

ESTIMATES COMMITTEE

TWENTY-THIRD REPORT

श्री बी० जी० मेहता (गोहिलवाड) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं १९५६-५७ के लिये एस्टिमेट समिति की रेल्वे बजट सम्बन्धी तेईसवी रिपोर्ट पेश करता हूँ।

COMMITTEE ON THE ABSENCE
OF MEMBERS FROM THE
SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE

THIRTEENTH REPORT

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

I also lay on the Table a list showing names of Members who were continuously absent from the sittings of the House for 15 days or more during the Eleventh Session, 1955.

COMMITTEE ON PETITIONS

EIGHTH REPORT

Dr. Rama Rao (Kakinada) : I beg to present the Eighth Report of the Committee on Petitions.

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL
DISCUSSION.—Concl'd.

Mr. Speaker : The House will now resume General Discussion on the General Budget. Out of 20 hours allotted for the general discussion, 17 hours and 40 minutes have been availed of till yesterday, the 15th March, 1956 and 2 hours and 20 minutes now remain.

How much time will the Finance Minister require to reply ?

The Minister of Revenue and Civil Expenditure (Shri M. C. Shah) : He will require 70 to 75 minutes to reply.

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha) : If the Finance Minister is called upon to reply at say, 10 minutes to 2, he can go on till

3 o'clock. Non-official business may start at 3. If the time is extended by half an hour or 45 minutes, we should agree to it.

Mr. Speaker : So, we will go on with official business till 3 o'clock. We do not want any other official work after the Budget discussion. We have an hour more. The Finance Minister will start at 10 minutes to two. Non-official work will start at 3 o'clock.

Shri R. K. Gupta will continue his speech.

श्री आर० के० गुप्त (महेन्द्रगढ़) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, जैसा मैं कल कह रहा था, सब से बड़ी जरूरत आज यह है कि आमदनीयों के अन्दर जो आज बड़ा भारी अन्तर है उस को कम किया जाय। इसके लिये मेरी तजवीज यह है कि जो बड़े बड़े अफसरों की तन्स्वाहें हैं वह कम कर दी जायें। दस, पन्द्रह साल पहले जब हम गांवों में जाया करते थे तो कहा करते थे कि कांग्रेस राज्य की, जनता के राज्य की सबसे पहली बरकत यह होगी कि बड़े बड़े अफसरों की तन्स्वाहें भी पांच सौ रुपये से ज्यादा नहीं होगी। मैं मानता हूँ कि आजकल के हालात के मुताबिक पांच सौ रुपया बहुत कम है, लेकिन मेरी राय में दो हजार रुपये से ज्यादा किसी की भी तन्स्वाह आज कल नहीं होनी चाहिए।

इसी तरह से मेरी राय यह है कि फिल्म इन्डस्ट्रीज को भी नेशनलाइज किया जाय क्योंकि उससे बहुत ज्यादा फायदा होता है और वह इनकम चन्द बहुत बड़े बड़े आदमियों के हाथों में ही जाती है।

मेरी यह भी राय है कि पेट्रोल को स्टेट ट्रैडिंग में ले लिया जाय और सीमेन्ट के प्रोडक्शन को नेशनलाइज कर दिया जाय। लेकिन खाली नेशनलाइजेशन से ही काम नहीं चलेगा। सब से ज्यादा जरूरत इस बात की है कि इस नेशनलाइज्ड बिजनेस को कंट्रोल कैसे किया जाय। पिछले दिनों एयरलाइन्स कारपोरेशन बनाया गया और उसको नेशनलाइज किया गया। लेकिन जिस रोज से उस का नेशनलाइजेशन हुआ है, उस में बराबर घाटा ही घाटा होता जा रहा है। इस लिये अगर इन तमाम नेशनलाइज्ड बिजनेसों को अच्छी तरह से कंट्रोल नहीं किया गया तो उन में बहुत फायदा नहीं हो सकता।

जहाँ तक स्माल सर्विस् स्कीम का सम्बन्ध है, वह बहुत अच्छी स्कीम है। कांग्रेस बकिंग कमेटी ने भी अमृतसर में इस विषय में एक प्रस्ताव पास कर के तमाम देश की रहनुमाई की है। क्या अच्छा हो कि दूसरी पार्टियाँ भी अपने डिफरन्सेज को भुला कर कम से कम इस कंस्ट्रिक्टिव काम में एक हो कर कांग्रेस का साथ दें। अगर यह चीज हो जाय तो हम ५०० करोड़ नहीं बल्कि इस से ज्यादा रुपया पांच साल के अन्दर इकट्ठा कर सकते हैं।

जहाँ तक नये टैक्सेज लगाने का सवाल है, मेरी राय यह है कि नये टैक्स लगाते वक्त सब से पहला उसूल यह होना चाहिये कि उस से आमदनी तो ज्यादा से ज्यादा हो लेकिन गरीब लोगों पर उसका भार कम से कम हो। मुझे यह बात कहनी पड़ती है कि जो नये टैक्स इस साल लगाये गये हैं उन में इस तरफ कम ध्यान दिया गया है। उदाहरण के तौर पर डीजल आयल पर जो चार आठ फी गैलन का टैक्स लगाया गया है उस का तमाम बोझ हिन्दुस्तान के गरीब किसानों पर पड़ेगा और खास कर उन स्टेट्स के अन्दर तो और भी ज्यादा मुश्किल हो जायेगी जहाँ पहले से ही चार आठ फी गैलन टैक्स लगा हुआ है। इस लिये इस टैक्स को जरूर कम किया जाना चाहिये।

इसी तरह इन्फीरियर तम्बाकू पर जो ३६ रु० मन के करीब टैक्स लगा हुआ है वह बहुत ज्यादा है। आज कल बजार में तम्बाकू का भाव तकरीबन ४४, ४५ रु० फी मन है। ३६ रु० फी मन टैक्स देने के बाद गरीब किसान के पास सिर्फ १० या ११ रु० फी मन बच जायेगा। अगर कोई किसान दस मन तम्बाकू की काश्त साल में करता है तो वह मुश्किल से १०० या १५० रु० पैदा कर सकता है। इस लिये मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से अपील करूंगा कि इस टैक्स को भी कम किया जाय।

मैं यह भी देखता हूँ कि जितने टैक्स लगाये गये हैं उन से जितनी आमदनी होनी चाहिये, उतनी नहीं होती। तमाम रक्कम सरकारी खजानों में नहीं जाती। दरअसल होता यह है कि बड़े बड़े सरमायदार और कारखानेदार इनकम टैक्स अफसरों से मिल कर इस के अन्दर गोलमाल करते हैं। इस लिये इस चीज को कंट्रोल करने के लिये सब से ज्यादा कोशिश की जरूरत है। बोग टैक्स देने के लिये तैयार हैं अगर उन्हें यह

यकीन हो जाय कि हम से जो रुपया लिया जा रहा है वह हमारी भलाई के लिये खर्च होगा। लेकिन होता क्या है? तमाम रुपया बड़े बड़े अफसरों की जेबों में चला जाता है और बड़े बड़े साहूकार और कारखानेदार टैक्स देने से बच जाते हैं। इस लिये मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से अपील करूंगा कि वह कोई ऐसा उपाय करें जिस से तमाम टैक्सेज की आमदनी सरकार के खजाने में आवे। साथ ही साथ जो लोग इस किस्म के काम करते हैं जिन से सरकार को नुकसान होता है उनको सजायें दी जायें।

जहाँ तक सेकेण्ड फाइव इयर प्लैन का सवाल है उस के बारे में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि उसको कामयाब बनाने के लिये एक फिजिकल प्लैन बनाना चाहिये। मैं मानता हूँ कि हमारे पास सरमाये की कमी है लेकिन सरमाया ही सिर्फ जरूरी चीज नहीं है। कौम को मजबूत बनाने के लिये सबसे ज्यादा जरूरत होसले और मेहनत की है। इस लिये अगर कोई फिजिकल प्लैन बनाई जाती तो यह मसला काफी हद तक हल हो सकता था। आज हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर करीब ३६ करोड़ की आबादी है। अगर कोई प्रोग्राम इस तरह का बनाया जाता कि इस प्लैन को कामयाब बनाने के लिये हर आदमी एक दिन में एक घंटा कंट्रिब्यूट करे तो भी स्कीम को हम अच्छी तरह से कामयाबी के साथ चला सकते हैं। लेकिन इस के लिये प्लैनिंग की जरूरत है। जो हमारी दो सौ साल की पुरानी मैशीनरी है वह इस काम को नहीं चला सकती। इस को चलाने के लिये मेरी राय में सब से अच्छी चीज यह है कि हर डिस्ट्रिक्ट के अन्दर, हर जिले के अन्दर एक डेवलपमेंट कमेटी बनाई जाय और जो वहाँ का एम० पी० हो वह उसका चेयरमैन इन्चार्ज हो। आजकल जितना भी रुपया पब्लिक डिवेलपमेंट के लिए दिया जाता है उस में से आधे से ज्यादा फिजूल खर्चों में चला जाता है। आपको मैं एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। हमारे यहाँ पेप्सू को सड़कें बनाने के लिए तकरीबन १ करोड़ रुपया दिया गया था। उसमें से आधा रुपया भी खर्च नहीं हुआ। इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि काम पूरा नहीं होता और जितना रुपया बच रहता है वह लैप्स हो जाता है। इस लिये मेरी यह राय है कि इस किस्म के कामों को पूरा करने के लिए पब्लिक के जो नुमाइंदे हैं उनको इनके साथ एसोसिएट किया जाए। जब तक आप ऐसा नहीं करते हैं आपका काम अच्छी तरह नहीं चल सकता। इस वास्ते मेरी माननीय वित्त

[श्री आर० के० गुप्त]

मंत्री जो से प्रार्थना है कि वह पब्लिक के नुमाइंदों को इन कामों के साथ वाबस्ता करें।

आखिरी तजवीज मुझे अपनी कंस्टीट्यूएंसि के बारे में करनी है। जिस इलाके से मैं चुन कर आया हूँ वह सब से ज्यादा बैकवर्ड और निग्लेक्टिड एरिया है। उसके बैकवर्ड होने का कारण यह है कि सन् १८५७ के गदर में मेरी कंस्टीट्यूएंसि के लोगों ने नवाब छज्जर के मातहत आजादी की पहली लड़ाई लड़ी थी और उस में एक नुमांया हिस्सा लिया था। नवाब की गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया और दिल्ली के चान्दनी चौक बाज़ार में उसको फांसी दे दी गई। उसके बाद हमारी रियासत जो काफी बड़ी रियासत थी, उसको पांच छः हिस्सों में बांट दिया गया और जिन राजाओं ने अंग्रेजों की मदद की थी, उनको दे दिया गया। यही वजह है कि उस इलाके की हालत सब से ज्यादा खराब है। मैं आपको यह भी बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ पर मिनरल रिसोर्सि की कमी नहीं, वहाँ पर मिनरल बहुत ज्यादा तादाद में और अच्छी किस्म की पाई जाती हैं। इस लिये मैं मंत्री महोदय से प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि उन लोगों की हालत सुधारने के लिए, उनका स्टैंडर्ड आफ लिविंग ऊँचा उठाने के लिए उस इलाके को इंडस्ट्रियलाइज किया जाय। मैं आपको चन्द इंडस्ट्रीज जो वहाँ पर कायम की जा सकती हैं, बतलाना चाहता हूँ। वहाँ पर आयरन और काफी मात्रा में मिलता है और आज से डेढ़ सौ साल पहले मिस्टर जॉन्स थे जो एक ज्योलोजिस्ट थे, उन्होंने उस इलाके को सर्वे किया था और बताया था कि उस इलाके में तकरीबन १५ १/२ मिलियन टन आयरन और मौजूद है और उसकी क्वालिटी भी बहुत अच्छी है। ८८ से लेकर ९० फीसदी तक उसमें प्योर आयरन पाया जाता है जबकि हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर कहीं भी ऐसा आयरन और नहीं पाया जाता जिसमें इतनी अधिक मात्रा में प्योर आयरन मिलता हो। इस के साथ ही साथ वहाँ संड ग्लास की कमी नहीं, चूने का पथर, स्लेट का पथर और मायल की भी वहाँ पर कोई कमी नहीं है। इस लिये मैं यह तजवीज करता हूँ कि वहाँ पर एक अच्छा सा आयरन प्लांट बगाने की कोशिश की जाय। लेबर भी वहाँ बहुत चीप है। अगर वहाँ पर कोई इस किस्म का कारखाना स्थापित किया गया तो यह अपनी किस्म का नारदन इंडिया में पहला होगा। मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि यह कारखाना कामयाब होगा।

इतना कह कर आखिर में मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से अपील करूंगा कि इस जिले की हालत को सुधारने के लिये, जिसको पिछले सौ डेढ़ सौ सालों से एक्स्प्लायट किया गया है, जरूर कोशिश की जाय ताकि वहाँ के लोगों का स्टैंडर्ड आफ लिविंग ऊँचा हो।

डा० एस० एन० सिंह (सारन-पूर्व) :

अध्यक्ष महोदय, आज जब मैं घर से चला तो मैं अपना बस्ता पोशा सब कुछ घर पर ही छोड़ आया यह सोचकर कि शायद ही बजट सम्बन्धी जपमंत्र में बोलने का मुझे अवसर प्राप्त हो। खैर, जैसे ही मैं ने हवाई गाड़ी वहाँ से छोड़ी एक गीत मुझे सुनाई दिया “चिन्तामन की गति न्यारी”। इसके आगे का जो पद है वह अगर आप मुझे क्षमा करें तो मैं वह भी दोहरा दूँ। वह यह है “मुख राजा राज करते हैं पंडित फिरत भिखारी”। पहले तो मुझे उस पर जो यह गीत गा रहा था बड़ा गुस्सा आया कि वह इस तरह से इस बजट पर टीका करता जा रहा है। राज भवत होने के नाते मैं बहुत बिगड़ा भी। मैंने यह भी सोचा कि उसका गला पकड़ कर दबा दूँ। पर फिर मैंने सोचा कि जा कर देखा जाए कि यह है कौन और क्यों ऐसी बातें कह रहा है। जब मैं उस के पास गया तो मैं ने देखा कि वह तो हमारे निर्वाचन क्षेत्र का आदमी है जिसका नाम है मौजीराम। १३ दरिया पार करके आया हुआ है इस दिल्ली नगरी को देखने के लिए। जब मैंने उससे बात की तो उसने मुझे कहा कि देखो आज तक तो बजट को आप दूसरी दृष्टि से देखते आये थे लेकिन इसको उस दृष्टि से न देखकर एक और दृष्टि से देखना चाहिए। मैंने कहा कि बताओ भाई वह दृष्टिकोण क्या है। उसने कहा देखो कांग्रेसी प्रसाद तुम्हारा सिर है सिर्फ गांधी टोपी रखने के लिए—बुद्धि रखने के लिए नहीं।

बाबू राम नारायण सिंह (हजारीबाग-पश्चिम) : हेयर, हेयर।

[SARDAR HUKAM SINGH in the Chair]

डा० एस० एन० सिंह : उन्होंने कहा “तुम समझते हो कि तुम इस बजट के मुताल्लिक जानते हो। भला बताओ तो यह बजट किस की ओलाद है”। मैंने कहा “कि भाई यह तो मुझे मालूम नहीं। उन्होंने कहा

कि मैं तुम्हें बताता हूँ। यह बजट मुंशी फोकर लाल और जनाब भोपट-अली की ओलाद है। मैंने कहा कि भाई यह तो बताओ कि यह दोनों कौन हैं और कहाँ रहते हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि "नार्थ ब्लाक और साऊथ ब्लाक में" दोनों पर उनका कब्ज़ा है। अंग्रेज जब यहाँ से गए तो अपना राज पाट उन्हीं के हाथों में सौंप गए और जब ईस्ट इंडिया कम्पनी यहाँ से गई तो उसने भी लोगों से कर लेने का जो हक था वह भी उनके हाथों में सौंप दिया। ईस्ट इंडिया कम्पनी वाले कई सौ प्रतिशत लोगों से कर लेते थे। आज के उनके वारिसों का ५० प्रतिशत तक नज़राना शुरू में ही लेना तो वाजिब है। उसके बाद जो रकम स्टेट को आती है उसका ६३ प्रतिशत तो उन्हें सिविल हेड के नाम से मिलना चाहिए। जितने सिविलियंज हैं उनके वेलफेयर की बात इस में रहती है। उन्होंने ६३ प्रतिशत क्यों रखा इसका कुछ पता नहीं। हो सकता है कि शायद उनकी ६३ बरस की उम्र हो।

