekh (Zalawad): The Budget can well be said to be a mild beginning towards the declared ideal of a socialistic pattern of society. The year under review has recorded substantial improvement in various phases of the country's economy and development. Nobody can deny that we have made commendable progress both in the national and international field. The record of our achievements on some of the fronts is certainly one of which we can be proud.

The tempo of work in the Plan is gathering momentum as is evident from the reports all over the country. The industrial output and economic progress have steadily maintained progress. In agricultural production also, there has been a marked improvement. So also basic and consumer goods industries have shown steady rise.

While it is true that we have attained self-sufficiency in food, the prices of agricultural raw materials have tumbled down without any appreciable decline in the manufactured goods. This is bound to create problems for us in the long run. Government's apathy and only lip sympathy at the problem appears surprising. No concrete steps appear to have been taken. There is no concrete

plan for warehousing facilities. No easy credit or financial accommodation has been given to the farmers. Prices of foodgrains, pulses, seeds and cotton have seen new low levels after many years. A very careful eye on the situation is warranted. In the plan period, when the time-lag is over and production starts increasing in various sectors, a judicious handling of the impact and its economics aspects will be required.

The achievements of the First Five Year Plan and our approach to the Second Five Year Plan with more emphasis on industrialisation have to be co-ordinated. The role of deficit financing has been properly considered. Thus, to mobilise men, material and money to achieve the desired results in a development economy is a great thing.

The proposal for more direct taxation and more excise duty has had a mixed reception. Enhanced levy on sugar and cloth is bound to hit the middle classes and lower classes. The condition of middle classes is getting from bad to worse. They are the intelligentsia and backbone of any civilized society. Yet, they are the worst victims of a crippling, war-torn economy. The apathy of Government to their problem is surprising. It is no doubt perhaps due to lack of organisation in the middle classes, unlike labour, backward classes and others. May I suggest the creation of middle class welfare corporations in all the States from where credit facilities and subsidy to middle class organised ventures could be given? While it is true that our small-scale and cottage industry development requires further fillip, the existence of a sort of conflict with heavy industries requires a suitable solution. The State must step in and subsidise the small-scale and cottage industries and make it possible for a co-ordinated and all-round industrial development. I think that any country that has to progress in this modern and nuclear

world must be industrialised. It is gratifying to learn that the Second Five Year Plan envisages industrial development both in the public and private sectors on a much larger scale. We must go in for heavy capital goods in industries, viz., power house machinery manufacturing, marine engines, aero engines, etc. The announcement to give a 25 per cent. development rebate is bound to have good effect on the formation of new industries. Similarly, another laudable recommendation of the Taxation Inquiry Commission should have been implemented: I mean the suggestion of a tax holiday for six years. Though, no doubt, some of the loopholes in the income-tax Act have been plugged, I say that some of the loopholes in the Estate Duty Act should have also been looked into.

The whole world today is passing through a period of stress and strain. The events abroad are far from happy. Our great faith in Panch Shila and peace are good as an ideal. But, what do we find in the troubled world? Tension is mounting up. All the Big Powers are preparing atomic and hydrogen bombs though they always talk of disarmament. The events in Korea, Indo-China, and Cambodia are too recent to be forgotten. The formation of military alliances, the SEADO, the Turco-Iraqi Pact are pointers to the coming events. The Paris Treaty and its reactions on the different Power blocs, the German re-armament problem and the situation in Formosa are problems of the world. Can we then delude ourselves into thinking that tension is lessening? It appears that a third world war is only a question of time. The thermo-nuclear weapons, hydrogen bombs and the atomic bombs are no doubt a danger to humanity. In such an eventuality, it is essential that we should not be caught napping. It is essential that the country should be prepared for such an eventuality as well as for internal defences. Our defence services should be

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geared up. If possible, separate Ministries for the Navy and the Air Force should be created. Our Ordnance factories must be made self-reliant in as short a time as possible. Vizagapatam must be equipped to cater for the requirements of our Navy also. A research wing should be created in the Army Medical Department to assess the effects and to find treatment for ravages of thermo-nuclear weapons.

I shall next take up the question regarding the nationalisation of the Imperial Bank and other banks. It is a good thing that it is proposed to nationalise the Imperial Bank and amalgamate some other banks into a State Bank of India. While the same may have been proposed from national interests, it is requested that a concrete and clear indication may be given about the same. The way in which the shareholders are treated in such a nationalised proposal requires careful consideration. In this connection, I may say that the shareholders in the B. E. S. T. Co., Bombay which was nationalised by the Bombay Municipality, have just got their last instalment of money. The shareholders in the air line companies, which were recently nationalised have not started getting any money. I would therefore request that in order to create confidence in the investment market, it is necessary that a suitable machinery should be devised so that the shareholders may get soon their dues either in cash or in kind.

The idea in acquiring State control in banks appears to be to provide credit to the villages and small centres. What is happening? At present, agricultural credit is given through apex co-operative banks by the Reserve Bank. I find that the apex co-operative banks in the various States charge exorbitant rates of interest. They get money from the Reserve Bank at the rate of 1½ per cent. But, they charge 4½

per cent or even a higher percentage in some cases, with the result that the very idea of easy money to the agriculturist is defeated. The Reserve Bank should exercise control and stipulate the maximum rate of interest that should be charged by such banks.

While on banking, I should like to make some observations. In an under-developed country where large-scale development in a short time is undertaken, the banking structure, the mode and pattern of advances and credit structure should be moulded in such a manner as to suit local conditions and should not follow the orthodox and academic practice of highly developed and highly industrialised countries. It should not be only the persons or institutions with assets that should get financial accommodation. But efficiency and ability should also be recognised for giving banking accommodation. Thus industry, trade, commerce and agriculture should get banking accommodation on very liberal terms and academic concepts should not come in the way of full utilisation of the financial resources for providing credit facilities. In Japan, after the second world war, to rehabilitate their trade and industry, Japanese banks are allowing liberal advances. Their ratio of advances to deposits is about 92 to 95 per cent.

Then, I suggest the creation of an Export-Import Bank to develop and finance the export and import trade of the country and to subsidise the same and if and when necessary to support our industries and agricultural prices. I would also suggest the formation of a Housing Finance Bank to undertake the financing of the housing programme for the low income group and middle classes on a very large scale, thus opening also a very good avenue for employment. I suggest a "Buy Swadeshi" drive should be undertaken. Though the

Government of India has appointed a Stores Purchase Committee and it must be directing its attention in this direction, I feel that a directive should be issued to all Government departments that they should give preference to Indian made goods even if they are costly by 20 per cent. I am glad to say that it has been done in Saurashtra and a directive has been issued that Indian goods should be given preference over other goods. Similarly, in banking, insurance, shipping and all fields, Indian companies should get preference.

Regarding transport, I suggest that a Transport Commission should be appointed to co-ordinate the working of sea, rail and road travel, so that they could be put on a well-organised basis.

I come from Saurashtra which is a comparatively under-developed State. I request the Centre to start some industries in Saurashtra. There has been a suggestion, I understand, to start a fertiliser factory in Saurashtra. Saurashtra has many ports, and port development could be undertaken. Also, fishing, fish canning, fish oil and mollecular distillation of oil could be undertaken very well over there. Caustic Soda and Soda ash industry also should be undertaken on a big scale because of the availability of raw material. There is a possibility of pyrites in Saurashtra and sulphuric acid *cum* super-phosphate factories could be started in Saurashtra.