मौजीराम जब यह कह रहे थे तो मैंने कहा कि भाई यह तो तुम बहुत अजीब सी बात बताते हो। उन्होंने कहा "नहीं, इसमें अजीब कुछ भी नहीं है। तुम यह जानते हो कि यह जो वर्ग है किरानियों का यह अंग्रेजों के बहुत से नए पनपाये हुए वर्गों में से एक है और आज वर्ग युद्ध जो चल रहा है वह इसके खिलाफ चल रहा है।" उन्होंने कहा कि हम लोग आप कांग्रेसियों के खिलाफ नहीं हैं हम तो किरानियों के खिलाफ हैं। इसकी वजह यह है कि उनको एक वरदान मिला हुआ है : भूकं करोति वाचालं। हमेशा यह कागज से काम लेते हैं। सब कुछ कागजी होता है। यह बजट जो तैयार किया गया है यह भी कागजी है। कई करोड़ का खर्चा दिखाया जाता है। इसके कई विभाग हैं। और अब मैं तुम्हें कुछ विभागों में ले चलता हूँ। वहाँ चल कर देखो कि क्या हो रहा है। मैंने कहा अच्छी बात है, चलो। मैंने गाड़ी घुमाई लेकिन उन्होंने कहा कि दूर जाने की जरूरत नहीं है, यहाँ से ही देखो, विद्यादेवी वहाँ पर है। वहाँ जो हज़रत किरानी बैठे हुए हैं उन्हें आजकल सब से बड़ा गुस्सा इस बात का है कि ये हिन्दी वाले नागरी अंकों का व्यवहार कर सख्त हिमाकत करते हैं। इतने झगड़े के ऊपर ही ये किरानी इतना कागज खर्च कर रहे हैं कि कागजों की शायद कमी अनुभव की जा रही है। वह तो इस कमी को देखते हुए किताबों की छपाई को भी बन्द करना चाहते हैं। जब

उनको कागज न मिलेगा तो शायद वे रेल के डिब्बों पर लिखेंगे, स्टेशनों के बोर्ड भी वह प्रयोग में लायेंगे। यह सब कुछ जब हो चुकेगा तो उनका स्थान है कि शायद विद्यादेवी की ललाट के ऊपर वह लिखकर रखेंगे यह रोमन अंक। इन बातों को सुनकर विद्यादेवी अचेत हो गई हैं।" उन्होंने कहा, छोड़ो इस विभाग को अब चलो देश विदेश के विभाग को देखो।

"देखो ! इस विभाग की एक बड़ी तारीफ यह है कि इस विभाग में जो लोग हैं वे किरानियों के वर्ग में से चुने हुए हैं और इस वर्ग में जो वीरवान लोग हैं वे ही इसमें हिस्सा लेते हैं। उन्हें बुद्धि कम अजीर्ण रहना और इतिहास के अध्ययन की अपेक्षा रहना स्वाभाविक है। यह जो अजीर्णता है वह शायद उनकी बुद्धि की प्रसरता की निशानी समझी जाती है। इनमें से ही विदेशों में लोग हमारे देश का प्रतिनिधित्व करने के लिए भेजे जाते हैं। एकने अपने मुल्क में खत भेजा और लिखा कि मैं जिस साढ़े तीन टांग और दो हाइड्रोजन इंजन की कुर्सी पर बैठा हूँ वहाँ से ही सब फरमान निकालता हूँ। यह कोई बड़ी बात नहीं है। इसे कोई भी कर सकता है। एक बार उनकी मुलाकात हुई एक बहुत बड़े संस्कृत ज्ञाता के साथ। उस संस्कृत ज्ञाता ने कहा कि आपका देश बड़ी उन्नति कर रहा है, और यह जो अशोक का काल हुआ है वह सारे इतिहास में ऐसा काल हुआ है कि मानव कल्याण का उससे बढ़िया और कोई काल नहीं हुआ। जो हमारे वीरवान थे उन्होंने कहा कि आपको मालूम रहे कि अशोक की बतबदीली हो गयी है। वह तो पेरिस से दिल्ली चला गया है। बताइये कि इन से कौन वाजी ले जा सकता है ? क्या अक्ल है और क्या इतिहास का ज्ञान है ? शायद उन्होंने यह ज्ञान आक्सफोर्ड या कैम्ब्रिज में सीखा होगा।

एक माननीय सदस्य : वह कौन है ?

डा० एस० एन० सिंह : वह आपको यूरोप में मिलेंगे। लेकिन आप उनको जानते हैं यह मैं आपको विश्वास दिलाता हूँ। इस तरह के वीरवान चुने गये हैं और इस तरह से वे अपना काम चला रहे हैं। लेकिन हम उनकी व्याख्या नहीं करते।

हमारे मौजी राम ने कहा कि भाई यह बातें तो हमने तुमको दो विभागों की बतला दीं। लेकिन अभी तुमको बहुत काम है। तो फिर मैंने गाड़ी चलायी तो लोक सभा के दरवाजे पर आयी।

सभापति महोदय : क्या माननीय डाक्टर साहब को यह पता है कि १५ मिनट का ही वक्त है ?

डा० लंका सुंदरम् : माननीय सदस्य अब लोक सभा तक तो पहुँच गये ।

डा० एस० एन० सिंह : जब मैं लोक सभा के दरवाजे पर पहुँचा तो मैं ने कहा कि भाई आज तो यहां बजट का सवाल है । अभी चेयरमैन साहब ने भी यही बतलाया है । मैं ने सोचा कि बजट में किस किस चीज की चर्चा होगी । यहां कपड़े की बात चलेगी, साबुन की बात चलेगी और तीसरी तेल की बात चलेगी । मैं ने कहा भाई यहां तो इन तीन चीजों की चर्चा चलेगी । उन्होंने कहा कि भाई यह तो घर्म क्षेत्र कुरुक्षेत्र के समय से झगड़ा चला आ रहा है । एक और समय लोक सभा के सदस्य बैठे थे । उनके सामने सुझाव था कि जितने लोक सभा के सदस्य दिल्ली आंवे वे एक एक गज की चोटी या दाढ़ी रखें । इस पर सबसे पहले गोपालन साहब ने एतराज किया कि यह कैसे हो सकता है । सोवियट यूनियन की स्थापना हुए ३८ साल हो गये हैं, इसलिए यह ३८ इंच की होनी चाहिए । उसके बाद हमारे मेहता साहब ने कहा कि नहीं उसकी हो सकती । समाजवादी दल की स्थापना १९३३ साल में हुई है इसलिए इसको ३३ इंच से एक इंच भी ज्यादा नहीं होना चाहिए । फिर हमारे मोरे साहब अपना प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर ले कर आये और देशपांडे साहब आये और नंदलाल साहब आये । उन्होंने कहा कि अनर्थ हो गया । मैं यह कभी नहीं होने दूंगा । 'सूच्यग्रमपि न दास्यामि' यह वेदवाक्य है और उस पर सेठ गोविन्द दास जी का भाष्य भी हो चुका है और वह कहते हैं कि गौ की पूछ को नाप लिखा जाय और वह अगर ३५ इंच है तो इससे ज्यादा नहीं हो सकती । उनका कहना है कि इससे बड़ी चोटी और दाढ़ी नहीं रखनी चाहिए । जब यह सब व्याख्यान यहां चल रहे थे तो जो अधिकारी थे उन्होंने सोचा कि अच्छी बात है, किसी मारवाड़ी का घिसा हुआ गज लाओ । यह बात हमारे भगत जी ने सोची कि वह मारवाड़ी का गज साढ़े ३५ इंच का होगा । इससे मामला तै हो जायेगा । तो ठीक है वे बुद्धिमान लोगों की बातें हैं ।

लेकिन जिस वक्त हम लोक सभा में यह बात तय कर रहे थे उसी वक्त एक बड़े मुल्ला श्री डनेस साहब हमारे यहां पधारे और उन्होंने यह

फतवा देना शुरू किया और अज्ञान पढ़ कर कहना शुरू किया "काश्मीर आ, काश्मीर आ, काश्मीर आमीन और कबायलियों को उभारा कि चलो झेलम पर हमला करो" । जब यह सब मामला हुआ तो हमारे सुरक्षा विभाग ने कहा "वाह वाह हमला कैसे करेंगे" । ३७ पर सेंट हमने रख छोड़ा है पहले से । और अगर वे आवेंगे तो क्या हम स्वास्थ्य विभाग से कम हैं । उन्होंने नजफ गढ़ के गन्दे पानी के नाले पर यह चिट लगा दी है कि गन्दा पानी न आने पावे । हम भी अमृतसर से आये यह चिट लगा देंगे कि कबाइलियाँ तुम यहां से आगे कभी नहीं बढ़ने पाओगे : "सीटी" तुम कभी नहीं आगे बढ़ने पाओगे, अगर इधर बढ़ोगे तो तुमको "पीटी" बना दिया जायेगा । अब आप ही कहिये कि जब ऐसी चिट लगा दी जायेगी तो कौन घुसेगा । तो हमारा सुरक्षा विभाग भी किसी से कम नहीं है । वह भी तेजी से काम कर रहा है । वह कहता है कि और जरूरत पड़ेगी तो हम कागज से काम निकाल लेंगे । अब आप ही देखिये कि इस मामले में दुनिया में कौन हमारा सानी हो सकता है । हम किसी से पीछे नहीं हैं । सुरक्षा में पीछे नहीं हैं, स्वास्थ्य में हम किसी से पीछे नहीं हैं ।

मौजीराम अब तक सुना रहे थे । उन्होंने मुझे कहा कि तुम लोकसभा में जाकर सबसे पहले देशमुख जी को यह अच्छी सलाह देना कि यह जो नार्थ ब्लाक और साउथ ब्लाक में बहुत से किरानी गड़ बड़ कर रहे हैं और इनमें जो बहुत से आई० सी० एस० अफसर हैं इनके लिए एक अजायबघर बना दिया जाये और उसमें इनको रखा जाय तो बहुत अच्छा होगा । अगर वहां ये लोग बने रहेंगे तो देश को कुछ नुकसान तो नहीं पहुँचा सकेंगे ।

अब मैं यहां पर मौजीराम की बात खत्म करता हूँ चूंकि इसको हमारे गोपालन साहब और बहुत से विदेशी वाले नहीं समझ सकें होंगे और कुछ शब्द अंग्रेजी में कहे देता हूँ ।

This time the greatest danger that we find in our budget is that there is no elasticity about our defences. There is the great danger about Kashmir. We know what effect the Kashmir problem has had on our budgets during the last few years following the achievement of independence. We all know about it. Nobody knows what is going to happen again. I say that the capacity of the people to bear taxes has been strained to the utmost limit.

I do not find much of elasticity so far as our defences are concerned. I do not know what provisions will be made if the country is endangered to such a great extent, in the matter of this Kashmir problem, as a result of the stand that we have taken. The Soviets also have taken that stand. And from the floor of this House, I intended to convey our best wishes and also our best thanks to them in the Russian language itself: *Bolshoi Spasibo* (Heartly thanks).

I thank them for the stand that they have taken. It is not their stand which has been criticised, but it is our stand which has been criticised at the SEATO meeting at Karachi. It was not the stand of the Soviet Union which came in for criticism. They have only supported our stand, as you will find from the statements of Mr. Khrushchev and Marshal Bulganin.

I would like in this connection to read a small extract from the statement which Marshal Bulganin made at the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on 29th December 1955. He said :

“As for the Kashmir problem, it is one that has been created by states pursuing certain military and political objectives in this area. On the pretext of supporting Pakistan on the Kashmir question, certain countries have tried to entrench themselves in that part of India in order from there to threaten and exert pressure on the areas around Kashmir. Attempts have been made to wrest Kashmir artificially from India, to turn it into a foreign military base.

The people of Kashmir are resolutely opposed to this imperialist policy. The Kashmir question has already been settled by the people of Kashmir themselves. They regard themselves as being an integral part of the Republic of India and in the fraternal family of the Indian peoples are striving to build a new, independent India to fight for peace and the security of the peoples....

The Soviet Government supports India's policy on the Kashmir question, because it fully accords with the interests of strengthening peace in this area of Asia. We stated this when we were in Kashmir,

confirmed it at the press conference in Delhi on December 14, and we state it today.”.

That statement is valid even today.

This stand which Marshal Bulganin mentions is, of course, our stand. Let the SEATO powers learn geography once more. I read in the papers that some map was produced before them, but they have not learnt geography even today. The geography is that Kashmir is an integral part of India, and therefore they have no right to interfere in our internal matters. If the Soviets have supported our stand, then I intend to convey from the floor of this House our best thanks to them.

The SEATO powers say that whatever danger comes, will be directed against the Soviet Union. That is totally wrong. The Soviet Union and the people there are strong enough to take care of themselves. Last November, when I was at Tashkent, I saw what a fine military standard they have got. The military bases which are still being built in Pakistan by the SEATO powers can be smashed within a period of two or three hours : that is technically possible. So, they must take into consideration the military consequences also, when they—the Pakistan rulers—are thinking in military terms.

But still their *fatwas* go on, and statements by Mulla Dulles and others go on. They have stated that the Durand line is an international line. But our brave Afghan neighbours have taken a stand against this Durand line. And our budget also is concerned with that. This Durand line has never been recognised internationally, and it can never be recognised also. Only one imperialist power has recognised it but it is a line which the people of the free world have never accepted, and will never accept also.

So far as our budget is concerned, the Pakistan Prime Minister who happens to be the Defence Minister also has threatened us and said that Pakistan is spending 60 per cent. of her budget on defence, that they are getting help from here and there and that they would do this and that. Of course, we have no need to be panicky because what we are doing today is correct.

The best thing in the present year's Budget is that they are talking of the

[Dr. S. N. Sinha]

welfare of the country. If it is well established, then other things follow. It is Raja-Dharma, when Manu himself says :

यदा पृथुष्टा मन्येत सर्वास्तु प्रकृतीभूषम् ।
अत्युच्छ्रितं तथात्मानं तदा कुर्वीत विग्रहम् ॥

12 NOON

"When he finds—let the Finance Minister or the Prime Minister be here in place of the 'he'—when he finds his people and the army considerably happy, prosperous and full of spirit and himself the same, let him then declare war against the foe." So first comes welfare and afterwards war; let it be against the rich people or against anybody; I am not for class war today; perhaps, in the present circumstances, it is not necessary at all."

Shri V. V. Giri (Pathapatnam) : I congratulate the Finance Minister on the very valuable, instructive and informative Budget he has presented to Parliament. The very fact that there has not been carping criticism but a constructive one from all sides of the House proves that the Budget is not only a valuable one, but it contains valuable proposals.

We have laid great hopes on the Second Five Year Plan which emphasises and underlines the industrialisation of this great country of ours to the tune of crores of rupees. I would have very much appreciated if the hon. Minister had dealt with the part that one important section of the industry should play in making the Second Five Year Plan a success, I mean the workers in the industry, whom I have always styled as the dominant partners in industry. I am sure every one of us realises that without their co-operation the Second Five Year Plan would not be a success. Whether it is the public sector or the private sector or whether it is the private employer or a corporation or Government, they may put their money in the undertaking, but if the workers refuse to work, the industry will refuse to run. Therefore, it must be realised by the Government and by everyone that unless there is unstinted co-operation on the part of the workers, this plan will never succeed.

I would have very much appreciated if the Finance Minister had appealed to the partners of the industry for an industrial truce during the period of the

Plan, of course assuring the workers of not only their fundamental rights but of making them realise their duties, responsibilities and privileges. As in politics, good government is no substitute for self-government, so in the industrial system in regard to providing good conditions of work for the workers. In doing their work well, they desire not only the physical satisfaction that they are doing their duty as mere wage earners but they are doing their duty in the interest of the community at large. Therefore, the workers naturally desire a voice in the control of the industrial system. The time has come when everybody, specially the employers, must realise the hard fact that the workers are no longer hewers of wood and drawers of water and the oft-quoted theory of demand and supply in the matter of wages does not apply at the present moment. It is but necessary and desirable that every intelligent and shrewd employer should realise that he should take the representatives of the workers into his confidence in making them understand the various plans, the various points, the budget that the employers draws so that the workers may know the inner side of things. I can assure the employer that if he knows how to create good industrial relations, the workers will not only be glad to suggest ways and means of efficiently running the industry but they would also put forward only reasonable and just demands consistent with the economics of the industry.

Till recently, we have been talking of a socialistic pattern of society. In the course of a few months, we have advanced from the socialistic pattern to the socialist pattern. I do hope and trust that in the course of a few years, this socialist pattern will be relegated to the back benches and a socialist State will be established, which will guarantee every individual in our country his fundamental rights, the right to work, the right to live and all other social amenities which will give reasonable comfort from the womb to the grave. The time has come when, if we mean what we say, if we mean that ultimately we should have a socialist pattern and a socialist State, the public sector in time and under certain regulated conditions should absorb the private sector. The public sector should, therefore, set an example to the private sector in the matter of wage conditions and other conditions of life for the

workers. The Government must insist on a joint standing machinery in every industry; whether it is public or private, so that a real association of workers with the management may take place.

When the Railway Budget was discussed, I was rather very critical about the human touch on the part of the Railway Administration, I mean in the matter of industrial relations. I am glad to say that the Railway Minister, who has much of the milk of human kindness in him, took time by the forelock. I am glad to report that within a week of the Railway Budget discussion, there has been agreement between the two wings of railwaymen, and it augurs well for the future. I am sure the railwaymen will take it in the spirit in which it is given and the agreement will be implemented without 'ifs' and 'buts' and in all humility.

The Railway Minister promised last time and this time that he would try and see how he will be able to associate the workers' representatives with the management in some of the items of the industry. It is now for the Railway Ministry to see that the new Railwaymen's Federation, which will be very strong and united, comes into touch with the Railway Board and puts forward concrete proposals for making a real and effective way by which workers' representatives may be associated with the management.

Now, I come to the question of unemployment. Unemployment looms large in spite of the fact that the Government have made genuine efforts to diminish the pangs of unemployment. The demon of unemployment is still there. Socialist pattern, socialist government or socialist State will be mere moonshine unless we convince the unemployed in this country that that problem is actually and seriously attacked on all its fronts.

I would like to make a few constructive observations in this connection, not from the mere academic point of view but from the point of view of my own experience when I was the Minister of Industries, Labour and Co-operation in the Government of Madras headed by Rajaji in 1937-39. I do feel that while we shall have to attack simultaneously both the educated and the uneducated unemployment problem, I do feel—subject to correction—that the educated unemployment problem is a sizable one

and if we can take steps to see it re-deemed and tackled in a successful manner, that will indeed give great encouragement to the solution of the general unemployment problem. I do feel that we should start agricultural, industrial and vocational colonies in every part of the country,—I would like to suggest—in every district, in every taluk and, if possible, in every firka, wherein we can have land colonies extending over 1000 to 3000 acres where the educated unemployed can be called to work. In our country, as in every other country, there are not only unemployed but unemployable. Then we shall be able to distinguish who can be called unemployed and who can be called unemployable. What I did then was, I set up what was known as an unemployment fortnight during which I wanted every village munsif to let it be known that every educated unemployed should report himself—not exactly report himself to the village munsif—but report himself by signing a form and telling us exactly for how long he was unemployed, what employment he could do, what are his qualifications, what are his vocations and so on and so forth. I may tell you for your information that we had issued a lakh of such forms and about 40,000 reported themselves. But, unfortunately, we as Government reported ourselves out because we had resigned at that time. But, my feeling is there may be many unemployed who may not require employment. Therefore, I suggest that the Government should take measures to size out exactly the position of the educated unemployed and how many of them want employment and we must be in a position to assure them vocational training and assure them that they will get a bit of land if I may say so. I do not know whether it is correct if the Bhoodan movement is collecting lakhs and lakhs of acres of land—a few lakhs may be reserved for this purpose and these young men may be taught a vocation, may be given vocational training and may be given training in cottage industries; and most probably when that training is over they may be able to go to the nearest place in their State, take hold of a piece of land given by Government—and an Ambar Charka if you please—and then let them start some cottage industries. In that way we can put in some lakhs of these unemployed on their legs and they themselves would create employment in the rural areas as well. I, therefore, think

[Shri V. V. Giri]

that there must be some specific proposals which will create mass enthusiasm among the people of this country that Government is active and very sincere in tackling this problem. I must challenge every educated unemployed person to come and work, to come and learn and afterwards set to work.

These are some of the problems which must be tackled not in an academic manner but in a practical way. I would suggest colonies like that—if we could have one almost every hundred miles—at each place and challenge the unemployed to come and work; that is the just way and the best way to convince everybody that we mean tackling this problem.

I do not want to take more time and I thank you for the opportunity you have given me to express my views.

श्री ० टंडन (जिला इलाहाबाद—पश्चिम) : सभापति जी, सबसे पहले मैं अपने वित्त मंत्री जी को बधाई देता हूँ। इस रीति की बधाई नहीं जैसी हमारे बहुत से सहयोगियों ने दी है, परन्तु एक विशेष बात के लिये, और वह यह है कि उन्होंने पिछले वर्ष जो आश्वासन दिया था कि बजट के कुछ अंगों को वह हिन्दी में रखेंगे उस को उन्होंने अंगतः पूरा किया। परन्तु फिर भी कसर है। उन की अपेक्षा रेलवे मंत्री ने हिन्दी के अंक और हिन्दी के बजट में अधिक स्फूर्ति दिखाई। मैं जानता हूँ कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी के सामने कठिनाई है, उन के पास बहुत बड़ी बड़ी पुस्तकें हैं अंग्रेजी में, जिन को हिन्दी में करने की मेरी मांग थी। वह सब तो नहीं कर सके, परन्तु उन्होंने शंशतः किया, इस के लिये उन को मैं बधाई देता हूँ। मेरा सुझाव यही है कि अगले वर्ष जब वे आगे अपना बजट ले कर, तब उनका पूरा बजट हिन्दी में होना उचित है। यह कोई कठिन समस्या नहीं है। उत्तर प्रदेश का तो मुझे अनुभव है। वहाँ पूरा बजट अर्थात् बड़ी बड़ी पुस्तकें भी जो अंग्रेजी में पहले होती थी अब हिन्दी में ही आती हैं। वहाँ हिन्दी में उनका होना आवश्यक है, बाद में उनका अनुवाद अंग्रेजी में आता है। हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी भी वही क्रम यहाँ रखें, यह मेरा सुझाव है।

बजट के सम्बन्ध में मैं बहुत आनन्द और उत्साह के साथ कुछ नहीं कह सकता। यदि मैं यह कहूँ कि वह बहुत उन्नतशील है, तो वह मेरे हृदय की बात नहीं होगी। कारण यह है कि उन्नति की दिशाओं के देखने में भेद है।

है, उन्होंने देश के लिये बहुत सी नई नई संस्थाओं के बनाने के लिये ३१६ करोड़ रु० का पूंजीगत व्यय दिखाया है। परन्तु मेरे हृदय में तो टीस यह उठती है कि यह जो व्यय है, जिस के लाने में हमारे देश के ऊपर के स्तर के आदमियों से तो रुपया लिया ही जाता है, दीनों का भी इस भार में बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा है, उस में हमारे दीन लोगों के लिये, देहातों के लिये क्या व्यय निकाला गया है। मेरे हृदय में यह प्रश्न उठता है। व्यय तो है परन्तु उसे किस दृष्टिकोण से देखा जाय, इस का सवाल है। आख वही है पर चितवन में भेद है। इस बजट में व्यय बहुत करने की बात है परन्तु इसकी चितवन साहरी है, देहात की ओर नहीं है। देहातों में मकान बनाने के लिये थोड़ा बहुत रुपया दिखाया गया है। जहाँ इतने करोड़ों की चर्चा हो वहाँ कुछ थोड़ी सी रकम.

सरदार इकबाल सिंह (फाजिल्का-सिरसा) : सिर्फ पांच करोड़ दो सौ रुपया है।

श्री टंडन : जी हाँ मुझे मालूम है। यह पांच करोड़ रुपया सिन्धु में बिन्दु के समान है। इस बिन्दु से इतने बड़े और इतने अधिक देहातों का क्या भला होने वाला है, यह आप ही अंदाजा लगा सकते हैं। मैं बार बार कह चुका हूँ, मैं बार बार निवेदन कर चुका हूँ कि आप देहातों की ओर ध्यान दीजिये। आप देखिये कि क्या रहन सहन उनका है। यहाँ बहुत सी नई नई योजनाओं की चर्चा हुई। कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट्स की बात भी आई। उसके सम्बन्ध में, उसके लाभ की गाथा भी हमारे भाई ने सुनाई है। मुझ को तो वह बहुत प्रिय लगी। कहानी और गाथा सदा प्रिय लगती हैं। परन्तु मुझे वह केवल कहानी ही लगी। इसका कारण यह है कि जब मैं देहातों में स्वयं जाता हूँ तो मुझ को नहीं दिखाई पड़ता कि उनका स्तर कुछ ऊँचा हो गया है। जो पत्रिकायें हमारी गवर्नमेंट के विभागों की ओर से बांटी गई हैं उनसे भी पता लगता है कि हमारे देश में, इसके बहुत से भागों में, लाखों परिवार ऐसे हैं जिन की आय १५ रुपये से लेकर ५० रुपये मासिक तक है। याद रखिये यह परिवार की आय है। ऐसे लाखों करोड़ों परिवार हैं जिन की इतनी आय है। आप खुद ही अनुमान कर सकते हैं कि उनकी दशा कैसी हो सकती है। जिस परिवार में चार या पांच प्राणी हों और उसकी १५ रुपये मासिक आय हो तो कैसे वह परिवार रह सकता है इसका अंदाजा आसानी से ही लगाया जा सकता है।

में जानता हूँ कि हमारे प्रदेश के कुछ भागों में तो ऐसे दरिद्र लोग हैं कि जो गोबरी के भीतर से अनाज निकाल कर और उसको धो कर खाते हैं। यह कहानी नहीं है, यह सही बात है। गोरखपुर और देवरिया के जिले में इस खाने का नाम गोबरी ही है। जहाँ इतनी दरिद्रता है वहाँ पर यह आशा की जाती है कि उनके पास पहुँचकर हम उन्हें उठाने का कुछ यत्न करें। वह यत्न तो मैं इस बजट में कहीं भी नहीं देखता हूँ। उसका नितांत अभाव है।

आचार्य कृपालानी (भागलपुर व पूर्निया) :
फादर इयर प्लान में है।

श्री टंडन : उसी की चर्चा में कर रहा हूँ। उसके अनुसार ही तो पूँजी व्यय इस वर्ष ३१६.७ दिखाया गया है। यह तो उसी व्यवस्था के भीतर है। हाँ एक बहुत बड़ी रकम कारखानों के ऊपर खर्च करने के लिये रखी गई है। यह औद्योगिक कारखानों के लिए रखी गई रकम हमारी इस दरिद्रता को, जिसकी मैं ने अभी जिक्र चर्चा की है, हटाने वाली नहीं है। मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ इस गवर्नमेंट से कि आप समाजवादी रूप की बात करते हैं। अच्छे सामाजिक रूप की कुंजी यह है कि अधिक से अधिक सुख हम पहुँचायें। मैं इधर ध्यान दिलाता हूँ कि जब व्यय हम करें तब हमें चाहिये कि हम यह देखें कि एक एक रुपये से अधिक से अधिक सुख प्राप्त हो, यह अच्छे सामाजिक क्रम की कुंजी है। मैं अर्थशास्त्र के शब्दों में कहता हूँ, क्योंकि यहाँ पर अर्थशास्त्र के पंडित तो बहुत हैं, 'पंडितमानितः', पांडित्य उनका अंकों में ही न रहे कि यहाँ इतना हुआ, वहाँ उतना हुआ, वहाँ से यह निकलता है और यहाँ से यह निकलता है। उसी अर्थशास्त्र का एक बड़ा सिद्धान्त यह है कि हर एक पैसे की तट-उपयोगिता, जिसको अंग्रेजी में आप मार्जिनल यूटिलिटी (Marginal Utility) कहते हैं, घटती जाती है, जैसे जैसे किसी के पास अधिक पैसा होता जाता है। यह स्पष्ट नियम है, अर्थशास्त्र का। एक रुपये की उपयोगिता हमारे देहात के गोबरी खाने वाले के लिए क्या है और आप अनुमान कीजिये कि हमारे यहाँ जो एक लक्ष्मीपति है उसके लिए क्या है? आकाश पाताल का अन्तर आप पायेंगे। अगर १०-२० हजार रुपया किसी लक्ष्मीपति के पास बढ़ गया तो उसकी क्या उपयोगिता है और यदि वह रुपया कुछ देहाती जनो को मिल जाए तो उसकी क्या उपयोगिता है। मैं इसी लिये कह रहा हूँ कि समाज का सुख बढ़ाने की कुंजी यह है कि जितना

हमारे बजट का व्यय है, उसकी तट-उपयोगिता, मार्जिनल यूटिलिटी, अधिक से अधिक हो। क्या मैं आज यह कह सकता हूँ कि जितने का आपने बजट बनाया है इसमें मार्जिनल यूटिलिटी अधिक से अधिक है? यह मैं कहने में असमर्थ हूँ। यदि मार्जिनल यूटिलिटी आपके पैसे की उचित होती तो सुख और समृद्धि देश में फैल जाती। परन्तु वह नहीं है। यहाँ दिल्ली में मेरे सामने एक बात आई है। शिक्षण विभाग मकान बनवा रहा है जिसमें कुछ नट-नागर नाच करेंगे। नट नागरों के लिए १०-१० लाख तक रुपया खर्च करना तो मामूली बात है, इनके लिए बजट आप देखिये इतने रुपयों की लागत के कितने मकान बनाये जा रहे हैं। मुझे पता चला है कि यहाँ एक भूमि के ऊपर एक करोड़ रुपया एक कला-भवन के बनाने पर खर्च होने वाला है जिसमें से लगभग ५० लाख रुपया तो इमारत बनाने में खर्च होगा और बाकी ५० लाख रुपया सामग्री के जुटाने में। जो गोबरी खाने वाले लोग इस देश में हैं उनकी दृष्टि से इस पैसे की तट-उपयोगिता, मार्जिनल यूटिलिटी, कितनी है इस बात का अंदाजा आप लगाइये यह मेरा आपसे कहना है। मुझको कभी कभी लगता है कि यह समाज को उठाने की बात जो हम करते हैं बात ही रह जाती है। क्या यह सब काम इस समय करने का है?

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

श्री टंडन : इस समय तो कौड़ी कौड़ी इस काम में लगनी चाहिए कि किसी तरह से जितनी जल्दी हो सके हम गांव के भाइयों को संभालें, उनके लिए घर और भोजन का इन्तिजाम करें। पाँच करोड़ आपने मकानों के लिये दिया है। इससे क्या बनने वाला है। क्या इससे देहातों का उत्थान होने वाला है? मैं ने यहाँ कितनी बार निवेदन किया है कि आप देहातों में हर परिवार के लिए घर बनाने को आधा एकड़ भूमि तो दें। हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने मुझे आश्वासन दिया था कि आप जो बात कह रहे हैं वह मैं ऊपर पहुँचा दूँगा। मैं ने यहाँ आदर्श घरों की योजना कई बार रखी है। मैं ने निवेदन किया है कि एक एक घर को आधा आधा एकड़ भूमि देनी चाहिए, चाहे वह किसी दरिद्र का घर हो या किसी धना सेठ का घर हो। उस भूमि में वह अपना वाटिका गृह बनावे। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि आप कम से कम दो एक आदर्श ग्राम बनाकर दें। वित्त मंत्री यहाँ मौजूद नहीं हैं। परन्तु

[श्री टंडन]

में पूछता हूँ कि क्या उन्होंने देश में एक भी आदर्श ग्राम बनाया ? मैं आशा करता था कि हर जिले में अधिक नहीं तो एक एक, दो दो आदर्श ग्राम तो बन जायेंगे। इसके लिए बराबर यत्न होना चाहिए। भूदान यज्ञ में भी इसके लिए यत्न हो रहा है। मैं स्वयं उस में लगा हूँ। परन्तु हम को तो बहुत कम भूमि मिलती है और कठिनाई से मिलती है जो कि हम इन बेचारे ग्रामवासियों को घर बनाने के लिए दे सकें। लेकिन डूबर हमारी गवर्नमेंट नृत्यकला के लिए करोड़ों रुपये खर्च कर रही है। अगर आप देश में दस बीस करोड़ रुपया आदर्श घरों को बनाने में लगा देते तो कुछ सूरत दिखायी देती। लेकिन यह नहीं हुआ।

मेरा यह निवेदन है कि हमारा जो यह बजट है वह बहुत वृष्टिपूर्ण है। मेरे हृदय में पीड़ा है कि हमारे देश का रुपया बरबाद हो रहा है। मैं अपनी गवर्नमेंट से, अपने सहयोगियों से, अपने साथियों से कहता हूँ कि आज आपके यहाँ रुपया की मार्जिनल यूटिलिटी (Marginal Utility) खोई सी है। आप अपने अर्थशास्त्रियों से पूछें कि आज रुपये की मार्जिनल यूटिलिटी क्या है और क्या हो सकती है। जो आप के पैसे की मार्जिनल यूटिलिटी हो सकती है उससे वह आज बहुत ही नीचे है। यदि आपके पैसे की पूरी मार्जिनल यूटिलिटी होती तो आज देश सुखी और समृद्ध होता।

मुझे कुछ शब्द शिक्षण विभाग से कहने हैं। हमारे भाई डिप्टी मिनिस्टर, डॉ० श्रीमाली ने इस सम्बन्ध में यह इच्छा प्रकट की थी कि शिक्षा विभाग को अधिक अधिकार दिया जाये, आज उस विभाग के पास इतना अधिकार नहीं है कि वह उन कामों को करा सके जिनको कि वह कराना चाहता है क्योंकि शिक्षा का विषय हमारे राज्यों के अधिकार में अधिक है। यदि वे यहाँ हों तो मैं उन से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जो अधिकार उनके पास हैं क्या उनका ठीक उपयोग हुआ है। मुझे तो ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि हमारे जितने विभाग हैं उन सब में इस शिक्षा विभाग का काम सबसे रद्दी है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : बिल्कुल रद्दी। इस विभाग को खत्म किया जाये।

श्री टंडन : किसी ने कहा कि इस विभाग को समाप्त करो। मेरा निवेदन यह है कि वह अधिक अधिकार प्राप्त करने का अधिकारी नहीं है।