I have one or two points regarding small factories in Saurashtra. The small paint and varnish factories and paper mills are hard hit by the new proposal of excise duty and I might point out that unless some liberal view of exemption just as has been done in soap factories is taken, these factories will find themselves in great trouble.

As foodgrains were imported by the Food Ministry on a large scale through Saurashtra ports, I suggest that sugar

should be imported through Saurashtra ports like Navlakhi, Bedi and Bhavnagar so that it can cater to the markets of Northern India and other places and relieve the congestion at other places.

While on sugar, I would like to observe that our country is not self-sufficient, though efforts are being made by the Government to make it self-sufficient. Moreover, production is not increasing very rapidly. The Government has given licences to various factories, but it has been found that the factories take some time to start. It has also been declared that refineries are going to be started. The import policy of the Government also leaves much to be desired. It must be suggested when the licences are issued that the factories should be installed within a given time-limit, so that the licence-holders may not just delay and sit tight on the licence. Similarly, the refineries also should go into production very soon, so that the country becomes self-sufficient in sugar.

श्रीमती कमलेंद्रु मति शाह (जिला गढ़वाल--- पश्चिम व जिला टिहरी गढ़वाल व जिला बिजनौर---उत्तर) : मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी को बधाई देती हूँ कि उन्होंने इस वर्ष अपना बजट हिन्दी में भी पेश करने का प्रबन्ध किया है। यह बहुत ही अच्छी बात है और मैं आशा करती हूँ कि अन्य मंत्रीगण भी उनका अनुकरण करेंगे। इससे न सिर्फ हिन्दी का ही प्रचार होगा बल्कि हमारा वह व्रत भी शीघ्र पूरा होगा जहां हम ने हिन्दी को राष्ट्रभाषा बनाने का निश्चय किया था।

इतना कहने के बाद, मैं अनाज के गिरत हुए भावों के सम्बन्ध में दो चार शब्द कहना चाहती हूँ। यह तो सब जानते ही हैं कि अनाज के भाव काफी गिर गए हैं लेकिन इसके साथ ही साथ जो कर की दरें हैं वे कम नहीं हुई हैं। अनाज के भाव कम होने से और करों में कमी न होने के कारण इस का बोझ कबल किसानों पर ही पड़ता है। अनाज के भावों के

[श्रीमती कमलेंदु मति शाह]

गिरने से रोकने के लिए मैं एक सुझाव देना चाहती हूँ। अनाज के भावों के गिरने का एक बड़ा कारण अनाज की ज्यादा पैदावार है और अब हमारे यहाँ हमारी जरूरत से ज्यादा अनाज पैदा होने लग गया है। अब हमें तुरन्त ही पूर्ण रूप से अनाज का विदेशों से आयात बन्द कर देना चाहिए। इस से अनाज के भाव और गिरने से बच जाएंगे और भावों में स्थिरता भी आ जाएगी और किसान जिस आर्थिक संकट में से गुजर रहे हैं वे उससे बच जाएंगे।

इतना कहने के बाद मैं थोड़ा सा सिंचाई की योजनाओं के बारे में कहना चाहती हूँ। हमारे यहाँ आज बड़े बड़े बांध और नहरें बनाई जा रही हैं और यह सभी जानते हैं कि इन का फल तभी मिलना शुरू होगा जब वे पूरी हो जाएंगी। किसान लोग डर रहे हैं कि कहीं उन पर अभी से सिंचाई कर न लगा दिया जाए। इस बारे में मेरी माननीय मंत्री जी से प्रार्थना है कि सिंचाई कर उन पर सिंचाई की सुविधाओं के मिलने के एक वर्ष बाद लगाया जाना चाहिए। ऐसा करने से उन को यह पता लग जाएगा कि जो सिंचाई की सुविधाएं उनको दी गई हैं उनसे उनको लाभ हुआ है और इसलिए उनको कर देते हुए कोई एतराज नहीं होगा। इस लिए मेरा निवेदन है कि कम से कम एक साल के लिए यह कर न लगाया जाए।

घाट को पूरा करने के लिए कर वृद्धि में विचार से अनुचित है। घाट को पूरा करने के लिए हमें और उपाय करने चाहिए थे। कर जांच समिति ने जो तीन सिफारिशों की हैं यानी, खर्च में कमी, घाट का बजट बनाना और करों का समायोजन, माननीय मंत्री जी ने इन तीन सिफारिशों में से केवल कर सम्बन्धी सिफारिश को कार्यान्वित किया है और बाकी सुझावों की तरफ कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया। मेरा निवेदन है कि घाट के बजट के साथ साथ हमें अपव्यय को रोकना चाहिए। हमारे जो व्यवसाय हैं उनको हमें अपना समझना चाहिए और अपव्यय को रोकने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिए

और रुपया ऐसे कामों में लगाना चाहिए जिस से ज्यादा से ज्यादा लाभ हो।

खर्च में कमी करने के बारे में जो सुझाव मेरी कुछ बुद्धि में आए हैं, मैं वे आपके सामने रखना चाहती हूँ। मेरा ख्याल है कि हमारे यहाँ मंत्रियों की संख्या बहुत ज्यादा बढ़ रही है और संख्या ज्यादा होने के साथ ही साथ उनका वेतन भी बहुत ज्यादा है। हम दूसरे मुल्कों का अनुकरण तो करते हैं और कहते हैं कि वहाँ भी मंत्रियों की संख्या बहुत ज्यादा है लेकिन जहाँ तक उन मंत्रियों के वेतन का सम्बन्ध है, उस के बारे में हम उनका अनुकरण नहीं करना चाहते। चीन के प्राइम मिनिस्टर 800 रुपये प्रति मास वेतन पाते हैं.....

श्री डी० सी० शर्मा (होशियारपुर) : कितना पाते हैं ?

श्रीमती कमलेंदु मति शाह : 800 रुपये।

श्री बी० जी० वंशपांडे (गुना) : हमारे यहाँ तो मैम्बरज की इतनी तनखाह है।

श्रीमती कमलेंदु मति शाह : इस वास्ते मेरा निवेदन है कि मंत्रियों की संख्या घटाने के साथ साथ इन का वेतन भी घटाया जाए।

खर्च घटाने का तीसरा तरीका विदेशों में राजनीतिज्ञों के खर्च में कमी करना है। वहाँ पर बहुत ज्यादा व्यर्थ खर्च हो रहा है। तीन चार जगहों का मुझे पता है और मैं जानती हूँ कि कितना फूल खर्च वहाँ हो रहा है। उनके खर्च घटाने से भी खर्च में कमी हो सकती है। इसी प्रकार अन्य स्थानों पर भी जहाँ अपव्यय होता है उसको रोकना चाहिए और जो लोग अपव्यय करते हैं उनको सजा मिलनी चाहिए।

खर्च में कमी करने का एक और तरीका है। जब मैं यह तरीका आप के सामने रखूँ तो शायद आप यह समझें कि क्योंकि मैं राजाओं के खानदान से हूँ इसलिए यह सुझाव दे रही हूँ, लेकिन एसी कोई बात नहीं है और यदि आप ठीक समझें तो आप इस को भी कार्य रूप दे सकते हैं। अगर राजाओं को आनररी गवर्नर

बना दिया जाए तो इस से भी काफी बचत हो सकती है, क्योंकि इनका रहन सहन का जो स्तर है वह काफी अच्छा है और अगर इन को इन पदों पर नियुक्त कर दिया जाए तो सरकार को अपने पास से कुछ नहीं देना पड़ेगा और वे आनररीरली काम कर सकते हैं।

एक सुझाव मंरा यह भी है कि बड़े बड़े पदों पर निःस्वार्थ और निष्काम भाव से सेवा करने वाले व्यक्तियों को, जिन्होंने कि स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में हिस्सा लिया और हमारे देश को आजाद कराया, यदि लिया जाए तो वे किसी लाभ की परवाह न करते हुए सेवा करने की भावना से काम करेंगे और इस से देश को लाभ पहुंचेगा।

एक आखिरी बात में अपने जिले के बारे में कहना चाहती हूँ। सिंघाई योजनाओं के सम्बन्ध में मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि हमारे यहां चार पांच बांध बनाए जा सकते हैं और मेरी प्रार्थना है कि कम से कम एक बांध हमारे इलाके में जरूर बनाया जाए। यदि मंत्री महोदय चाहें तो मैं इसका पूरा विवरण भी उनको दे सकती हूँ। मुझे आशा है कि मंत्री महोदय इस ओर जरूर ध्यान देंगे।

डा० एस० एन० सिंह (सारन पूर्व) : हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने जो आयव्यय का चिट्ठा प्रस्तुत किया है उसमें मुझे भ्रूणक, भय और संकोच का आभास मिलता है। आजकल की जो देश की आर्थिक स्थिति है उसके भी इसमें एकांगी अध्ययन का चित्र है। इस समय, जब हमारा ध्येय एक नई सामाजिक व्यवस्था प्रस्थापित करना है तो हम लोग अपने वित्त मंत्री से कुछ अधिक आशा करते हैं। इस चिट्ठे को अगर हम वैज्ञानिक विचार प्रणाली की कसौटी पर रखें तो इसका खोखलापन और इसमें बहुत सी खटकने वाली बातें हमें दिखायी दे जाएंगी।

सबसे पहला उदाहरण मैं खाद्यान्न का लेता हूँ। हमारे देश में खाद्य पदार्थों की कीमत आज गिरती जा रही है, और शिल्पीय पदार्थों की कीमतों में कोई भी कमी नहीं हुई है, बल्कि उनकी कीमतें बढ़ती जा रही हैं। इसका क्या

नतीजा होता है ? इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि जब हमारा किसान अपने अन्न का विनिमय करता है शिल्पीय पदार्थों से, कपड़ों के लिए, दियासलाई के लिए, किरासन तेल के लिए, तो उसे बहुत नुकसान रहता है। आप कपड़े का हिसाब लगायें तो आपको मालूम होगा कि एक सैकिंड में एक गज कपड़ा बनता है, और अगर आप गेहूँ का हिसाब लगायें तो आपको मालूम होगा कि उतने ही मूल्य का गेहूँ पैदा करने में एक दिन लगता है। अब तक किसान को अपने एक दिन के परिश्रम का विनिमय कारखाने के एक सैकिंड के श्रम से करना पड़ता था। लेकिन अब यह हो रहा है कि उसे एक दिन से भी ज्यादा परिश्रम का विनिमय एक गज कपड़े के लिए करना होगा। इसे ही हम आगे ध्यान में रखें। इसे ही गांधी जी ने स्पष्ट शब्दों में कहा था कि वह गांव वालों का शोषण है। इसी के खिलाफ गांधी जी थे। यही वह स्थिति है कि जहां मार्क्सवाद समाप्त होता है और जहां गांधी जी का समाजवाद शुरू होता है। उन्होंने कहा था कि :

“Villagers should not be used as a means of exploitation of others.”

और यह देखना हमारे वित्त मंत्री का सबसे पहला कर्तव्य था कि हम इस विश्रृंखला को किस प्रकार रोकें। वह कहेंगे कि मैं इसमें क्या कर सकता था ? मैं लाचार था। जी नहीं। सिर्फ यह कह देने से आपका काम नहीं चल सकता। यह एक विश्रृंखला स्थापित हो गयी है और आपके भीतर जो भय है उसको आपने स्वीकार किया है कि हमारे देश में १४७ परिवार ऐसे हैं जिनकी आमदनी बहुत ज्यादा है। हमारा ख्याल है कि हमारे समाज के लिहाज से उनको इन १४७ परिवारों से कहीं अधिक ध्यान एक बहुत बड़े वर्ग का करना चाहिए। यदि ये १४८ परिवार न रहें तो हमारे मुल्क का कुछ विगड़ता नहीं। कारण यह, कि जो हमारे यहां का कारखानेदारों का वर्ग है वह दलालों का वर्ग रहा है। मेरा मतलब मिडिलमैन से है। ब्रिटिश हुकूमत के जमाने में उन्होंने दलाली की, कारखाने बनाये और मजदूरों को घुसने में

[डा० एस० एन० सिंह]

समर्थ हुए। आज जो सबसे बड़ा रोग इन लोगों ने हमारे समाज को लगा रखा है वह यह है कि उन्होंने बहुत से प्रतिबन्ध लगावा रखे हैं आप मोटर का उदाहरण लें। यह बहुत जरूरी चीज है। हम अपने यहां अपने युग की सबसे बड़ी क्रान्ति ला सकते हैं अगर हम बैलगाड़ियों की जगह डीजल इंजन तैयार करें। यह टैकीनकली सम्भव भी है। इसे किया जा सकता है। हम तीन हजार रुपये में एक डीजल इंजन तैयार कर सकते हैं जो न सिर्फ सिचाई के काम में मदद देगा, न सिर्फ ट्रैक्टर चलाने में मदद देगा, बल्कि उससे दूसरे काम भी किये जा सकेंगे, उससे बाजार सामान ले जा सकेंगे और उससे सवारी गाड़ी भी चला सकेंगे। लेकिन हमारे यहां मोटर के मामले में जो सिद्धान्त रहे हैं वे गलत रहे हैं। हमारे यहां के पूंजीपति कहीं से टायर खरीदते हैं, कहीं से बैटरी खरीदते हैं, अपना लोहा तक नहीं लगाते, और कहते हैं कि हम मोटर बनाने वाले हैं और स्टैंट से मांग करते हैं कि प्रतिबन्ध लगाओ जिसमें बाहर से मोटरें न आवें। उनकी इस नीति से सारी जनता वीचत होती है और उसे धूल फांकनी पड़ती है और उसे कभी जीवन में मोटर पर बैठने की आशा नहीं हो सकती। इसी तरह से कैम्पल्स के मामले में है। अगर कोई मामूली भी दूबा बना लेता है तो उसके बाहर से मंगाने पर प्रतिबन्ध लगवाना चाहता है। आज १९५५ में यह सम्भव है कि लोगों को अधिक से अधिक सुख दिया जा सके। मैं ने देखा है कि हमारे यहां मलेशिया से लाखों आदमी हर साल मरते हैं। मैं ने इस मामले में बहुत से प्रयोग किये हैं लेकिन उनको यहां समय की कमी की वजह से नहीं बतलाना चाहता। लेकिन आपसे इतना कह दूं कि चीक एक बहुत बड़े कारखाने-दार ने एक चीज का सिर्फ १५० टन उत्पादन कर लिया है, इसीलिए वह नहीं चाहता कि उस चीज को बाहर से मशीनें लाकर सरकार बनवाये जब कि हमारे देश को उसकी १५ या २० लाख टन की आवश्यकता है। और हमारी सरकार भी उस चीज को बाहर से नहीं मंगाती है