उसकी तो अजीब बुद्धि है। अजीब तरह से वह प्रश्नों को देखता है। उस विभाग ने हिन्दी टाइपराइटर (टंकणयंत्र) के लिये एक कीबोर्ड (वर्ण पट) बनाया है जिसमें अक्षर तो हिन्दी के हैं परन्तु अंक अंग्रेजी के हैं। यह कीबोर्ड (वर्ण-पट) वह देश भर में पहुँचाना चाहता है। यह क्या अक्ल की बात है ? इसको कौन हिन्दी भाषी राज्य स्वीकार करेगा ? और इसके लिए हवाला दिया जाता है कांस्टीट्यूशन का। क्या इस विभाग में कोई ऐसा आदमी नहीं है जो संविधान समझ सके ? कांस्टीट्यूशन में यह स्पष्ट लिखा है कि केन्द्रीय कामों के लिये हिन्दी में अंक नागरी का भी हो सकता है और अंग्रेजी का भी हो सकता है। कांस्टीट्यूशन में यह बात नहीं है कि हमारे देश भर में जितने हिन्दी टाइपराइटर बनते जायें उनमें अक्षर तो हिन्दी के हों और अंक अंग्रेजी के। क्या उन्होंने यह टाइपराइटर केवल अपने शिक्षा विभाग के लिये ही बनाया है ? नहीं। वह टाइपराइटर का वर्णपट या कीबोर्ड सारे देश के लिये बनाना चाहते हैं। मैं ने उस रोज कहा था कि इस देश में लगभग २२ करोड़ आदमी ऐसे हैं जिनकी भाषा में नागरी अंकों का प्रयोग होता है :

एक माननीय सदस्य : श्रीमाली जो आ गये।

श्री टंडन : मैं आपकी ही चर्चा कर रहा था। डा० श्रीमाली ने शिक्षा विभाग के अधिकार बढ़ाने की बात कही थी। मैं निवेदन कर रहा था कि शिक्षा विभाग के पास जो अधिकार हैं उनका वह दुरुपयोग कर रहा है। शिक्षा विभाग के काम से रद्दी काम करनेवाला हमारे यहाँ कोई दूसरा विभाग नहीं है। मुझे यह कहते हुए लज्जा होती है। अभी डा० श्रीमाली का इस विभाग से सम्बन्ध थोड़े दिनों का ही है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि आप यत्न करेंगे कि यह विभाग अपने अधिकारों का सदुपयोग करे, यदि ऐसा करना आपके अधिकार में हो। मैं जो चर्चा कर रहा था उसे आपके कानों के लिए दुहराये देता हूँ। आपके विभाग ने यह अजीब काम किया है कि जो टाइपराइटर का वर्ण-पट बनाया है उसमें अक्षर तो हिन्दी के रखे हैं पर अंक अंग्रेजी के। यह क्या बात है ? ऐसा मालूम होता है कि यह विभाग दुराग्रह से भरा हुआ है। इस विभाग से राज्यों के मंत्रियों को पत्र भेजे जाते हैं कि तुम लोग जहाँ हिन्दी का प्रयोग करो वहाँ उसके साथ अंग्रेजी के अंकों का प्रयोग करो। मैं यह बात अपने मन से नहीं कह रहा हूँ। मुझे यह बात एक राज्य के

मुख्य मंत्री से मालूम हुई है। यह क्या है ? आप अपने अधिकार का यह सदुपयोग कर रहे हैं या दुरुपयोग कर रहे हैं ? मैं कहता हूँ कि आपके विभाग का अच्छा काम नहीं है और उसका कोई अधिकार नहीं बढ़ना चाहिए। यह मेरा निवेदन है शिक्षण विभाग के लिए।

मैं आशा करता था कि हमारा शिक्षण विभाग शिक्षण को कोई नया रूप देगा। राष्ट्रपति ने और जो हमारे देश के शिक्षण से सम्बन्ध रखने वाले अनुभवी लोग हैं उन्होंने बार बार यह कहा है कि हमारा शिक्षण का क्रम बदलना चाहिए। हमारे शिक्षण में दो बातों की मुख्य रूप से आवश्यकता है। एक तो चारित्रिक निर्माण की और दूसरी शिक्षित लोगों में आत्म निर्भरता की। अर्थात् उनको इस प्रकार से पढ़ाया जाये कि वे आत्म निर्भर हो सकें। यहाँ यह दोनों बातें नहीं हैं। जहाँ एक ओर हमारे देश में शिक्षण क्रम को बदलने की इतनी आवश्यकता है वहाँ ऐसा मालूम होता है कि हमारे शिक्षण विभाग में कल्पना का अभाव है। आज मैं और अधिक नहीं कहना चाहता। लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि शिक्षण विभाग ने जो अकादमियाँ बनायी हैं उन पर वह लाखों रुपया बरबाद कर रहा है। अब मैं उस बात को दुहराता नहीं।

एक और विषय है जिस पर मैं कुछ शब्द कहना चाहता हूँ। वह विषय है काश्मीर का। काश्मीर के सम्बन्ध में हमारे भाई फोतेदार जी ने कुछ चर्चा की थी। मेरा भी यह निवेदन है कि काश्मीर का प्रश्न बहुत लटका हुआ है। आये दिन उसके सम्बन्ध में कहीं न कहीं से कुछ बात हो जाती है। यह विषय कि वहाँ का जनमत लिया जाये, किसी जमाने में सिक्योरिटी काउंसिल गया था परन्तु इतने दिन उसको लटकते हुए हो गये। मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है कि एक निश्चित बात हमारी गवर्नमेंट को काश्मीर के सम्बन्ध में अब कर देनी चाहिए। यह बात तो स्पष्ट रूपसे कही जा चुकी है, और जहाँ तक मुझे स्मरण है हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने भी माना है कि काश्मीर हमारे देश का अंग है। इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं है। उसके ऊपर पाकिस्तान ने अपनी कुछ आपत्ति भी उठायी थी। परन्तु वह तो कई बातों पर अनुचित आपत्ति उठाया करता है। उन की आपत्ति पर ध्यान न देकर मेरा निवेदन है कि आज हम को अपना चलन इस प्रकार का बनाना चाहिए कि काश्मीर हमारा एक अंग है, अर्थात् जब हम यहाँ कोई अधिनियम, ऐक्ट बनायें तो बार बार हम यह न कहें कि काश्मीर में यह लागू नहीं होगा।

आपके यहाँ जितने अधिनियम बनते हैं उनमें साधारण रीति से दिखलाई पड़ता है कि काश्मीर को आप अपवाद करते चले जा रहे हैं। इस तरह के अपवाद करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। काश्मीर को अब, जैसा हमारे फोतेदार जी की मांग थी, हम अपना एक निश्चित अंग मानें। कई बातों के लिये अंग बन भी गया है और मैं चाहता हूँ कि जितने कानून आप यहाँ बनायें, उनमें काश्मीर भारत का पूरी तरह एक अंग समाज जाय।

काश्मीर की बात करते हुए मुझको एक टीस सी उठती है उन भाइयों के बारे में जो हाल ही में मुझ से मिलने आये और जिनकी कि दशा सुन कर मेरा हृदय रो पड़ा। काश्मीर के उस भाग से जिस को काश्मीर से छीन कर पाकिस्तान में मिला लिया गया है, जैसे मीरपुर और पूंछ, उन इलाकों के बहुत से हमारे भाई भाग कर इधर हमारी शरण में आये हैं। मैं तो आज तक समझ नहीं पाया कि जब हमारी फौजें वहाँ तक पहुँच गई थीं तो मीरपुर और पूंछ के इलाकों पर उन्होंने कब्जा क्यों नहीं किया और उसके पहले ही युद्धविराम रेखा बना दी गई

श्री कामत (होशंगाबाद) : उनको हटा दिया था।

श्री टंडन : मैं आपकी बात नहीं समझा आप मेरी बात सुनने की कोशिश कीजिये मैं यह कह रहा हूँ कि पूंछ और मीरपुर के करीब हमारी फौज पहुँच गई थीं, वहाँ की पाकिस्तानी फौजें भाग चुकी थीं या वहाँ से भाग निकली थीं परन्तु फिर भी हमारी ओर से उन इलाकों पर कब्जा नहीं किया गया

श्री कामत : मैं भी यही कह रहा था कि गवर्नमेंट ने उनको हटा दिया था।

श्री टंडन : मैं आपकी बात को नहीं समझा था। खैर गत न शोचामि, मैं उसको छोड़ता हूँ। जो कुछ भी हुआ उसमें बुद्धिमानों हुई या भूल हुई, मैं तो उसको भूल ही मानता हूँ।

श्री अलगू राय शास्त्री : भूल होती जा रही है।

श्री टंडन : वे हमारे मुसीबतजदा भाई जब मीरपुर और पूंछ से भाग भाग करके काश्मीर में आते हैं तो वहाँ उनको जगह नहीं मिलती है और वे यहाँ हमारे पास आते हैं। उन्हीं भाइयों के

[श्री टंडन]

मुंह से उनकी कथा सेंने सुनी । किसी ने कहा कि मेरा बाप मारा गया, किसी ने कहा कि मेरा भाई वहां पर मारा गया और किसी भाई ने मुझे बतलाया कि मेरी स्त्री ने कुएं में छलांग लगा कर अपनी जान दे दी और उन्होंने यह बतलाया कि कुएं के कुएं लाशों से घिर गये थे क्योंकि हमारी मां बहनों ने सोचा कि पाकिस्तानी फौज के आते ही हमारी दुर्गति होगी और उन्होंने कुओं के अन्दर छलांग लगा कर अपनी जानें दे दी । मुझे तो यहां तक उन भाइयों ने बतलाया कि हमारी स्त्रियों ने हमसे कहा कि हमको तुम खुद अपने हाथ से मार डालो और हम को उनके लिए मत छोड़ो और उन्होंने बतलाया कि अपने घर की स्त्रियों को अपने हाथों से मार कर हम में कुछ यहां आये हैं । आप अंदाज लगा सकते हैं कि यह भाई अपना सब कुछ लुटा कर यहां पर आये हैं और उनको बड़ी मुश्किल से यहां रहने को घर मिले हैं और हमारा पुनर्वास मंत्रालय उन दुःखी और मुसीबत-जदा भाइयों से यह मांग करता है कि या तो उन घरों का मूल्य हमें दे दो और या उनका किराया दो । चूंकि उनकी आर्थिक दशा शोचनीय है और ठीक नहीं है इसलिए मैं चाहता हूं कि पुनर्वास विभाग उन काश्मीरी भाइयों के प्रति थोड़ा करुणामय व्यवहार करे । हमारे यह काश्मीरी भाई शरणार्थियों की गिनती में नहीं आते क्योंकि आपने जो नियम बनाया है उसके अनुसार वे लोग जो जायदाद छोड़ कर पाकिस्तान से आये हैं, उनको आप शरणार्थी गिनते हैं और यह भाई पुराने पाकिस्तान के हिस्से के तो हैं नहीं, इसलिये शरणार्थियों की आपकी परिभाषा में डेफिनिशन (Definition) में यह नहीं आते इनका बुरा हाल है । मैं यह चाहता हूं कि जहां आपने शरणार्थियों की इतनी श्रेणियां बनाई हैं वहां इन भाइयों के लिये भी आप कोई एक नई श्रेणी बना लीजिये और तुरन्त उनकी दशा के ऊपर ध्यान दीजिये ।

मैं आप से यह आशा करता हूं कि जो कुछ मैंने कहा है उसके ऊपर आप ध्यान देंगे । समाप्त करते हुए फिर मैं उस विशेष बात के लिए कहना चाहता हूं, क्योंकि जब मैं उसके बारे में कह रहा था उस समय वित्त मंत्री जी उपस्थित नहीं थे, और वह बात यह थी कि मेरा बल इस बात पर है कि आपका बजट हमारे देहातों की दशा को उन्नारने वाला नहीं है । आपसे पहले भी इस सम्बन्ध में मैंने निवेदन किया था और आपने बायदा किया था कि मेरी ग्राम योजना को आप अपनायेंगे । मैं जानता हूं कि वित्त मंत्री ने उसके

लिए योजना विभाग को कहला भी दिया था परन्तु आज तक कहीं पर इस प्रकार से ग्रामों की दशा सुधारने का कोई मार्ग, कोई प्रयत्न दिखाई नहीं देता । इस और सच्चा प्रयत्न हो और चरित्र उठाने के लिये प्रयत्न हो, यह इस समय आवश्यक है । इसकी आवश्यकता शिक्षण में है, इसकी आवश्यकता हाउसिंग स्कीम्स (घर बनाने की योजनाओं) में है और इसकी आवश्यकता हमारे देश को उठाने की सब कल्पनाओं में है ।

Shri S. S. More (Sholapur): Mr. Chairman, the sentiments which have been so eloquently and painfully expressed by Tandonji find a sympathetic echo in my heart. The real question before us to judge this Budget is whether this Budget is a socialistic Budget, a Budget designed to reduce the inequalities and disparities between the rich and the poor, the urban classes and the rural classes.

I find, Sir, that this Budget is a Budget of "tears and cheers". This Budget will invite tears from the poor and cheers from the rich. And, in order to prove that this Budget does not relieve the backbreaking burden of the poor I should like to refer to the taxation proposals which shall be more fully dealt when we take up the Finance Bill.

Now, out of the Rs. 34.15 crores which are sought to be raised by raising taxation Rs. 14.5 crores are by excise duties on cloth. There are excise duties on soap. I have not the time to refer to all these in details, but out of the Rs. 34 crores nearly Rs. 25 crores are going to be raised by levying excise duties.

My submission is—I speak as a layman and not as a Professor of Economics as Shri Asoka Mehta says—that when indirect taxes are raised they undoubtedly weigh heavy on the poorer classes and the direct taxes are really the taxes which can take some slice from the income of the rich. But, unfortunately, in our whole taxation system the distribution of taxes is more in favour of the indirect taxes than direct taxes and the percentage of indirect taxes to the total tax revenue is still continuing to be 61 per cent; it has not as the Finance Minister many times promised come down to a lower level. My submission is that this Budget makes it absolutely difficult. Take for instance the tax on coarse cloth.

It is a tax which will touch very hard the peasantry. Coarse cloth is more predominantly used by the peasants. The Finance Minister was pleased to say that the condition of the agriculturists has improved to some extent. He went on to point out that the prices of agricultural produce which had shown some calamitous fall have gingered up and gone up. My submission is that the figures, the indices prepared regarding agricultural prices do not reflect the real conditions in the country. Our country is a country of small peasants. They are in the hands of the middle-men and the middle-men take a heavier toll. Whatever the price index may indicate, the small peasant is not in a position to recover all the prices. The result is that those prices have increased to some extent and have registered a rise to some extent. My relevant question to the Finance Minister will be, what is the margin of profit that the peasant is receiving so that you can legitimately claim to have some share of? Have you got any cost of production figures? There are no cost of production figures. Simply because the prices go up, we jump to the conclusion that agriculturists are benefiting, but without the cost of production data, it is absolutely difficult to find out what is the margin left with the peasant or the producer, and what portion of that margin the State can mop up by way of taxation. My submission is that the prices are still falling to the disadvantage particularly of the small producer and have possibly imposed an additional burden on him with the result that the already low standard of living will still further be lowered. This is what I want to say.

I go to the next point. The Finance Minister was pleased to say that our people stand, so to say, on threshold, I believe, of a golden age. My submission is how is the golden age to dawn on this poor country. If golden age is to come, as far as the Bombay or the Calcutta industrialists are concerned, they are already in the golden age. It is the poor people who are far away from the golden age, as far away as the earth is from the moon. Therefore, the golden age that we expect in this country is for the poor, for those who have absolutely no grain of happiness. Therefore, my relevant question is that if the Finance Minister is building up a temple for the deity of the golden age, prosperity or equality, to reside in, then he seems to be busy using the peasantry

and the poorer classes for building up the foundation. He talked about *yagna*; he said that this planning is *yagna*. You know that in the olden days, when *yagnas* were performed, there were certain animals to be sacrificed. As far as this planning *yagna* is concerned, of which we are very busy talking about, the peasantry is the sacrificial goat which is going to be sacrificed.

Shri Kamath : *Naramedha.*

Shri S. S. More : I am not prepared to take my similes from Shri Kamath. He may preserve them for his own use in his speech.

Shri Kamath : You better use your own then.

Shri S. S. More : I am using my own. My submission is that the peasantry, the small men, the rural folk, are being used as the sacrificed goats. Every time when we plan anything, we talk about the benefits that are going to reach the people, but before the benefits have reached the people, we start mopping up something in anticipation, presuming that they have already got the benefits. That is not a fair way.

Now, colossal or astronomical figures have been shown to us. I would say, on behalf of the majority of the Members of this House, that the budget and the huge figures that are given in it are incompatible with the low stomach, the poor stomach, that we possess for the purpose of digesting such material. But the security of the Finance Minister lies in that very fact. I would rather say that we must devise some method in budgeting, by which instead of giving us all this huge mountain of figures, some extracted essence, a liver extract of his budget should be given, and supplied to the Members of the House, in an easily digestible form. He should see that when he is taking out that extract, all the necessary vitamins are also preserved there, so that it can give us some help.