क्योंकि उस कारखानेदार को नुकसान होमा। इसीलिए, मरें कहने का अभिप्राय यह है कि आजकल यह जो प्रतिबन्ध हमारे पूंजीपति वर्ग ने लगवाया है उसको हमें मिटाना पड़ेगा।

आज अगर हमारी सरकार प्रतिद्वन्द्वता के लिए अग्रेसर होना चाहती है तो उसे होना चाहिए, लेकिन एक दृष्टिकोण अपने सामने रखना चाहिए। वह दृष्टिकोण क्या है? हमें देखना चाहिए कि अधिक से अधिक लोगों को काम मिले। यह ठीक है कि पिछले सालों में कुछ प्रगति हुई है, कुछ कारखाने हमने बनाये हैं। लेकिन अगर समूचे मुल्क का नक्शा देखें तो हमें इसके लिए घमंड करने का कोई मौका नहीं है। हमने प्रगति बहुत कर ली है लेकिन सारे मुल्क को देखते हुए वह नहीं के बराबर है।

हमने बेकारी की समस्या को दूर करने की कोशिश की है लेकिन उसमें हम असफल रहे हैं। हमें यह स्वीकार करना पड़ेगी। हमने उत्पादन को बढ़ाने की कोशिश की है लेकिन जिस हद तक यह हमारे मुल्क में सम्भव हो सकता है उतना नहीं हुआ है। इसकी क्या वजह है? इसकी वजह यह है कि लोगों में आज उत्साह नहीं है। लोगों में उत्साह क्यों नहीं है? सबसे बड़ी बात तो यह है, अगर आप इसका वैज्ञानिक ढंग से विश्लेषण करें, कि अपने 'आइरन ला आफ व्रैजेज' (Iron law of wages) लगा रखा है। जो उत्पादन के साधन हैं उनको चलाने के लिए जितने व्यक्तियों की आवश्यकता होगी उन्हीं को काम मिलेगा दूसरों को नहीं, चाहे वह स्टैंट की संस्था हो या प्राइवेट सेक्टर की हो। अगर अधिकारी वर्ग चाहें तो भी ज्यादा आदमियों को नहीं लिया जा सकता। यही वह लॉह नियम है जिसको सबसे पहले मार्क्स ने दिखाया था।

श्री रामानन्द दास (बैंकपुर) : क्या वे मुझे मरेंगे ?

डा० एस० एन० सिंह : इसका उपाय यह है कि आप शक्ति को मजदूरों के हाथ में दें, उनको यह महसूस करने दें कि यह कारखाना उनका है और तब आप पायेंगे कि कितनी

उन्नत होती हैं और कितना आपका उत्पादन बढ़ जाता है, और किस हद तक वह उसे संभालते हैं। अगर यह न होगा तो हमारा काम ज्यादा आगे नहीं बढ़ सकेगा। और हमारे यहां के पूंजीपति न तो उत्पादन करते हैं और न निर्माण करते हैं बल्कि जो असली निर्माण है उसमें यह बाधा डालते हैं। हमारा मजदूर वर्ग जो कि असली उत्पादन करने वाला वर्ग है उस पर हमारा विश्वास नहीं है, बल्कि उनका उलटा शोषण और किया जाता है। सबसे बड़ा काम तो हमारा मजदूर वर्ग करता है लेकिन उसे आगे बढ़ने का कोई प्रोत्साहन नहीं दिया जाता। लेकिन उनका ध्यान न रखकर हमारे वित्त मंत्री पूंजीपतियों का ध्यान रख कर चल रहे हैं। यह गलत है, यह नहीं होना चाहिए था।

जहां तक डीफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग का ताल्लुक है, मैं कहूंगा कि मैं इसके पक्ष में हूँ। हमारे यहां की जो टैंडेंसी है, वह डिफ्लेशन की तरफ है। इससे आपकी मुद्रा की कीमत अधिक बढ़ती चली जा रही है। हमें इसको गिराना चाहिए। इसके लिए मैं अपने वित्त मंत्री से कहूंगा कि वह जितने नोट छापना चाहें छापें हमको एतराज नहीं है। आपका यह कानून है आपको उसके लिए ४० प्रतिशत सोना व गिर्दशी द्रव्य रखना पड़ता है। अगर आप ऐसा किये बिना भी नोट छापें तो आपका काम चलता रहेगा क्योंकि जनता का विश्वास आपके साथ है। आपकी सरकार के साथ है। और हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने भी यह स्वीकार किया है कि हमको पैसों की कमी नहीं पड़ेगी। हमारे लिए सबसे पहली आवश्यकता है आर्गनाइजेशन की और दूसरी आवश्यकता है टैकनिक की। यह दोनों ही ऐसी चीजें हैं जो कि हमको मजदूर वर्ग से प्राप्त हो सकती हैं। लेकिन उनके उत्पाद का तो हम इलन कर रहे हैं और इसी वजह से हमें न तो जीवन में कोई आनन्द आता है और न किसी चीज को करने में आनन्द मिलता है। हमें यह काम पूरा करना चाहिए।

इसके अतिरिक्त मैं आपसे एक बात कह देना चाहता हूँ। आज हम समाज से बहुत

दूर हो गये हैं। चाहे हमारा यह सदन हो या हमारी सरकार हो हमारा जनता से सीधा ताल्लुक नहीं रह गया है। गांधी जी का जनता से सम्पर्क रहता था। आज हमारे पीढ़ित जवाहर लाल भी थोड़ी बहुत जनता की नब्ब पहचानते हैं। लेकिन जनता की क्या आकांक्षायें हैं और वह किधर जाना चाहती हैं यह हम नहीं देख पाते और इसीलिए इस बजट में उनके हित का कहीं जिक्र नहीं है। वे लोग, इस वक्त आप ऐसा कहें कि वह हमेशा ऐसे ही रहेंगे, जैसे आज तक रहते चले आये हैं, तो मैं कह दूँ कि ऐसी बात नहीं है। उनमें भी आज एक नई स्फूर्ति जागृत हुई है, वे एक बहुत बड़ी क्रान्ति के लिए आगे आ रहे हैं। गांधी जी का इस क्रान्ति के बारे में क्या ख्याल था? उनके अनुसार इस क्रान्ति का क्या स्वरूप होना चाहिए, यह उन्होंने बड़े स्पष्ट शब्दों में कहा था "समाजवाद बड़ी शुद्ध और पवित्र चीज है, इसलिए उसके पाने के साधन भी शुद्ध होने चाहियें। अपवित्र साधनों से मिलने वाली चीज भी अशुद्ध और अपवित्र ही होगी। इसलिए राजा को मार कर, राजा और प्रजा एक से नहीं बन सकेंगे। मालिक का सिर काट कर मजदूर मालिक नहीं हो सकेंगे। यही बात सब पर लागू की जा सकती है।" यह हीरजन में उन्होंने लिखा था। हम इसके पक्ष में नहीं हैं कि हमारे मुक्त में मारकाट हो। अगर खुन रूराभी रोकने की व्यवस्था की जा सकती है तो इस बात को ध्यान में रखते हुए की जा सकती है कि जिन्होंने आपके हाथ में शासन कार्य सौंपा है, जिन्होंने चुन कर आपको भेजा है, उनके हित का आप पहले ख्याल रखें और उससे १४७ या १६२ आदिमियों को कुछ नुकसान होता है तो हरगिज़ आप उसका ख्याल रख करिये क्योंकि उनके रहने से नुकसान ही होता है और वे हमारे समाज को बिगाड़ते ही हैं। इस दृष्टिकोण से अगर आज हम बजट के दस्तावेज में पाएँ कि इसमें वह सबसे बड़ी कमी रही है कि हमारा दृष्टिकोण बिल्कुल अलग है और बिल्कुल अलग दिक्कत का रहा है। ऐसे लोग जो हमारे देश के साधनों के प्रतिबन्ध लगाते हैं, वलाल वर्ग के हैं उनको

[डा० एस० एन० सिंह]

कायम रखने की कोशिश इस बजट में है और मैं इसीलिए सोचता हूँ कि यह बजट इस वक्त हमारे देश के लिए उपयोगी सिद्ध नहीं हो सकता है....

सभापति महोदय : आपका वक्त पूरा हो गया ।

डा० एस० एन० सिंह : मैं अपना भाषण अब समाप्त करूंगा । चूंकि हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय को कविता का बहुत शौक है, इसलिए एक तुकबंदी में, जो कुछ मैंने कहा है उसे स्पष्ट किये देता हूँ : वित्त मंत्री जी :

धीनियों से कर ले लो,

जितना भी संभव है ,

जमीन दिलाओ किसानों को,

और कारखाने मजदूरों को ।

उक होगा देश-मुख उज्ज्वल,

क्योंकि---सुखी होगी जनता विहल ॥

Shri R. S. Diwan (Osmanabad): The hon. Finance Minister deserves compliments for the progressive trend which has continued in respect of taxing people with higher incomes. But though you collect more taxes, you do not provide amenities. That is what I want to say in respect of the Budget.

We have promised to the Indian masses increased production, fuller employment and social justice, as three things for the Welfare State, of the socialistic pattern of society. There is no doubt about our increased production. We have become self-sufficient in respect of food, cloth and some other things which are necessary for our daily life. But this self-sufficiency alone cannot give full bread or sufficient bread to the agriculturist, to the common man. There is, no doubt, surplus food with us. But can he purchase the food which is in the market? We have got surplus production of cloth, but is it sufficient to clothe the common man, still half-naked, still half-starved? So what is the provision

for him to get sufficient food and sufficient clothing? To give him fuller employment, the hon. Minister has in his speeches in this House and in the other House laid stress upon cottage industries. The Minister of Commerce and Industry, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, also has in the last week spoken before Congressmen about his faith in cottage industries. He says that he is not against cottage industries. But I want to ask them, do they mean it? Have they faith in it? If at all they had faith in cottage industries, if at all they had faith that cottage industries alone are going to give fuller employment to the general masses of India, what have they done for them? They should have done two things. First, they should have found out industries for the agriculturists who are not fully employed in agriculture for the whole of the year. What is the vocation, what is the industry they should go in for in their leisure period, say about five or six months in the year? They have not given them anything. So you have to find out some such industries which can give employment to them in their leisure period.

Then there are small-scale and cottage industries.....

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Can the hon. Member suggest an industry for his own constituency? I will be very glad to get suggestions.

Shri R. S. Diwan: Well, that is the business of the technicians and the authorities.

Shri Sadhan Gupta (Calcutta South-East): Is that an invitation to every hon. Member?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Yes.

Shri R. S. Diwan: I am coming to that point. The cottage industry which can give fuller employment to the agriculturists today is only the *charkha*, and it has been found out by Mahatma Gandhi. If you produce the Amber *charkha* on a mass scale and give it to the agriculturist, he can find out a supplementary employment

to get sufficient bread. But I want to say that you are not sincere in your efforts for this purpose. If at all you were sincere in your efforts to give some employment to the agriculturists, you would not have kept on this kind of unfair competition between a big-scale industry, that is, the textile industry, and the handloom industry. Our friends on the other side requested you to decentralise the textile industry and other big-scale industries and provide the agriculturists with some sort of work. But competition between small-scale and big-scale industries is continuously going on simultaneously and thereby the small-scale industries suffer loss; at times, they never survive and even if they survive, they survive by doles in the form of subsidies which you give them, at the rate of three annas in the rupee or something like that. So what I mean is this, that if at all you are sure that cottage industries alone are going to give fuller employment to the people, you should be sincere in your efforts.

Then it is said by the Finance Minister in his speech that he could not get the magnitude of the problem of unemployment assessed. Well, there is the national sample survey. You could find out from statistics how many people are unemployed, in what parts, and in what society. All these things are to be known to the Government before they find out employment for the people. But may I ask the Government what they are doing in this respect for the last three or four years? They have simply established one organisation, the National Sample Survey. This National Sample Survey has got to work under the Indian Statistical Institute which is an autonomous body and which is not working under the Government. This National Sample Survey organisation collects data and passes them on to the Indian Statistical Institute. This Institute is not under the obligation to collect particular data nor has it been instructed

as to what kind of data should be collected nor has Government prescribed any rules that they want information regarding particular items, 1, 2, 3 and 4. This has not been done by our Government. It has not also been prescribed within what time the Survey should publish the data and statistics. You are finding out some statistical information for the sake of providing some work to people.

What is the actual problem of unemployment? If you find out the figures, say for the last six months you can find out some means to provide for that within the next six months. But if you get the figures for, say, three or four years before, what can you do with those stale figures and how can you tackle the problem? The figures might have changed and the problem of unemployment might have increased or decreased. You cannot depend on those stale figures. Therefore, for getting some correct reports you must have some sound organisation. If at all you have this organisation of the National Sample Survey, you must have a governmental organisation to prescribe the procedure and the method of work for that. You are giving funds to the Indian Statistical Institute. This Institute is in no way bound to give you the reports you want and give them within the time within which you want them. Besides that, you have no control over the accounts of this Institute. The accounts of the Indian Statistical Institute are not audited by Government. If you go on in this way, you will never get the figures which you want—the correct figures—and you will never tackle the problem of unemployment. What I would suggest in this case is that if at all the Government want to tackle this unemployment problem of the nation, they must find out ways and means to encourage the cottage industries, to see that there is no unfair competition between the small-scale and the

[Shri R. S. Diwan]

large-scale industries and, because people are judged by their actions, to show that you are prepared to remove disparity between the incomes of man and man. If you do that you will enthuse people. You said that you have removed the disparity between one government servant and another, between the lowest government servant and the highest paid government servant. But, what about the private sector which pays 100 times more? You are changing the Constitution. Why don't you change the Constitution to the effect that even in the private sector no person should be paid beyond a particular sum? You are authorised to do it but you don't do it.