I feel that the greatest source of this country is not yet being exploited by the Finance Minister. What is that source? Not more taxation. The real source will be economy in the expenditure that we are already incurring. I may use the simile of God Dattatreya who had three mouths. Our God Dattatreya—the different Ministries and Departments—have also three mouths: the mouth of extravagance, the mouth of corruption and the mouth of ineffi-

[Shri S. S. More]

ciency. All these three mouths go on eating all the precious money that the poor possess. So, I would very earnestly request the Finance Minister to take some measures of economy. He has been repeatedly promising us since we came to this House that economy remains in his view. But he does not reach it. I am reminded of the story of Ram. Ram was persuaded to go after the golden deer, believing that he could use the skin of the deer for making *choli* for *Sita*. That golden deer was always within his ken and sight, but it never came within the reach of his arrows, and eventually Ram came to grips with the deer. The same course is being followed by the Finance Minister. Why not economise? Let him produce a budget without any taxation. Let him show to the country that "we are not going to levy any tax this year and there is ample scope for economy. We propose to apply our knife for the purpose of economy and by economising our expenditure, as a businessman should do, we are going to have the necessary funds for the planning purposes". But that course is not followed.

What about corruption? Many Members have referred to corruption. I do not want to repeat those points. I am reminded, Sir, of your resolution which you once moved, namely, all Ministers, all the members of the public services, etc., should be asked to submit their income and expenditure budgets, so that we can detect whether anybody is spending beyond his limits and if anybody is spending beyond his limits, we can find out from where and how the money is coming. The latest calamity that we have suffered is the budget leakage, and budget leakage is the product of corruption. Somebody was interested in practising corruption somewhere and his efforts succeeded, with the result that our secrets could not be kept as secrets, as the demon of corruption is stalking in this country. I respect the integrity of the Finance Minister. Even the worst enemy would not accuse him of any such thing. But he is surrounded by so many factors, so many elements, who are not taking cognisance of this matter as they ought to.

The result is that with all the vigilance on his part, this leakage business has itself become the festering sore of this budget. In the other House it was pointed out that even the fact that the

ordinance relating to the life insurance business was going to be issued by the President had leaked out, and certain transactions were registered in the share market. The Minister who replied to this question said that it may be due to so many reasons and he admitted that it may be also due to the fact that this information leaked out somewhere. So, my submission is, this poor country has not got such huge funds to be spent in the manner in which they are spent. Whenever taxation has to be imposed, only the poor people came under the knife of taxation. That should not be the practice. The rich are screened beyond the scouring knife of the Finance Minister. The Finance Minister is a very clever person, and I must frankly admit it. He goes one step forward and two steps backward. By the Companies Act and by the nationalisation of insurance, he went in fact two steps forward to offend the capitalistic classes and brought out the wrath of my friends Shri Tulsidas and Shri Somani in this House, and to just appease those upper classes, he has gone two steps backward through the present budget and came out with tax proposals which are designed to increase the burden on the backs of the poor and allow the rich to escape. That should not be the policy. If we are going to proceed by going one step forward and then two steps backward, our progress towards the socialist pattern will be, by going one step towards socialism and then back to capitalism by two steps or even to feudalism by two steps. It will be the brain of Shri Tyagi which shall be required for calculating the period within which we shall be reaching the socialistic pattern this way. My submission is, all these matters have to be amended as early as possible. Let us be very straight and honest. If we have determined to go towards the socialist pattern, whatever the hurdles are in our way, we must be prepared to jump those hurdles.

I shall next refer to the Kashmir question. I am encouraged to refer to the question of Kashmir by the presence of the Minister of Defence in this House. Many Members have preached, and with some passion, though with some reason, that Pakistan is meaning some mischief. American diplomacy is encouraging that mischief and therefore we would feel like increasing our expenditure on defence. Once we start this arms race, we do not know where we shall stop. They have started all

these panicky scares on our front because we are going ahead with our big projects. They believe that if all these projects fructify, they will bring perennial benefits and prosperity to the country. So, they want to throw a spanner into what we have been doing. They want to take us by panic. If in our panic we cut down our expenditure on constructive purposes and concentrate on defence purposes, the objective of American diplomacy will be successful.

1 P.M

I am not in favour of raising our expenditure on defence to build up our bulwarks against Pakistan aggression. To meet this threat backed by American diplomacy which is of a treacherous type, I would ask the Defence Minister to build the bulwark on solid foundations, the rock of people's contentment. I would even go a stage further,

Now take Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah has been kept in prison for three years now. I am a lover of civil liberty. I read in yesterday's paper that the Kash-Government is not prepared to release him, because they have some material in their hands. I accept the truth of that statement. If they have that material, why not try him? Nobody is holding a brief for Sheikh Abdullah; his past career is sufficiently eloquent defence for him. But you cannot keep people in jails for certain views they may be holding. They may be unpalatable views; they may be views inimical to the interests of India. But keeping in permanent incarceration is not the remedy. Bring him before a court of law. You are bestowing on him a sort of martyrdom which is likely to prove more dangerous to India's interests than the permanent incarceration under which he is placed. I would say: release Sheikh Abdullah; if you have the courage and the evidence with you, try him if you can. But if you have not the evidence, do not be a victim to your own suspicion and keep an honest man in prison indefinitely.

Shri Tek Chand (Ambala-Simla): Send him to Pakistan!

Shri S. S. More: My hon. friend Shri Tek Chand says: send him to Pakistan! I wish he were in charge of our Defence portfolio. He might have sent him somewhere else, wherever he deserved to be. But, fortunately for this country, Shri Tek Chand is not in power, but it is Pandit Nehru who is in

power. There are reactionaries, there are fanatics even among the Congress, and I do not want power to be given to reactionaries and fanatics.

As I said, I am a lover of civil liberty. If he is guilty, try him and prove his guilt. Let my hon. friend Shri Tek Chand be the prosecutor, so that he can bring home the offence and hang him if he is found guilty. But keeping a man in jail is hardly the remedy in democracy. Our democratic traditions, our democratic principles, are going to prove to be the beacon lights to Asian countries which are still groping in feudal, imperial darkness. Let us be frank. No doubt we must take care of the Kashmir front, but on the Kashmir front, you must bring about unity among the people. Even supposing Sheikh Abdullah had misbehaved: Panditji's influence is quite effective there. He can have a talk with him and bring him round to his own point of view. We should be particularly vigilant when our enemies are building up arms, when our enemies are becoming more and more active and trying to use all modern weapons of which they are possessed against our own freedom. In such a situation this sort of glum satisfaction, this sort of complacency is not going to protect us. Therefore, on this Kashmir issue I would say panic should not be our guide; more and more expenditure on defence will not be a wise policy. To meet the Pakistan aggression, we should stand more and more on reconstruction activities. Expedite them as military projects in as short a time as possible, so that prosperity and contentment can come to the people. Prosperity of the people, contentment of the people is the most modern and the most powerful of the weapons ever invented by any scientist in this country or outside.

श्रीमती कमलेश्वरिणी साहू (जिला गढ़वाल—पश्चिम व जिला टिहरी गढ़वाल व जिला बिजनौर—उत्तर): समापति महोदय, मैं आपको धन्यवाद देती हूँ कि आपने मुझे बोलने का अवसर दिया।

वित्त मंत्री जी ने गत वर्ष के बजट में जो बचत दिखाई है, उसके लिए मैं उनको बधाई देती हूँ। अब मैं वित्त मंत्री के सम्मुख कुछ सुझाव पेश करती हूँ।

हमें इस बात पर विचार करना है कि आय किस प्रकार बढ़ाई जा सकती है। इस आय को

[श्रीमती कमलन्दुर्मात शाह]

बढ़ाने का एक उत्तम साधन तो मेरे खयाल में यह है कि विदेशों से जो आने वाली शराबें ह और श्रृंगार की वस्तुएँ जो वहाँ से आती हैं, उन पर भारी कर लगाया जाए। हमें तो चाहिए कि हम अपने देश में ही बनी हुई चीजों के इस्तेमाल को प्रोत्साहन दें और यदि हम इसमें कामयाब होना चाहते हैं तो हमारे लिए यह जरूरी है कि जो विदेशों से यह चीजें आती हैं उन पर भारी टैक्स लगाया जाए। अब सवाल यह उठता है कि यदि हमने ऐसा किया तो विदेशों से हमारा जो व्यापार चलता है उसका संतुलन हम कैसे रख पायेंगे। इस संतुलन को कायम रखने के लिए मेरा तो यह सुझाव है कि मशीनरी और यंत्र इत्यादि जो हमारे देश में नहीं बनते हैं, उनको हम विदेशों से मंगाएँ।

अब मैं शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में थोड़ा सा कहना चाहती हूँ। मुझे खेद है कि जिस ढंग की शिक्षा दी जा रही है वह सतोषजनक ढंग की नहीं है। साथ ही साथ शिक्षा के प्रसार के लिए इस बजट में पर्याप्त धन की व्यवस्था नहीं की गई है। जैसा कि टंडन जी कह चुके हैं और मैंने भी यह सुना है कि हमारे हिन्दी के टाइपराइटर में हिन्दी के अंक न होकर अंग्रेजी के अंक होंगे। यह बात मुझे बहुत अजीब मालूम पड़ती है। आज जो अंक हिन्दी टाइपराइटर में हिन्दी के हैं उनमें यह अचानक तब्दीली मेरी समझ में नहीं आती। अन्य देशों में भी जो टाइपराइटर उनकी भाषा के होते हैं उनमें जो अंक होते हैं वह भी उन्हीं की भाषा के होते हैं। क्या कारण है कि हम अपने हिन्दी टाइपराइटर में अंग्रेजी के अंक रखने की बात सोच रहे हैं। यह बहुत ही अजीब बात है और मैं चाहती हूँ कि इसको अम्न में न लाया जाय।

आज हमें यह देखना है कि हमारे देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था अधिकाधिक किस प्रकार से सुधर सकती है और विभिन्न योजनाओं को पूरा करने के लिए आय का हम क्या प्रबन्ध कर सकते हैं। इसके लिए मेरा तो यह सुझाव है कि विभिन्न मंत्रालयों में और वस्तुओं की खरीद में जो अनावश्यक खर्च होता है उसपर अंकुश लगाया जाय। यदि इस ओर ध्यान दिया जाए तो आप इसमें अवश्य सफल हो सकते हैं और काफी रुपया आप बचा सकते हैं। इसके साथ ही साथ भ्रष्टाचार पर भी अंकुश लगाना जरूरी है। यदि आप ऐसा करेंगे तो मैं समझती हूँ कि प्रतिवर्ष आपको जो कर लगाने पड़ते हैं या टैक्सों में जो बढ़ोतरी करनी पड़ती है उसकी आपकी

आवश्यकता नहीं रहेगी। मैं समझती हूँ कि करों का बोझ, जो उसे सह सकते हैं, उनके कन्धों पर पड़ा है। परन्तु मोटी धोतियों को छोड़ कर अन्य मोटे कपड़े पर कर लगने से मध्यम श्रेणी के जो लोग हैं उनको कठिनाई का सामना करना पड़ेगा। यह वह लोग हैं जो गरीब हैं या वह लोग हैं जिनके पास रोजगार नहीं है। साबुन, तेल, उस्तरों, डाक, तार इत्यादि के बारे में जो कर लगाये गये हैं उनका असर भी मध्यम श्रेणी के जो लोग हैं उन पर पड़ेगा। अच्छा तो यह होता कि इसके बदले नाइयों की जो बड़ी बड़ी दुकानें हैं, या जो ड्राई क्लीनिंग की दुकानें हैं, जहाँ पर कि बड़े बड़े लोग जाते हैं, उन पर कर लगाया जाता।

इसके साथ मुझे यह भी कहना है कि दैनिक आवश्यकता की वस्तुओं के मूल्य सर्व-साधारण के खरीदने की शक्ति के अनुसार निर्धारित किये जाने चाहियें। यदि ऐसा किया जाय तो जो गरीब लोग हैं वह भी इन वस्तुओं का इस्तेमाल कर सकते हैं। साबुन, कपड़े की दुलान तथा कपड़े पर कर लगने से सर्व-साधारण को यह महंगा मिलेगा। अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से इसका बोझ भी गरीब लोगों पर ही पड़ेगा।

निजी उद्योग, व्यापार तथा आय पर कर लगाने से उद्योगपतियों में जो उत्साह है वह घटेगा। यह मैं इस लिये नहीं कह रही हूँ कि मैं उद्योगपतियों का पक्ष लेती हूँ या मैं उनकी तरफ से बोल रही हूँ। परन्तु मेरा निजी विचार है कि इससे उनमें जो उत्साह है वह घटेगा। हमें चाहिये कि हम यह देखें कि जिन के पास रुपया है वह अपना रुपया देशको उन्नत बनाने के लिये खर्च करें। आय कर ६२ प्रतिशत बढ़ जाने से द्वितीय नियोजन काल में धनिक वर्ग ६० करोड़ रुपया एकत्र करके देने का उत्साह कैसे करेंगे। जो मुर्गी सोने का झंडा दिया करती है, यदि उसी का गला घोट दिया जाय तो फिर वह झंडा कहाँ से आयेगा।

मेरे विचार से तो प्राइवेट सैक्टर का उत्साह बढ़ाने को उन्हें संरक्षण देने से अधिक लाभ होता। भविष्य में टोटल वैल्यू जैसे कर प्रारम्भ हो जाने के डर से सम्पत्ति वालों का मन व स्थिति प्राइवेट सैक्टर के साथ सहयोग और सहायता करने योग्य कैसे रह जायेगी। और सरकार की यह नीति कि सब का सहयोग लेना है कैसे सफल हो सकेगी।

वाणिज्य व्यापार पर भी सरकार का एकाधि-पत्य कहाँ तक लाभदायक है, यह भी एक विचारणीय विषय है। यदि सरकार को व्यापार का पर्याप्त अनुभव होता, या कार्यकर्ता सरकारी कार्य को मन लगाकर करते तो ठीक था, परन्तु व्यापार क्षेत्र में अनुभवहीन कर्मचारियों के बल पर, व्यापार का संचालन शंकाजनक है। यह सर्व विदित है कि सरकारी कर्मचारियों को सरकारी काम में अनुराग अधिक नहीं होता है।

अब मैं पशुपालन की ओर जाती हूँ। पशुघन की रक्षा देश में उचित रीति से नहीं हो रही है। इसके लिए पर्याप्त धन देने की आवश्यकता है। केवल दो चार स्थानों पर पिजरापोल या शालायें बना देने से हमारा काम पूरा नहीं हो जाता। भूमिहीनों के लिए हम भूमि एकत्र कर रहे हैं, तो उस भूमि का कुछ भाग पशुओं के चारे और गोचर भूमि के लिए भी हम रखें। अभी तक जो भूमि मांगी जा रही है वह भूमि हीनों के लिए ही है। परन्तु पशु हमारे देश के सबसे बड़े धन हैं। उनके लिए भी भूमि अवश्य होनी चाहिए। मैं तो यह समझती हूँ कि भारत गोरक्षा और गोसंवर्धन से ही समृद्धिशीली हो सकेगा न कि विविध प्रकार के आविष्कारों से।

इसके अतिरिक्त मुझे कुछ और सुझाव देने हैं। मेरा पहला सुझाव तो यह है कि हमको अपनी आय बढ़ानी चाहिए। हम आबपाशी से अपनी आय बढ़ा सकते हैं और नेचुरल रिसोर्सज से भी आय बढ़ा सकते हैं। हमारे यहां ऐसे बहुत से स्थान हैं जहाँ बहुत सा धन पृथ्वी के अन्दर मौजूद है जैसे सोना चांदी है, और इसके अतिरिक्त हमारे यहां लकड़ी की बहुत पैदावार है लेकिन यातायात के साधन न होने से हम उन चीजों का उपयोग नहीं कर सकते और उनके द्वारा अपनी आय नहीं बढ़ा सकते। आज से आठ साल पहले विलीनीकरण के समय मेरे यहां बनो में जो यातायात के साधन थे वही आज भी हैं। उनमें कोई उन्नति नहीं हुई। हमारे जंगलों में इतना धन भरा पड़ा है कि उसका अनुमान नहीं लगाया जा सकता लेकिन उसको नीचे लाया कैसे जाये। केवल हम वहां की लकड़ी को गंगा और जमुना में बहाकर नीचे लाते हैं और कोई साधन नहीं है। इसलिये मेरा मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन है कि हमारे यहां यातायात के साधन ज़रूरी होने चाहिए। हमारी प्रान्तीय सरकार ने बजट में इसके लिए कुछ राशि रखी है लेकिन वह पर्याप्त नहीं है। हमें इससे बहुत अधिक चाहिए।

एक आय का साधन और है। हमारे यहां पहाड़ों में बहुत से सुन्दर स्थान हैं। यदि उन स्थानों तक यातायात के साधन सुलभ कर दिये जायें तो बहुत से आदमी हमारे यहां उन सुन्दर स्थानों पर आयेंगे और इससे हमको बहुत आय हो सकती है।

मैंने अपने प्रान्त में देखा है कि अधिकारियों की ढील के कारण जो रुपया हमारे लिये दिया जाता है वह पूरा खर्च नहीं होता और लैप्स हो जाता है और योजनायें अधूरी हो जाती हैं और जो काम एक बरस में पूरा होना चाहिए वह दो बरस में भी पूरा नहीं हो पाता।