Let Government see that apathy in the administration goes away. I see so many things here. Offices are created for persons. There are Directors and there are Superintendents. There is staff but they never work, they never do the work for which they have been appointed. They are idle. Their ideal is how to get a higher grade and in this competition for getting higher grades, I might tell you, agricultural graduates have been appointed as Superintendents of structures of Building Research Institute. This is the result of the competition that is going on in the administration. People who want to do something never get a chance because they have no godfathers in the administration and people who have them go to any extent—as I have just now pointed out.

Shri Mohanlal Saksena (Lucknow, Distt. cum Bara Banki Distt): May I inform him that he is not an agriculturist, but he is an Irrigation Engineer?

Shri R. S. Diwan: Whatever it might be, part of it you have admitted.

If Government takes my suggestions into consideration, the masses will be benefited.

Shri Punnoose (Alleppey): I would be satisfied by making certain observations about certain general features or broad aspects of the Budget. In the last two days, we have been listening to the discussion in this House. Many Members on the other side have begun their speeches with presenting bouquets to the Finance Minister but they have not stopped with presenting bouquets. If you go through the speeches, the impression gathered is that there is a strong critical note in their speeches. I do not know what impression the Finance Minister has.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: The same.

Shri Punnoose: Not only in this House but in the country at large there is a strong note of criticism about this Budget. What has it been due to? I believe people have looked into this Budget to see something of the Plan. Some people have looked into it to see whether there are the beginnings of the socialistic pattern of society. The Finance Minister wants us to look elsewhere for the Plan.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Elsewhere for the pattern and not the Plan.

Shri Punnoose: If the pattern is something real, something concrete, it should be there in the Budget, the Budget being the instrument to implement the Plan itself. People would naturally look into it to see the beginnings of that implementation. Nobody expects the whole Plan to be there in the Budget. We have to examine what steps have been taken to implement the Plan. I am prepared to concede that there are many bright spots in the Budget. I am prepared to say that the Finance Minis-

ter is not guilty of minor mistakes. His mistakes are major, more fundamental. I would like to point out some of them as I see them.

2 P.M.

While examining the Budget, I would like to see how the revenues are derived, from which sections of the people they have been derived, what is the effect of these various taxes on the various classes and how these funds are being distributed, and what is the net result of it. I believe we have to look at the Budget from that standpoint. In a country like India where the purchasing capacity or purchasing power of the people is very low, I believe, we have to be definite about certain things. I do not know how far the Finance Minister will agree with me, but I believe that the revenue that can be derived from the people by way of taxation, direct or indirect, has very serious limitations. In a country like India where the purchasing power is so low that the majority of the people have to spend nearly 70 per cent. of their income on food and clothing alone, I believe the revenue that can be collected from the people in the way of taxation, etc., can be only small; any way, it cannot answer the very big national requirements. There are working class sections where the percentage of income that has to be spent on food and clothing is much higher than 70 per cent. Naturally, in a country like India, we have to explore other sources. What would be the other sources? I believe that the Government of India should be able to come into the general picture of industry and trade in a more effective way. The State sector has to be broadened and strengthened. I do understand that the Finance Minister is claiming that he is trying to own and have a controlling interest of strategic industries. I do not oppose that. I want the Government of India to come in such a way as to make revenue collections. It should be a source of revenue for

the Government because the requirements of nation-building demand it. Thus, money can be raised without imposing additional burdens on the people. For example, we have got our railways. Whatever criticism there might be, they are a source of revenue as well as a source of service to the people. I can point out other things. For example, take our big plantations. We do not take over the plantations simply to oust the owner, whether Indian or foreign. By taking over certain plantations, we can develop them. If Government take over the rubber plantations, then by re-planting it with better plants, the yield of rubber can be trebled in 7 or 8 years or at the most 10 years.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Compensation?

Shri Punnoose: I am coming to that. The Finance Minister is more worried about compensation than anything else. The Prime Minister was telling the other day that we are not against compensation and we will not get away like that. We will have to pay compensation when we take over anything. There are several ways of dealing with that question and the Finance Minister is clever enough to do it. It must be done in a way which is profitable to the country. You can have consultations with the other Governments; you can negotiate with the parties concerned and you can make settlements in such a way that it is profitable to our people and to our country. I do not want expropriation now and here. What I want is that the Government should take over certain industries with a view to increase the revenue of the Government. In the same way there is trade, both internal and foreign. Especially, the foreign trade is a very profitable proposition for the Government. These are highly advantageous to the people. Take, for example tea or jute or pepper. Our tea has got a market, but our

[Shri Punnoose]

tea market is not in Calcutta but in London. Suppose the Government is able to take it over, it would mean that we would get the best prices for our tea. The Finance Minister knows much better than anybody the manoeuvrings that go on today between companies here and the sister companies there and how the Indian goods do not get their price. For example, there is pepper. If the Government can invest a few crores of rupees, it is not only a profitable proposition for the Government, but it can also do infinite good to the peasant, because there is a market for India's black pepper. Individual merchants and companies buy our stuff at the lowest price possible and put our peasant to all sorts of difficulties and India is deprived of her vast revenue.

There is another benefit in taking over the foreign trade. We can deal with all sorts of economy. The convulsions and depressions that take place in the economic situation or in the economy of various countries need not affect our trade as much as they do today. Also we can deal with countries with a planned economy. With individual merchants, or companies, whose only outlook is short-term profit, it may not be possible. I see in the papers that as much as Rs. 125 crores can be made by Government in this way, not in one, two or three years, but if a long-range policy is adopted, we can derive larger profits.

Then, there is deficit financing. Nobody finds faults with Government for this, but deficit financing must be accompanied by certain measures. Every economist would admit that there must be steps taken to mop up the additional purchasing power that settles down at certain points.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Immediately?

Shri Punnoose: In the way of excess profits tax, it must be done. For the

last four years the Finance Minister has been coming with his Budget proposals to tax the ordinary people. Though 1954 was a year of unprecedented profit and also boom in the stock exchange, the excess profits tax has not been proposed still. On the other hand, a rebate has been given. Lastly, for want of time, let me only say this. No plan in India can succeed if it is dependent only on financial resources. You have to depend on human resources and for that, there are a hundred and one ways which I think we can discuss and accept. The Finance Minister is depending only on financial resources and he is a sinner, an unrepentant sinner, as he holds fast to this and will not move.

Mr. Chairman: Before I allow Shri Jhunjunwala to begin his speech, let me request him to finish it within 12 minutes, which is the time that I have allowed for the last three or four speakers.

Shri Jhunjunwala (Bhagalpur Central): Though I am at a disadvantage because of the remark of the Speaker that we should not repeat the points, which other have made out I have one advantage that I was in a position to hear all the Parties—the Socialists, the Communists, the Independents, the Industrialists and the Ram Rajya Parishad—and now I know what they had to say on this Budget. After hearing all of them, I have no hesitation in saying that in the ultimate analysis of things they want the same thing what we want and I congratulate our Finance Minister for he is consistently, non-violently and democratically moving in the same direction, so far as the results is concerned, as all other Parties want.