मुझे एक बात और कहनी है। वह यह है कि सरकार जिस बात का आश्वासन दे उसे अवश्य पूरा किया जाना चाहिए। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं आपको एक दृष्टान्त देना चाहती हूँ। पिछले साल सरकार ने टेंहरी गढ़वाल को पिछड़ा हुआ जिला घोषित किया और होम मिनिस्ट्री से उस विषय का मेरे पास पत्र भी पहुंचा। मुझे इससे बड़ी खुशी हुई और मैं ने यह बात चारों ओर लोगों में फैला दी। लेकिन अभी हाल २६ फरवरी को मुझे एक पत्र मिला जिस में लिखा गया था कि हम गलती कर बैठे थे कि हमने ऐसी घोषणा कर दी और आप हमको ठीक नहीं समझीं। मेरा निवेदन तो यह है कि गरीबों को मदद मिले चाहे आप घोषणा द्वारा उनकी मदद करें या किसी और प्रकार। यदि सरकार अपने वचन से मुकर जाती है तो उसका गरीब जनता पर क्या प्रभाव पड़ेगा और वे सरकार के बारे में क्या सोचेंगे। मेरे बारे में तो वहां के आदमी समझते हैं कि मेरे अधिकार में तो केवल यह है कि मैं उनकी मांगों को सरकार के सामने रख दूँ, लेकिन उनको पूरा करना न करना तो सरकार के हाथ में है। इसलिये मुझे केवल यही चिन्ता है कि इसमें सरकार की ही बदनामी होगी और सरकार पर लांछन आयेगा कि वचन पूरा नहीं किया। इस तरह की बातें नहीं होनी चाहिए। अगर यह सरकार का उद्देश्य है कि पिछड़े हुए स्थानों को उठाया जाये तो इस इलाके के लोगों को भी सरकार की तरफ से पर्याप्त सहायता मिलनी चाहिए। जो सरकार उनके लिए देने का विचार कर चुकी है वह उनको दिया जाय यह मेरा निवेदन है। इसके लिए यदि कांस्टीट्यूशन में संशोधन करने की आवश्यकता हो तो इन गरीबों की दशा सुधारने के लिए वैसा भी किया जाना चाहिए। इसमें कोई हर्ज नहीं है। मैं तो चाहती हूँ कि गरीबों को कुछ तो मिले।

Shri Eswara Reddi (Cuddapah): The time at my disposal is very short and so I am not going to speak on the points already covered by my friends on this side, or on the class bias of the budget and its failure to meet the expectations of the common man. I do not want to repeat them once again. I will confine myself to only one aspect of the budget and that is its relation to Andhra State and its provisions towards our projects and industries and its attitude towards some of our developmental plans.

Let me take at first the Nagarjuna Sagar Project. A meagre amount of Rs. 3 crores is provided in the budget for 1956-57. This is the smallest of all the amounts provided to other projects in India. Let me compare them. The estimated cost of Bakhra-Nangal project is Rs. 159 crores and the amount already spent is Rs. 118 crores. The amount provided this year is Rs. 20½ crores. For Damodar Valley Project the estimated cost is Rs. 100 crores and the amount already spent is Rs. 72 crores. The amount provided this year is Rs. 16 crores 39 lakhs. For Hirakud Project the estimated cost is Rs. 78 crores 78 lakhs and the amount already spent is Rs. 46 crores. The amount provided this year is Rs. 13 crores. This year Kosi Project gets Rs. 5 crores, Chambal Project Rs. 5½ crores and Koyna Project Rs. 4½ crores. But poor Nagarjuna Sagar Project, though it is estimated to cost Rs. 122 crores, gets Rs. 1 crore last year and Rs. 3 crores for 1956-57. At this rate we can easily imagine how many decades it will take for its completion. The House is already well aware how we got this project. For three years the Andhras had to persistently struggle for this project. Then, willingly or unwillingly they approved it and we are glad that the Prime Minister laid the foundation stone in December last. We all welcomed it. But the same half-heartedness and prejudice that pervaded during that period prior to the approval still continues and it is shown in the provisions for the implementation of this project. The Finance Minister himself, in his Explanatory Memorandum, accepts that it is the biggest project in South India. But I do not understand why his niggardly treatment is being given to this project. Is it because it is in Andhra? I am not able to understand it. This treatment is similar to the treatment that is generally shown

to us. Really it hurts the self-respect of Andhras and wounds their hearts.

For Tungabadra Project high-level scheme the people of Rayalseema had been clamouring since decades. Though late we are glad that they accepted it. But in the first Five Year Plan they did nothing. In the second Five Year Plan they have provided a sum of Rs. 5 crores. But in the budget it is surprising to see that no provision is made for that. They may give the reason that the Mysore and Andhra Governments are having some dispute about the distribution of the waters. But how long is this to continue? Is it not the responsibility of the Centre to intervene and settle that business in the interests of the scarcity and famine stricken areas of Rayalaseema? That project is meant for this purpose, namely for giving relief to those famine stricken areas. After all, it is the Congress Party that rules both in Andhra and Mysore and also at the Centre. If they had paid any serious attention to this matter they would have solved this dispute very soon and taken up that work. From what I have seen in the papers recently, it seems that the Deputy Chief Minister of Andhra, who is in charge of Irrigation and Power also, told people at Anantapur that the matter is settled, the Planning Commission has settled, this issue, and 80 per cent of the water is going to be given to Andhra and the work will be taken up. If that is true, I am glad about it. At the same time, in another paper I see in the budget speech of the Chief Minister of Mysore, Shri Hanumanthaiya, his saying that it is not yet settled. He says therein that he has suggested some methods for the solution of this dispute. In essence it seems that it is not settled. I want a clarification either from the Planning Minister or the Finance Minister whether this issue has been settled or not. If it is settled, it is a very welcome sign. But if it is not settled, I request the Government to see that it is immediately settled and to see that the project is taken up and completed in the Second Five Year Plan period itself.

As regards another very big industry, namely the Hindustan Shipyard, there also I am surprised to see that only a sum of Rs. 89.79 crores has been provided for the development of that industry. About ten months back the Estimates Committee submitted a report wherein it drew attention to many

defects and drawbacks in regard to this and also made a number of suggestions for its development, for instance as regards the supply of timber and steel requirements, standardisation of ships, setting up of subsidiary industries, expansion of the Shipyard at Visakhapatnam and so on. But without letting us know what they have accepted and whether they have rectified those defects or not, the Finance Minister in his Explanatory Memorandum gave out that satisfactory progress is maintained in the Shipyard. But we are given to understand that whereas the target of the First Five Year Plan was that 100,000 tons of shipping should be constructed, only 50,000 tonnage is going to be realised by the end of the period. Is this fifty per cent. achievement of the target to be called as satisfactory progress or even as progress at least? This is perhaps the only Shipyard in India. But instead of explaining matters with regard to this fully, some sums are provided to shippers to purchase overseas ships and coastal ships, and the sums provided are Rs. 2½ crores and Rs. 8 crores respectively. Why this allotment? They should have easily expanded it even if they could not meet the requirements of the Second Five Year Plan or the First Five Year Plan. Then they could give loans to these shippers to get from somewhere. So I request the Finance Minister to allot more funds for this industry and see that it is developed to its full stature.

As regards the University Grants Commission I am surprised to see that only Rs. 3 crores have been allotted to this Commission. Recently many universities have been started in the backward areas. In Rayalaseema the Venkateswara University has recently been started at Tirupati, and it is suffering seriously due to lack of funds. Recently the management of the university came out with the statement that Rs. 17 lakhs. are required for this year for its research work, expansion of library and for some other construction purposes. I see that no provision is made in the Andhra budget also in this regard. For these purposes the University Grants Commission needs more funds at its disposal for assisting such universities which are in backward areas and which have been started recently. For that purpose I request the Finance Minister to put at the disposal of the University Grants Commission more

funds, so that it may help and assist such universities like the Tirupati University—which is worrying my mind mostly—to develop to their full stature.

In addition to the provision of those amounts, for the development of the economic situation in India some policies are also required. And I am glad that in the Second Five Year Plan the ceiling on land has been fixed concretely at least for the first time. But I am surprised to find from the papers that this has come in for open criticism by the Chief Minister of Andhra. About ten days back, on March 4th or so, a Farmers' Forum was held there and he presided over it. And he said that the ceiling fixed by the Planning Commission on land is unreasonable. I want to know whether the Chief Minister of a State can openly criticise the Plan, the formulation and the policies laid down in that. Just like in a propagandist way, can he do that? And the most surprising feature of that is that our Deputy Minister of Food was there. He inaugurated the Farmers' Forum. And I see from the papers that he was keeping silent about it. What will people think about this sort of thing? If the Government are serious and genuine to implement the policies that they have formulated and laid down in the Second Five Year Plan, they shall have to come out openly and pull up the Chief Minister not to make such irresponsible statements.

Lastly, I would like to impress upon the Government the necessity for a proper check-up and control over the grants that our House is giving to so many States. We are giving so many grants for various programmes in the States. But we are also saying that they are not utilised properly and sometimes they are being lapsed also. When questions regarding such non-utilisation or lapses come in the House, the Ministers say "We have no control, we cannot check up". This attitude does not help either the people or the States to whom such huge grants are given by us. So I request Government to find out some way to ensure that the grants that we give are properly and fully utilised by the States.

In conclusion I would like to say that the Government should leave this half-hearted approach and step-motherly treatment towards Andhras. There are vast sections who believe that this is all due to the fact that Andhras are

[Shri Eswara Reddi]

not represented by any Minister in the Cabinet. In regard to that some used to say "Why? You have got your son-in-law there as the Finance Minister. Why do you worry?" But, the Andhras have already begun to repent for choosing the wrong person. Leaving aside this humorous aspect of our sorry tale, I request the Government to leave this attitude and try to satisfy the just needs of the Andhra people.

Shrimati Jayashri (Bombay-Suburban): I am much obliged to you for giving me this opportunity to say a few words on the Budget.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member will please try to be as brief as possible as there are other hon. Members anxious to speak.

Shrimati Jayashri: We are on the threshold of the Second Five Year Plan. The most important thing is to create a proper atmosphere for implementing all our programmes. On this, I would say that, at present, due to the linguistic issue in various States, we are experiencing trouble and people have resorted to acts like looting and violence. We know that the second world war has brought all the nations together. We have institutions and organisations like the W.H.O., the F.A.O., the U.N.E.S.C.O. and others which are trying to do humanitarian work to help the people. We preach Panch Shila and the principles of co-existence. The world is looking to us and they are praising our foreign policy. Our country has been helpful in giving admission to small nations in the U.N.O. It is a sad plight that when we are trying to preach co-existence to other nations, we have not been successful in behaving towards our neighbours in the way that we preach.

It is all very well to talk of sacrifices. The other day we were told that we must sacrifice and collect funds for the national plan. We are prepared to do that. I can say for Bombay that Bombay is in the forefront of collecting for small savings. Especially, our women's organisations—I can speak of the one in which I am working, the Bhagini Samaj—are trying their best to collect for small savings. But, there must be a proper atmosphere, as I said. If we go to the people, people would ask us—I should say, they have lost confidence—where is the guarantee that we will be looked after in the city where

we are at present trying to collect and create money for the State, are we going to get the benefit for which we pay?

It is a sad plight, I should say, as the General Secretary of the Congress had said, that the nation is really in need, at present, of improving the moral stature. Shri Tandonji has also said, I am glad to say, that at present, instead of—I should not say instead of, but priority should be given—improving the economic condition, attention should be given to the moral education of the country. For this I would say that the mothers are responsible: first mothers and then teachers. With regard to education, the Deputy Minister for Education said that we are trying to help in creating a national education for our country. In this education, I would give importance to the personnel, the kind of teachers we are going to have. If we improve the personnel, these teachers can impart the right kind of education which will improve the character of the children: *Charitra*. I am sure he is trying his best and I congratulate him. But, in his anxiety to do away with unemployment, I hope he will also pay more attention to selecting the right kind of personnel as teachers because we are putting our children in their hands. We are responsible for our future generations. In order to improve the status of these teachers, I would appeal that they should get proper emoluments. A few days back, we attended the Education Consultative Committee. Dr. Fowkles also said that the teachers in India are not properly paid. I was informed that in a few places, they are paid Rs. 22/- even less than what our chaprasis get. I would appeal that if we want to raise the character of our country, the staff should be properly selected and they should be properly paid.

Coming to the unemployment problem, I would suggest that we have not paid proper attention to small-scale industries. This morning, a question was asked about soap. I find that an excise duty has been imposed even on hand-made soap. At present we want to give protection to hand-made industries. I would appeal to the Minister that those people who are engaged in preparing the hand-made soaps should be given exemption from this duty. I request that some study should be made, as they do in Japan, of small-scale industries which are integrated with bigger

industries. We should also have some sort of a scheme by which the bigger industries and the small-scale industries can work together and our small-scale industries could be spread out in the villages so that our villages also can prosper. In this way, we can also give work to those who are unemployed in the villages and help to raise the standard of living in the villages. These are the two things that I feel we should take up in the Second Five Year Plan.

Lastly, I am sorry to say that we have not spent the sums which we set apart for various schemes under the First Five Year Plan. I would say this is true about water works. I am told that not much work is done in that direction. May I request those who are in charge of this to see why we are not able to implement those schemes? Are we short of technicians? On the one side, we are told that so many educated persons are unemployed. There are many technicians, I am told, who can take up this work and they are not getting employment. On the other hand, I was told we are getting too many experts from foreign countries. I would give one example. I have got this information that at Kandla port there are so many German experts.

Shri Bhawanji (Kutch West) : None in Kandla.

Shrimati Jayashri : This is the information I have got.

Mr. Chairman : The hon. lady Member has exhausted her time and now she is entering into a side discussion.

Shrimati Jayashri : I am glad to be informed that this is not true, but there are places where these foreign experts, so-called experts I would say, are employed. There may be one or two real experts, but the others who are brought from foreign countries are not real experts, and such technicians we can get in our country also. So, in order to remove this unemployment amongst the educated classes also, I would request that proper attention should be given and we should try and get as few experts as possible from outside.

Mr. Chairman : Shri M. D. Joshi. Perhaps the hon. member is aware that the Finance Minister begins at 1-50.

Shri M. D. Joshi (Ratnagiri South) : I know that my time is very limited. I shall merely touch the fringes of the points which I wanted to make. I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity.

This budget is evidence as much of the resilience of the country as of the resilience of the Finance Minister. We were not only pleased to hear the speech, but more, we were pleased to read it afterwards, not only for its felicity of expression and lucidity of exposition, but also for the message of hope and good cheer which it contained.

At page 13, we have this remark of the Finance Minister :

“We have, therefore, to take steps to rationalise and modernise these industries so as to make them capable of withstanding foreign competition.”

This shows that India has entered the field of foreign competition and has to modernise her equipment in order to hold her own in that competition. We have been clamouring for help to the cottage and small-scale industries and we do not know how these industries will thrive and how they will hold their own against the competition of heavy machinery. Our present set-up of Government and its working are modelled after the British pattern. We are trying to change them to the socialist pattern of the Indian kind. I would therefore wish as has been voiced by so many speakers before, that our pattern should be our own in which the culture and noble traditions of India are reflected. The noble traditions of India are today represented not so much in our budgets as in the message which is carried by that noble son of India, Acharya Vinobha Bhave. What does he say? I have just this morning received a pamphlet in which Acharya Vinobha Bhave calls upon the rich people and tells them :

“I, therefore, commend three things to my ‘rich friends’ all over the country with a fervent appeal to them to consent to them so that they would bear ‘the standard of service to the nation’. They are :

1. They should renounce profit or interest hunting.

[Shri M. D. Joshi]

2. They should agree to make use of their property as trustees and declare before the country to that effect.
3. I would like them to donate one-sixth of their income in Sampatidan as a symbol of love and as a token of acceptance of the Sarvodaya idea, so that the poor and the landless can be helped immediately."

If this advice were taken by our industrialists and *Lakshmipatraits*, then our Finance Minister need not be apologetic about taxing them. He need not be afraid how his budget should be framed. If India wants to save her soul, if she wants to preserve her noble traditions and her purity of outlook, that can only be done by giving her good education, as was pointed out yesterday by the General Secretary of the Congress.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA in the Chair]

Coming to education, I am very sorry to note that there is no co-ordination of education throughout India. Each State has its own programme of education. In Bombay State primary education begins at the age of six for the child. In some of the States it begins at the age of five. Secondary education ends at the seventeenth year in Bombay State. Therefore, children from Bombay are unable to compete in the competitive examinations such as the entrance examinations to the Army and Navy etc. This is a handicap which must be removed by the Central Government by introducing and enforcing co-ordination in education. There must be co-ordination also in the pay of the primary teachers. I had referred to it last year and again I have to refer to it this year because nothing has been done in the last year. It is only Bombay State which has given relief to primary teachers, the other States have not done so. I merely touch upon these points because I cannot illustrate them, I cannot go into them.

Then, we have to look to our defences. It has been pointed out here by some friends before me that we have not paid sufficient attention to our defence. Danger is at our very door, and even in this atomic age we cannot forget our old arms, the arms which we have been using, ordinary arms, and we have to be modern and we have to be up to date in that direction also.

India has to save her soul, but if India has to save her soul, she must save her country, her body. So, to that aspect also I would invite the attention of the Finance Minister.

India has a long coastline of 3,000 miles. We have a very truncated, a very inadequate Navy. We have practically no merchant navy. We must have naval schools, schools for merchant seamen. On the western coast we have been clamouring for one school for merchant seamen.

Mr. Chairman : Need I remind the hon. Member that the Finance Minister has to start at 1.50 ?

Shri M. D. Joshi : If you would allow me three minutes....

Mr. Chairman : When he started, he himself accepted the position that he would finish in time. I would request him to finish as soon as possible.

Shri M. D. Joshi : I was very sorry to note the allotment to railways in the Second Plan. The Finance Minister is one of the architects of the Second Plan. He knows that his own constituency and my constituency are very poor. We are neighbours and his own constituency is suffering for want of railway and my own has been clamouring for a railway. That shows that he is impartial. But that shows also—I am sorry to say—that no attention has been paid to his constituency as well as mine, even though he is in charge. I would therefore request him very humbly to pay his attention towards his constituency as well as mine, and sanction more amounts for railways, so that railways may be constructed through my constituency.

Mr. Chairman : Now, the Finance Minister.

श्री एस० के० रजनी (सिहोर) : जनान चेन्नरमेन साहब, में कई बार खड़ा हुआ और में ने लिखकर भी दिया लेकिन मुझे बोलने का मौका नहिं दिया गया। इसलिए में बाकमाउट करता हूँ।

Mr. Chairman : Order, order. The hon. Member should not try to make a speech when he has not been called.

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh) : I am glad that the last speaker finished on the rail. That certainly lets me out of the charge that I take any special interest in my capacity as Finance Minister in my own

constituency or State or any other constituency to which I may be related.

Reviewing the course of the budget discussion, I find that the efflux of time has brought a little acidity into it. Nevertheless, I think I can claim that the reception of the budget by the House has not been unfavourable. Most of the comments, observations and suggestions have been helpful, certainly very earnest and sincere, although perhaps sometimes truculently so. The only *appavaad* comes from Ram Rajya.

Unfortunately the hon. member is not here.

Shri B. S. Murthy (Eluru): It does not exist.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: You are pledged to bring it into existence.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I fear his class exists very much. That must have been the class which was in the mind of Shri Tulsidas in the opening chapter:

जे पर दोष लखि सहसाखी,
पर हित धृत जिके मन माखी ।

I am sorry Shri Tulsidas is not here. I meant it for him.

In the course of my reply, I shall not be able to deal with matters which largely concern other Ministries, from one of which some defence has already come, and from the rest of whom I have no doubt appropriate defences will be presented to the House in the course of the passing of the budget in its various stages, particularly when the Demands for Grants are discussed. That holds off external affairs, defence, health, rehabilitation, labour and so on and so forth. So far as education is concerned, already a reply has been given. But I have no doubt that a supplementary reply which is called for will be furnished later on.

In connection with rehabilitation, the Minister, who will no doubt explain the matter at greater length, told me that except for the purposes of compensation, the displaced persons from Mirpur and other areas are treated in the same way as the displaced persons from Pakistan, except perhaps in the matter of loans from the Rehabilitation Finance Administration; he told me that he intended to take up this matter with my Ministry.

As regards compensation, the hon. Member who referred to this question will realise that in theory we could not very well regard them as displaced persons from Pakistan, in view of the nature of the Kashmir dispute. I have no doubt that the Minister will take notice of the weighty observations that fell from the hon. Member.

Then, I shall also deal with one small point that the same hon. Member raised, and that is in regard to Hindi. We have been making sincere attempts to expand the field of our Hindi translation, so far as budget documents are concerned. I do believe, although I cannot give a firm promise, that hon. Members will have a copy of the Hindi budget in their hands next year; in addition if possible a copy of the Finance Bill in Hindi. But they will realise that it presents peculiar difficulties in the way of technical terms and so on and so forth. But I am certainly going to have a try at this.

The general observations that fell from hon. Members are more or less in conformity with their well-known ideologies and attitudes. There are a few exceptions perhaps, but they are from this side of the House. In general, the charges against the budget are that either we are going too slow or we are going too fast. But I think the majority of Members seem to believe that both the direction and the rate of progress are just about the right.

Certain hon. Members seem to regard the budget and whatever observations that I made in introducing it is an attempt to claim credit for Government especially for progress in evolving a socialistic pattern of society. I was myself not mentally aware of this kind of attitude, and indeed I have been blamed for not even once referring to the socialist pattern in the course of my budget speech.

I was more concerned with the practical problem of giving effect to the first phase of the Five Year Plan, a draft outline of which is already out, and which the House will have the opportunity of discussing at some length a little later in this session.

There were complaints also that we bring forward many proposals without consultations with the Opposition. I do not quite see the point of this criticism when I repeat that the budget before us now—and this is the sixth one—is an

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attempt to implement a Plan which has either received the approval of the House or which is coming up for the detailed approval of the House a little later; and in the course of securing this approval, all possible opportunities are given to Members of the Opposition and the various parliamentary groups to study the whole matter and to furnish their suggestions. Even so, certain hon. Members are anxious to have a more elaborate consideration of their suggestions. They are always welcome to communicate this intention to me, as two hon. Members have already done; and we shall be very glad to sit down with them and try and see if we can evolve something useful for the furtherance of our common objectives, which we will not claim redound solely to the credit of Government. Because it is time that we all realised that we are now engaged in an effort which could be regarded as truly national, and even though we may be on the eve of an election, I doubt if it is necessary for any party—and certainly not the ruling party—to claim that all the progress that has been made in this country has been made entirely by them and on their own initiative. It was because of a desire to remove this misapprehension that I referred in my speech to *Jana shakti* and the attitude of the people at large.

2 P.M.

Now, in considering this Budget, I realise it is difficult to disentangle considerations which are relevant to the Plan from considerations which are relevant to this particular Financial Statement. If one analyses the debate, one will find that the bulk of the observations made by hon. Members would probably be more appropriate when discussing the Draft Outline of the Second Plan. It is unfortunate that we have not been able to bring that Outline out perhaps six months earlier. That would have been the logical course, had time permitted it. But it was completely impossible, and as it is, the Planning Commission, the State Governments and the Central Ministries have been dreadfully hustled into producing something which has taken the form of the Draft Outline. Nevertheless, the Outline has been before hon. Members. In that they must discover the reasons why certain priorities have been adopted, certain regions do not

seem to have received proper treatment, the localisation of industries as hon. Members wanted has not been considered practicable and so on and so forth. I mention this because my inability to deal with these matters should not be regarded or construed as lack of sympathy. When the time comes, I have no doubt that speakers on the Treasury Benches will be called upon to explain some of these things in far greater detail. Such, for instance, is this question of the relative emphasis on the development of the public or private sector or this other—to my mind, more important—question of the development of the rural *vis-a-vis* the urban sector, and generally the question of the evolution of a socialistic or socialist pattern of society. If I had time at my disposal, I would not have minded entering upon a discussion of some of these matters, but, alas, the time allotted to me is far too limited to permit of this. Nevertheless, because this matter has been mentioned more than once, I should like to refer to it, and that is this question of what one might sentimentiously call, the 'village beautiful movement'. I repeat again that I am wholly in sympathy with the idea thrown out by the hon. Member and that I passed it on to the Community Projects Administration and the Planning Commission. Apparently, they have not yet taken up separately the question of reconstructing a village as a model village where it stands, but what has been done—and maybe that might be regarded as taking some sort of notice of this idea—is that where existing villages have had to be reconstructed, as for instance, after floods, the Community Projects authorities make a point of sending specialists in rural housing from the appropriate Ministry to plan and make these villages model villages. Such activities, I learn are going on in parts of Madhya Pradesh, PEPSU and also near Delhi. Also, I do not know if the hon. Member knows—although we do not take any credit for it—that there is a non-official movement of this kind being inspired by Shri Tukdoji Maharaj. He has taken up a number of villages in Madhya Pradesh as well as, I believe, in Hyderabad, and he has embodied his philosophy in this matter in a volume in Marathi which is called *Grama Gita*, which is, I am told, likely to be translated now by him in many other Indian languages.

Shri Kamath: He is known as *Rashtra Sant*.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh : I accept the hon. Member's word. My respect for him is too high to be modified by any label.

With these preliminary observations, I shall turn to the specific points that were made by hon. Members. The first one is in regard to the economic functions of the Budget. Now, we agree with the need for an assessment of the economic situation in as precise terms as possible and for utilising to the fullest possible extent the techniques of analysis and presentation of budgets that have been attempted elsewhere. I referred to this matter last year also—I devoted a couple of paragraphs to it—and I assured the hon. Member who referred to this, the hon. Member for Bhandara, that these questions were receiving consideration. As a matter of fact, we have been studying this for some years past now. The main desideratum, it will be recognised, is the systematisation, refinement and early compilation of the national income data. It will be recalled that the First Five Year Plan has an appendix entitled, "National budgeting and the Plan" and in that appendix, we had stated the usefulness of the national budgeting approach and the difficulties that had to be overcome in this connection. It will be found on pages 100-101 of the First Plan document.

Now, an essential step in this direction is the reclassification of government budgets in terms of functional and economic categories. For assessing the effects of the fiscal measures on the economy, it is necessary to view in its totality the impact of the receipts and disbursements not only of the Central but also of the State, Governments—in fact, of all public authorities. Now, the fact that we have a federal system and that data have to be put together from a large number of documents, makes this task more difficult than in countries where the central budget accounts are adopted for the bulk of the fiscal operations of public authorities. The second step is, of course, to bring these reclassified accounts into relationship with the relevant portions of our national income or national expenditure. This means that the latter data must also be instantaneously available. I shall have later on a word to say as to the causes of delay in our getting the reports of the National Sample Survey which have some bearing on this.

I should like to give an idea of the lines on which the work is already being done. The National Income Unit of the Central Statistical Organisation has been working out a set of national accounts for some years past. In these accounts estimates are given of the share of government expenditure in total national expenditure and the draft of the public authorities on the total national income. Even government expenditure is broken up into current expenditure and expenditure on capital formation. Government receipts are also classified by their economic categories. Similarly, the set of national accounts which are prepared by the National Income Unit also include an analysis of our transactions with the rest of the world. In the estimates of national income for 1948-49 to 1953-54 issued by the Central Statistical Office in March 1955, we have this kind of detailed analysis up to the year 1952-53 and more recently estimates have been prepared for 1953-54 and I expect that they will be released shortly. So, I would like to assure the House that we have initiated the work in this direction. But, of course, we are aware of the fact that this work is done with a considerable time lag. What are the reasons for this?

The first is that the relevant data do not become available until quite some time after the close of the year for which national accounts are being compiled. When there are difficulties with regard to the assessment of past trends, even then projections for the coming year would obviously be more difficult and national budgeting or economic budgeting has to be a series of projections for the coming year in relation to the trends of the previous one or two years. It is recognised that our economy is not as well organised as that of the United Kingdom or the U.S.A., and, therefore, data regarding the level of activities in certain sectors are not easily available. And, when one goes into this matter little more deeply one discovers that there are even more modern and more fashionable tools of analysis or lines of investigation which one could explore.

That opens new vistas of problems of all kinds of technical names the House may be interested in, commodity balances, technical relationships between inputs and outputs, elasticities of demand in terms of income changes and price changes and various kinds of

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propensities which economists talk of. And, I am sure Shri Asoka Mehta has also heard of linear programming and matrices and inversion of matrices. Now the techniques and tools of analysis are changing.

Shri A. M. Thomas (Ernakulam) : It is all Greek to us.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh : It is almost the same to me. I appreciate that we must keep abreast of developments. But, I think, for the time being it is important that we perfect our estimates of the various component parts of our national income accounts as applied to our own conditions. And, it is only when we perfect these estimates that we can evolve some kind of articulated system for economic prognostication.

We have in the Economic Division of the Ministry of Finance a detailed scheme for the functional economy reclassification of budgets and the analysis of the Central Budget for 1956-57 has already been taken in hand in order to try out the suitability or feasibility of the lines of reclassification which we have envisaged. There are, as I said, considerable technical problems and problems of estimates and we are going to discuss these shortly between the technicians in the Ministry of Finance, in the Central Statistical Office and the Research Department of the Reserve Bank.

I devoted some time to this because this matter has been raised again and again and I do not wish the House to feel that it is being cheated out of something which is very necessary and which is very feasible. I wish, therefore, to add a little, not in its literal sense. (*Interruption.*) I would like to draw the attention of hon. Members particularly of Shri Asoka Mehta, the hon. Member from Bhandara, to an article of Mr. E. Devons in the *Economica* of August 1952. In this article, Mr. Devons has reviewed his experience in the United Kingdom with economic planning in terms of the economic survey for each year. His conclusion, as regards capital investment with which we are particularly concerned, was:

“Usually the sectors where investment was planned to increase, increased less than the plan and where reductions were called for, they did not fully materialise.”

He says :

“Thus if one starts with an inflationary situation and assumes that investment will be at a high level in the coming year and will be limited only by physical controls, if one assumes that the pressure of consumer expenditure will be such that it will need to be restrained by rationing, and if one assumes that increased Government expenditure will not be matched by higher rates of taxation, it is hardly surprising that a system of national accounts drawn up on these assumptions results in a residual figure of personal savings which is not likely to be forthcoming voluntarily.”

He concludes;

“By 1951, a good deal of the planning system portrayed in the first Survey had disappeared.. The Survey for 1952 completed this process. Practically all reference in statistical terms to plans for the coming year had disappeared.”

I shall not elaborate on this point.

I shall now proceed to certain criticisms in regard to presentation of facts in the Explanatory Memorandum. Shri Bansal, for instance, wanted to know the actuals of the previous years wherever a budget provision was indicated. As far as possible, we shall try to introduce this refinement. But I should add that in some cases it may not be practicable to give the figures of actuals as they are inextricably mixed with the normal expenditure, under several sub-heads. The information about the Budget provision for the coming year is extracted from the new items approved every year and if the actuals in respect of these items for the previous year are also to be given, it will involve, it can easily be imagined, an enormous increase in the number of account heads which might make our accounting system more complicated. He wanted a little clarification of the entry, ‘New Capital in Delhi’. This is an account head which was opened in 1912 following the decision to construct a new capital at Delhi. All capital expenditure relating to Civil Works in New Delhi is, ever since then, recorded under this head. And, similar expenditure in respect of Old Delhi and Delhi

Cantonment etc. is booked separately. Therefore, he need not have any apprehension that this expression connotes any special significance.

There was a great deal of criticism in detail of the so-called discrepancies in Budget documents by Dr. Lanka Sundaram. I have a very satisfactory answer to every item of criticism that he has advanced but I doubt whether the House will be interested in the details of this. So, with your permission, I shall send a letter to the hon. Member by which I hope to be able to prove that we are right and he is wrong. I am sure he will be convinced and he is a very fair-minded man.

Now I come to a very important matter which has rightly engaged the attention of a large number of Members, and that is, what safeguards we propose to have in regard to deficit financing. I should say that really is the crux of our planning. I am glad that so far as the general principle is concerned, most Members agree that financing within limits is necessary and even desirable in a developing economy. Everybody recognises that there are limits and possibly everyone recognises that they cannot be easily defined in advance. Therefore, I repeat what I said in my Budget Speech—wherever we are running a certain amount of risk. Apart from asking for advance information in regard to safeguards, there are very few Members who have suggested a remedy in advance, except one, and that is Dr. Krishnaswami, who has boldly suggested that we should have a reduction in expenditure. But I gather that most Members would not like the total size of the Plan to be reduced and also the size of expenditure which is provided for in the Budget that has been presented. The figures are well known to hon. Members. They register an increase of only about Rs. 50 crores in the capital expenditure. So, one might say that it aims at more or less preserving the momentum of the advance that we are now making. And many hon. Members have individually suggested increases in the allotments for subjects in which they are interested, and I fear that has infected even my colleague. Only yesterday you heard that the Deputy Minister of Education wished wistfully that he had Rs. 1000 crores for Education instead of—I forget what the sum is.....

Shri T. S. A. Chettiar (Tiruppur) : Rs. 320 crores.

The Minister of Defence Organisation (Shri Tyagi) : Not 420 crores !

Shri C. D. Deshmukh : Yes, Rs. 320 crores. Here is an educational expert and he knows all these figures by heart. Now certain hon. Members have been helpful enough to suggest remedies. For instance, the hon. Member from Bhandara has recommended readiness to impose controls. On the other hand, several Members have expressed themselves as violently opposed to controls.