Shri T. N. Singh (Banaras Distt—East): How do you say 'non-violent'?

Shri Jhunjhunwala: He is non-violent.

Even our industrialist friends say that they are prepared to follow the Government. Sir Homi Mody said—and he gave an offer at the last meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry—that they are prepared to go along with the Government, but the Government should see that they are not carried in an ambulance. So far as I am able to understand the Government, our Finance Minister and our Prime Minister, I can say that in case the industrialists decide to co-operate with the Government by changing their background, they should not simply accept what the Finance Minister and the Prime Minister say and do what they are required to do as a matter of compulsion; but they should understand, realise and cheerfully accept that it is in the interest of the country as well as in their larger interest to do so. If with that background, they proceed, and also with the determination, that they must themselves decide that they will no longer resort to any anti-social activities, and expose those amongst them who will, then they need have no fear of being carried in an ambulance but that they would be carried in a *Viman*. With these words, I have to congratulate again the Finance Minister.

The Finance Minister goes on doing his job unperturbed, without caring for the sloganistic criticisms. But then he keeps his mind open and listens to whatever constructive criticism anybody makes. On one point, he does not keep an open mind and I shall touch upon that point at the end of my speech.

As I have said earlier, I do not want to repeat what the other hon. Members have said. I shall simply point out and express my agreement with those points which had been pointed out by the other Members and say that

those things should be taken into consideration. Shri Asoka Mehta referred to the employment question and said that the housing problem is an important problem and if a housing scheme is taken in hand which can be done without much organisational difficulty and there is not much technicality involved in it then some employment can be given on that score. My hon. friend Dr. Krishnaswami had pointed out that if the Finance Minister wants to develop industries, it is not only the development rebate that will help, but that, so far as the income from Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 40,000 is concerned, Government should show some concession regarding the super-tax, so that those people can have some saving and invest the savings in industries and similar enterprises. The other point which Dr. Krishnaswami has pointed out was that there should not be an apparent discrimination. When a government servant goes to the Irwin Hospital, he can get all treatment free, while if anybody else has to go there, he has to pay Rs. 40 per day.

Shri Dhulekar (Jhansi Dist.—South): Including Members of Parliament.

Shri Jhunjhunwala: I don't know that. I have simply touched the points. I do not want to elaborate them.

The other thing which strikes me is the disparity regarding excise duty on cotton-textile, as it affects, and falls inequitably on the poor and the rich. In this connection I would suggest that it should be an *ad valorem* duty so that the rich man and the poor man alike may have to pay equitably.

Then there is the question of woollen fabrics. A ten per cent. duty has been levied on this item. But if this industry is examined, it will be found that this industry is running at a loss and the Government should see whether the industry can bear a ten per cent. duty on it, if the Government wants to develop the industry.

[Shri Jhunjhunwala.]

The last point which I said I would touch at the end is this: the Finance Minister has no open mind.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: And open ears.

Shri Jhunjhunwala: For my point neither. He sticks to his own methods and says that by 'this' he will be able to solve the unemployment problem. Though when he finds that even after trial of eight years, he has not only been not able to solve the problem but it is going the other way as though there has been greater flow of physical goods in the market, there has been no simultaneous flow of purchasing power among the people. Why is it so? He sticks to his method of large scale production. I want to lay stress on this point for the consideration of the Finance Minister, and I would request him to think over it. It is not because of any ism that I am putting forward my point of view. I do not follow any ism. Though the Finance Minister and Prime Minister always say that they are against any ism, I feel, Sir—I may be wrong—that they have become slaves to isms and what is that ism? That is 'Moneyism'. This keeps his mind closed to other method. That is why they will export anything for earning dollar, even the skin of good calves, good cattle and good cows and young cows at the risk and sacrifice of so much employment in the country. What for? For earning dollars. They will not take to Prohibition as this will touch their pocket. They have taken to this pattern of economy, this economic set-up. This is entirely a western economic set-up. Within such a limited time of 12 minutes which is almost over, I cannot elaborate it in my own way. I shall refer to Acharya. Kriplani's speech. From what I have understood the word 'Independence' had a different meaning before 1920 and after 1920. Before 1920, it was vaguely conceived that by 'Independence' we meant only to take up power to have a change in the personnel of those who were sitting on the Treasury Benches. But in 1920 and after 1920,

after a thorough study by going into the villages and preaching—the preachings which we heard from the Father of the Nation—we learnt that Gandhiji did not mean a change in the personnel on the Treasury Benches but a change in the background of those who would be sitting on the Treasury Benches. That background was to see that the masses of the people not only had bread and butter and cloth but that they had all round improvement. That is possible only when they have economic Independence. Now it is the western philosophy that they want to develop. But life cannot be divided and developed into different compartments separately. If you develop only one compartment of life that is material compartment, if you just only care for bread, butter and clothing, and lose sight of moral, social and other developments, that is no development. That cannot bring about the peaceful co-existence which we have been thinking of. It is by the simultaneous development of all compartments of life as a whole that we shall be able to bring about peaceful co-existence in the country. The independence that we conceived of was not only for India, but for giving a message to the world of non-violence, fearlessness and peaceful co-existence. We are proud that we have been able to give this message to the world and the world also recognises it. But in order that we can keep up to it, in the words of our Prime Minister, the backbone of our masses, the backbone of our people, must be strong enough, morally, materially, socially and spiritually, to keep to it and show to the world at large that it is only by these methods that there could be peaceful co-existence.

Shri M.S. Gurupadaswamy (Mysore): Within the short time at my disposal, I will not be able to make all my points, but I will try, as far as possible to lay stress on a few important points which I want to raise on this occasion. This Budget is the final Budget of the Five Year Plan and we

are in the last lap of the Five Year Plan period. It is, therefore, very necessary to take the whole picture of the Five Year Plan and assess its achievements.

What are the achievements of the Five Year Plan? What are the achievements of the economic policy of the Government? The achievements may be enumerated in a few phrases: price depression, unemployment, under-employment, dislocation of small scale industries and low purchasing power of the masses. These are the achievements of Government's economic policy; these are the fruits of the Five Year Plan; these are the results of the economic development of the last five years.

The Finance Minister gloated over the fact that there has been over-fulfilment of the target in certain sectors of our economy. True: there is over-fulfilment of the target in certain sectors of our economy. There is marked increase in production, but at the same time, Sir, may I point out that this marked increase in food production has led to accumulation of stocks and a precipitous fall in food prices and the prices of other agricultural commodities? Then again, this increase in food production this year was not due to the Five Year Plan or the special efforts of the Finance Minister. He must bear in mind that this was mostly due to the favourable seasonal factors and also because of the low purchasing power of the people that they are not able to purchase the food grains even at reasonable prices. Now, what has happened? Government have not taken steps to fix either the ceiling or the floor price of the agricultural commodities. My hon. friend Mr. Asoka Mehta yesterday pointed out that the support that is being given now by Government is a notional support: the price policy that has been announced in regard to certain commodities is not real support and Government is lagging in planning price control. Sir, Government should take more permanent measures if they want to stabilise prices at a reasonable level, if they want to see that our economy is not jeopardised. I would

suggest that, as far as possible, Government should try to fix up the ceiling price and the floor price of all the important commodities. In the meanwhile, they may also think of the possibility of having physical control of certain commodities. The Taxation Enquiry Commission has pointed out that there are certain important commodities which should be taken over for trading purposes by Government and it is high time that Government stepped in to regulate the movements and prices of certain commodities.

Next I come to the problem of unemployment. A lot of things have been said about unemployment. In this connection I have only to point out that if Government makes up its mind, if it is very serious, it should invite all the people who are on the pavements, beggars, vagabonds, thieves and so many people who are going about without employment, without work, and promise them food and shelter free, if they are prepared to work. Why can't they build up a land army? Why can't they build up a body for the purpose of working in certain community project areas or river valley schemes? Sir, we have been told that there has been accumulation of rice stocks. Why can't this rice stock be used for this purpose? If you guarantee free food and shelter people in thousands and millions are prepared to work freely without expecting any return. Only assure this and then you will be able to fulfil your Five Year Plan target. So long as people suffer, so long as they are turned out from their employment, your Five Year Plans have no meaning.

Today instead of increase in employment, we have been hearing of retrenchment; we have been told that the number of unemployment has been fast increasing. Yesterday, my hon. friend Mr. Asoka Mehta, pointed out that there is a steep fall in employment figures. This should have caused serious concern to Government. But unfortunately the Government is very complacent in this matter.

Sir lastly,.....

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member can go on till 2-33.

Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy: Sir, the Government has in this Budget tried to mislead the people in so many respects. I shall substantiate my statement by giving one or two instances. This Budget is nothing but a camouflage. It is only a shuttle-cock Budget. It does not carry the country any farther. Take the *per capita* income in the country. What is the level that we have achieved after two decades of economic development, at the end of the first Five Year Plan? The *per capita* income in 1929-30 was Rs. 200; in 1951 it was Rs. 264 2. Now it has not increased. What is the *per capita* increase in income? It has not been made clear to us. Is there any change in the sector of economy after so much of development? Has there been any effect on the structure of economy as a result of these various policies of development? Nothing has been done. The structure of economy is there as it was; it is in a static condition. It has not changed. I may quote a few figures to show that there is no appreciable alteration in the structure of our economy. In 1929-30, the people who were depending upon agriculture were about 71.2 per cent. Now, the people who are depending upon agriculture is 73 per cent. People depending upon industry were 16.3 per cent in 1930. Now, it has been reduced to 13 per cent. It is really amazing how the Finance Minister can claim to justify his stand that we are progressing? What is the progress? The progress should be measured in terms of net gains in physical things to the people. What is the effect of these policies on the wage level? What is the effect of all these development plans on the standard of living of the people? Nothing. When we talk in absolute terms, the wage level of the factory labour is not altered. If you compare the figures of the present day with the figures in 1929-30, which was a period of depression, there is no alteration. In spite of the Five Year Plan, what is it that we have achieved? In spite of the 20 years of development, what is it that we have achieved? I must

say that this budget is very gloomy budget. We have achieved nothing in spite of the fact that we have been spending two thousand crores of rupees. It is very unfortunate. I expected that the Minister would bring forward more concrete proposals. I may state this for his consideration. We have been telling here that the most significant factor which has been responsible for the fluctuation in prices is the speculative element, and that it is due to the operation of middlemen. What has the Government done so far to control the profit margins of these people? Has he able to fix the profit margins of the wholesalers and retailers? He could have done that. It would not have been impossible. Even today, if you want to mop up the extra profits and keep the prices of essential commodities at a reasonable level, you have to fix the profit margins both of the wholesalers and retailers and also undertaken co-operative marketing as far as possible and also state trading in certain goods. Unfortunately, Government has not done that. I say therefore that this budget is only a camouflage. We cannot expect this boom in food and in certain other commodities to continue for ever. They are not due to special efforts by the Government. Unfortunately, the government machinery and the people who are working in the Planning Commission take credit for everything, that is good, though the reasons are different.

I may end by saying that the Finance Minister should import more socialistic conceptions into his economy. Socialist forces should be let loose into his economy. Unless that is done, there is no hope and mere talk of socialistic pattern without meaning and without working for it would be useless and this socialistic pattern cannot keep the people in hope for a long time. They want concrete results and concrete proposals to come from the Government. Unless the whole budget is based on a socialistic pattern, unless the classes in our society are reduced, to a minimum, unless class tension is reduced, there is no hope. We want a society

of equals. We want a republic of equals. We do not want a society of unequals. Government should take steps to bring this society of equals by reducing the disparity of income and disparity in the distribution of wealth. I appeal to him that he must radically change his opinion about his policy. Let him not think that the approach that he has so far made has worked. It has not worked. He must take into consideration the opinions that we have expressed on this side and adjust his policy accordingly

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS
TWENTY-THIRD REPORT

Shri Altekar: (North Satara): I beg to move:

"That this House agrees with the Twenty-third Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 16th March, 1955."

This report is in connection with the classification of two Bills and that classification is given in Appendix I. The allotment of time for certain other Bills that would come up in due course, is stated in Appendix II.

I commend the report for the acceptance of the House.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That this House agrees with the Twenty-third Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 16th March, 1955."

The Motion was adopted.

INDIAN TRADE UNIONS
(AMENDMENT) BILL

(Insertion of new section 15A)

Mr. Chairman: The House will now resume further discussion of the motion for consideration of the Indian Trade Unions (Amendment) Bill moved by Shri Nambiar.

Out of the total time of 2½ hours allotted for the discussion of this Bill, 35 minutes were taken up on 4th March, 1955. The balance of time left for its further discussion is 1 hour and 35 minutes. The Mover and one Member have already spoken and concluded their speeches. Shri T. B. Vittal Rao had not concluded his speech on 4th March 1955, when the House adjourned for the day. Shri T. B. Vittal Rao will now continue his speech.

Shri T. B. Vittal Rao: (Khammam): Last time, I was referring to the formation of the Central trade union organisation. I would not have referred to it but for the fact that Shri Venkataraman referred to it. Now, I would take up this question of recognition of the unions. There have been many strikes in the past and there will be many strikes in the future also. In 1950 I remember the textile workers of Bombay, numbering about 240,000 were on strike. Their only demand was that their union should be recognised. The Government had recognised another union. I am not telling whether it is the I.N.T.U.C. or the H.M.S. or any other union. I am saying that the 58 day-old historic strike in 1950 was on that question of recognition. Nearly 85 or 90 per cent of the workers were involved in that strike. A thousand workers were arrested, firing was resorted to and 12 were shot dead. But, yet, even though the representative character of that organisation was proved beyond doubt, recognition was not granted.

I come now to another union under the railways. The National Federation of Indian Railwaymen is recognised by the Government and the Railway Board. No other union can be recognised unless and until it is affiliated to the National Federation of the Indian Railwaymen. It is very good that we should have only one union and we should strive for that end of one industry—one union'. In the present context when the workers are organised in different trade unions with different ideologies, you say that unless you affiliate yourself to the National Federation of Railwaymen, you cannot get recognition.