Shrimati Sushama Sen (Bhagalpur South) : Yes, certainly.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh : I have no doubt that if and when we reach a stage for making a judgment, probably there will not be this gap in the thinking of various Members. Some Members hold that deficit financing would be a form of indirect taxation. In a sense it is true, because if there is a rise in prices, the common man, whose cause has been championed so warmly and so well by hon. Members, stands to suffer much more seriously than anything that I can do or the House can do in the way of the imposition of taxes. From the point of view of the community as a whole, as the lady Member from Bihar pointed out, the real protection against inflation is only additional production, but that must be in accordance with the Plan that we have adopted. Having adopted a Plan, we have no means of increasing

[*Mr. Speaker in the Chair*]

the volume of production except where Providence is kind to us or to my colleague, the Minister of Agriculture. There has to be, therefore, a certain amount of built in corrective to inflationary pressure in the Plan itself. What I mean is that when one determines the figure of deficit finance, one takes into account the likely increase in production that is going to accrue as a result of the current implementation of the Plan. Part of the increased purchasing power generated through deficit financing, therefore, will be absorbed by the addition to the national product. We hope that part of it will be absorbed through the increased monetization of the economy which the development process will promote, that is to say, just

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the use of money, the purchasing medium. It is a fact recognised by economists that under certain conditions, the people's willingness to hold cash increases significantly. Of course, there are many ways of taking excess purchasing power back into public exchequer through taxation, borrowing and small savings. And I am glad one hon. Member—the hon. Member from Bombay City—devoted the whole of his speech to this important subject, advocating a well-organised nation-wide campaign for improving small savings so as to enable us even to exceed the target adopted by the Planning Commission. Inflationary pressures get transmitted to the balance of payments where there are increased demands for imports. And in part, therefore, we shall have to control imports. But one hopes that additional imports will be available without current payment, and that is the only way of increasing the import surplus as the lady Member has suggested.

The Deputy Leader of the Communist Party made the point that the import of consumer goods was undesirable. But it has to be recognised that in the context of inflationary pressures, additional imports of consumer goods can be of vital significance to the economy. And indeed even now we are importing whatever we find ourselves short in, as for instance, cement, and iron and steel. To a certain extent, inflationary pressures, it must be admitted, are implicit in any big scale developmental effort. It is no use of closing our eyes to this difficulty, but I think on the whole, development with inflation is better than stagnation with stability. The important thing is to prevent the prices of primary necessities from rising excessively because it is these which create a spiral of rising costs and rising prices.

One Member,—I think it was Shri Bansal,—suggested that a certain amount of excess capacity for consumer goods industry like cloth is a valuable safeguard against inflation. So far as arithmetic is concerned, the point is right; so far as planning is concerned, I think he is wrong because there is a difference between availing oneself of all such excessive capacity as exists and planning deliberately for additional capacity to meet the contingent inflation at a time when all available capital resources have to be

pressed into use. And in this connection one should also consider the possibility of using excess capacity in the form of additional man-power.

Hon. Members have demanded that I should state in advance what my line of defence or strategy of defence against inflation is going to be. I hardly think it advisable to enunciate this in advance. After all, the main weapons in this armoury are well-known: fiscal policy, monetary policy, import-export control, fiscal allocations, control of distribution—all these used in various combinations and at appropriate times depending upon the way in which the situation unfolds itself because if there is a tendency on the part of the public to seek hedges against inflation, there is also a tendency to seek hedges against controls or correctives to inflation which Government may devise. So, all that one can say and should say is that the situation will be watched carefully and that the House can depend upon it that to the best of our ability we will take necessary measures—such measures as are necessary and warranted by the situation. When and to what extent such measures should be taken must be naturally a matter of judgment. It is better in matters like this to take measures as King Raghu did :

फलानुमेयाः प्रारम्भाः संस्काराः प्राक्तना इव ।

You should know your action by the results which announce themselves first rather than announce your strategy in advance.

I shall not deal with the question of unemployment which I think was dealt with fairly adequately by the Deputy Minister. Finally, the point of all this discussion comes to this. Are there any so-called labour intensive ways in which one can expand employment and the point of controversy arises because of the numbers involved and the extent to which the mills will be allowed to produce additional cloth which will be required by the community. Or, alternatively, we shall rely upon improved forms of the charkha and the handlooms. I cannot say that on this matter a final decision has been taken but the preliminary figures that I have seen seem to indicate that in order to produce yarn equal to perhaps one thousand million yards—additional—one would have to incur an expenditure of

a little under Rs. 150 crores in five years of which about Rs. 80 crores—additional employment of a direct kind to be in the form of subsidy. That subsidy has not yet been provided for in the draft outline and that is why, when I mentioned the matter of taxation in the Rajya Sabha, when I made calculations of what we might be called upon to raise, I said that in addition to using our present estimated surplus of Rs. 350 crores for the Centre and the States and Rs. 225 crores as the Centre's share of further taxation *plus* Rs. 225 crores for the States, we may have to raise another Rs. 200 crores; that is for matters like these to meet any urgent requirements, defence, etc.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram (Visakhapatnam): May I interrupt? About this unemployment question, are you in a position to give the House information as to the results produced by the allotment of Rs. 175 crores—additional to the first allotment of the First Plan. That picture is not clear as yet.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: One figure was given by the hon. Deputy Education Minister. He said about eighty thousand teachers had been employed. Then, there were minor irrigation works and so on. I have not got the figures with me here but it should not be impossible to furnish them. We know now how much labour absorbing capacity the minor irrigation works have. Although I cannot give that figure, I have no doubt the figure can be furnished. One has various ways of finding out how much direct employment there has been and that figure can be furnished.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: I am not talking about what you call calculations. I am talking of the actual employment provided after a sum of Rs. 175 crores was added to the Plan. That is the point.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I am trying to answer the same point.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: You are talking of calculations.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Figures cannot be given without calculation. Anyway I shall draw the attention of the Planning Commission to this. All I can say is that I cannot give an offhand figure about the employment resulting from additional outlay of Rs. 175 crores embodied in the extended First Plan. I think these figures will be available.

I was going to add that the difficulty is not now of calculating how much additional employment of a direct kind is furnished by different kinds of work or different categories of work. Whether it is irrigation or power or industry, one can give the figure: "This kind of thing will cost Rs. 1,000 in order to employ one additional person; others may cost Rs. 10,000 and some may cost Rs. 20,000." The total employment can be calculated by that directly and as our Second Plan is likely to have greater emphasis on organised industry, probably for rupee to rupee, the employment potential is likely to be smaller. It is for this reason that a separate allocation was suggested—whether it is Rs. 265 or Rs. 200 crores—for specially labour intensive methods of producing the consumer goods that the community will need as a result of additional investment expenditure.

There were certain points in regard to national income because that is very important for formulating taxation policies. One hon. Member said that we did not know enough as to how the national income was flowing into different channels. He said that we must know who the beneficiaries of this are and relate our taxation proposals to these specific points or places where incomes have increased. The first point here is that which relates to the desirability of having some information on the sectors to which the additional income generated in the economy flows. There can be no quarrel with the view, though a simple statement of the increase in national income as a whole does not take you far enough. Our national income estimates do give a break-down by different sectors such as agriculture, small establishments, factory establishments and so on. But what the hon. Member has had in mind was perhaps the distribution of the additional income generated by classes of functions—that is, additional income accruing to workers, salaried classes, rent receivers and so on. One could go a step further and try to get an idea of the income accruing to small farmers, middle farmers, big farmers and so on. But unfortunately this is a counsel of perfection.

Such information would be useful. Nobody would deny that. Here, alas in this country, it cannot be easily collected. In the more advanced countries, the bulk of incomes in the community is subject to income-tax and

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therefore, it is quite easy to get an idea of the pattern of income *plus* or the distribution of income by analysing the income-tax returns; but here in India an analysis of the income-tax returns can at best give an idea of the situation which may be described as marginal or even worse—that is to say, at the fringe. We have, therefore, to rely on specific studies from time to time to get an idea of the changes in the economic well-being of different classes. For instance, we had an exhaustive enquiry into the conditions of living of agricultural labour sometime back. The Rural Credit Survey—a survey by the Research Programmes Committees—into the living conditions was there and also the National Sample Survey. These will give us greater insight into the relative position of different classes.

Some Members referred to the question of distribution of income generated in factories. At present all manufacturers attempt an analysis of the net output of factories into payments of wages, salaries, rents etc., for a number of industries and more comprehensive data are being collected on the basis of sample surveys. The question of improving on this data, particularly payment of wages for factories, is also being pursued. Then some Members have referred to the analysis of company balance-sheet made by the Reserve Bank of India. So, this problem is being tackled along various lines, but there is no convenient short-cut at least now available whereby we can draw up a picture of distribution of income year by year and expeditiously.

Now, the second point, that is to say, relating taxation to income, only direct taxation can be related to taxable capacity and in regard to indirect taxation only a periodical appraisal of general overall figures can be attempted. But I would like to say that this whole issue of the question of the burden of existing taxation and the scope for further taxation was gone into only recently by the Taxation Inquiry Commission and, we are, generally speaking, following the lines indicated by that Commission.

That brings me to the next issue and that is :—I better get that out of the way—why is it that I have not adopted all the taxes that have been mentioned in the draft outline of the Second Five Year Plan? My simple answer is that

I am not budgeting for 5 years nor is this a Finance Act, that is recommended for passing, for 5 years. All we are dealing with now is the first year's phase of this Five Year Plan and I have already adumbrated the possibility of our having to review this question from year to year to find out what our revenue requirements are, what our capital investment requirements are and then to order our resources accordingly. Then there are many forms of taxation which require a great deal of study and investigation: particularly investigation into the administrative feasibilities of these matters are under consideration. Therefore, if any hon. Members are under the impression—it is only a draft outline; it has not been signed by anybody and it is subject to the observations of the House—that the Finance Minister is playing a Jekyll and Hyde life they better disabuse themselves of this impression.

As regards the relation of direct taxes and incomes the House must be interested in these figures. I have calculated that per head of population the indirect taxes that is paid in India may be about Rs. 9 on an income of Rs. 284 per head. That comes to about 3 per cent. This is paid by everybody. We may assume there may be gradations. But the elasticity cannot be very great. For instance, in cloth it may be as 1·2 between a person who is ill-clad and a person who is well-clad and so it may be in various other matters. But it is safe for our purposes to go upon this average of Rs. 9 per head. In addition to this here is what the income taxpayers pay. Income groups between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 8,400 *per capita* tax is Rs. 160. This is in addition to Rs. 9.

Shri Asoka Mehta (Bhandara):
Per capita or per tax-payer?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Per tax-payer. I suppose he is the head of the family. So you may multiply it by the number of members—4½ or 5—in the family per assessee. Then for income group Rs. 8,400 to Rs. 10,000 it is Rs. 360. I won't give all the figures. I come to Rs. 55,000 because hon. Members have somehow in mind some kind of limit of Rs. 50,000, Rs. 60,000 and so on and so forth. Between Rs. 55,000 and Rs. 1 lakh per assessee it is Rs. 30,000. That is in addition to 9 times Rs. 5 or Rs. 45 per family. Then there is the last category, above Rs. 1 lakh or between Rs. 1 lakh and Rs. 20 lakhs.

Here the average comes to Rs. 75,000 per family. The total for all groups per assessee and the number of assessees is a little under half a million, is Rs. 1850. That is about 16 per cent of the average income of the tax-payer. Therefore, I do not think it is worthwhile our devoting too much attention to this question of the proportion of direct and indirect taxes or taking the Finance Minister to task for not carrying out an alleged promise that he will try and reduce the percentage of indirect taxes. As I pointed out in my speech in the Rajya Sabha that is generally a reflection of the state of development of a particular country. We are, I think, about 40 and 60 except in wartime or years in which export duties were very high. I have no doubt that as the country gets more and more developed the direct taxes will bear a larger and larger percentage of the whole. But, I think we have to accept the fact that we could never have a scheme of taxation which will contain entirely all direct taxation even for the purpose of the next five years. I have made calculations in my own mind as to what income tax is likely to produce. May be that there is Rs. 10 crores or Rs. 20 crores worth of evasion—I cannot say,—but certain curves which our statisticians have presented seem to indicate that evasion is of that order and if we attain ideal perfection in this matter, may be one can get at that Rs. 20 crores. Then if one lowers the exemption limit which is today at Rs. 4,200, may be there is another Rs. 3 crores or Rs. 4 crores there if we can get over the administrative difficulties. Then there is this possibility of getting a little more from the tall poppies by bringing down gradually the limit of maximum income—more or less maximum, it can never be a mathematical maximum—by trying to remove disparity between the lowest and highest incomes. That might yield another Rs. 3 crores or Rs. 4 crores. That is all that that particular system is capable of. The fact is that in this country—although it is a very elementary fact—today there are 380 million people of whom half a million are income tax-payers and if you multiply it by 5.2:5 million out of 380 million are those who belong to the income-tax-paying class. There, as one hon. Member pointed out, if you abolish all capitalist and all property-owning classes, even then the country will have to sustain its own development programmes.

3 25 Lok Sabha.

So it is all a question of the temporary justice of the measures that one takes. And here I would urge that the House should not take a fanatical view in this matter. One should have sympathy for the reflection that if the wealthier people go about living in conspicuous luxury that is a psychological factor which affects the will to work of those who are not so advantageously placed. But, with all that I think one ought to recognise that this is a country of poor people and that it will have to pull itself up with the help of the savings of the poor people.

In connection with taxation, the question is raised every year as to the use to which the money is put. I have said what I had to say in regard to economy and so on. I have also given it as my view that so far as what is called administrative economy is concerned, even after going through the matter the whole hog, I doubt whether one will discover that any massive savings are found to be available. The idea that we have put forward aims at a different thing, that is, avoidance of waste and extravagance in the implementation of our Plan. The proper field for it is not only the affairs of the Central Government but also the affairs of the State Governments. It is my hope that by a businesslike achievement audit of the performance of these authorities, we might be able to find ourselves in a position where we shall get greater value for money; but that does not mean that our need for money will be less. We might be getting better results. Nevertheless, we shall be left with the problem of raising resources perhaps for a little bigger programme. So, one has to reconcile oneself to this necessity of trying to find resources for development and one could never hope to meet everything that one needs, merely by cutting down expenditure. Stated in that form, I think it would seem to be obviously illogical.

Then there was some observation in regard to parliamentary control over expenditure and the setting up sub-committees and so on and so forth, particularly in regard to supplementary demands. I doubt whether it is a correct suggestion, because, under the Constitution, supplementary grants are required to be treated in the same way as the budget estimates which are not subject to prior scrutiny. We are also trying to give elaborate details of the reasons for the additional grants to the

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh]

House to facilitate a proper examination by it. Also, really, supplementary grants are related only to the total estimates and I doubt myself whether any examination thereof will yield very useful results. I say this from experience, because at one time these things used to be scrutinised by the Standing Finance Committee, and within my experience, I found that it was seldom that they were able to suggest any significant reductions. The time factor also comes in, as Government has to ensure that all the requirements and all the anticipated excesses are included in the demands. That is why the grants cannot be introduced earlier than at present. Several standing committees of the House to go into various matters, such as corporations and so on have been mentioned, and these questions have been discussed more than once. I personally hold no strong views on this matter, and, as Finance Minister, I welcome scrutiny into whatever public expenditure that the House wishes to scrutinise. But I doubt if merely by multiplying committees, one would be able to achieve that sense of restraint and so on which must inform the administration in incurring the expenditure. Also, I think the audit report is a sufficient guidance to the committees which are already sitting, especially the Public Accounts Committee, and if necessary. I believe it is open to them to appoint sub-committees for detailed examination of any subject in which they are interested.

In regard to the details of taxation, we shall have occasions in the future, opportunities in the future, to go into the matter. The major features of taxation have already been alluded to by some of the Members, and a very cogent reply was given by Shri Morarka. I believe, in regard to the justness of the corporate taxation that has been proposed and especially in regard to bonus shares he pointed out very rightly that it is part of the integrated scheme of taxation. You cannot have a tax on dividends without a tax on bonus shares and you cannot have a tax on bonus shares without a tax on dividends.

There is one matter which I think is important enough for me to mention, and that is about the question of double taxation in India and Burma. I should like to inform the House that negotiations with the Government of Burma for concluding a double taxation avoidance agreement are already under way

and specific instructions have been issued to the income-tax officers to the effect that collection of the Indian tax on the doubly-taxed income in each individual case should be held in abeyance to the extent of the relief that have been due in India under the old basis of the India and Burma Double Taxation Relief Order, 1936. We have no reason to believe that these instructions are not being followed, but if there are any such cases, I hope the hon. Member from Madras who mentioned it will bring it to the notice of the Commissioner of Income-tax concerned.

Shri U. M. Trivedi (Chittor) : When was this order issued ?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh : I have not got the data here. I suppose orders have been issued recently. Then there was one important question which perhaps could not be dealt with during the discussion of the Finance Bill, and that is, the use of the slab system in excise tariff. The use of this system in excise tariff is a development of comparatively recent origin. At present, such a system is in use in respect of matches, paints and cotton power looms. In respect of consolidated levies also, a slab system exists. But these are designed more to help smaller units than as part of a scheme to charge excise duty on the slab system.

In regard to the particular concerns mentioned by the hon. Member—I think it was Shri Asoka Mehta or Shri Gopalan—the position is this. As for WIMCOs, a recent examination of the position revealed that their share in the total production of matches has appreciably fallen in the last three years from about 71 per cent to 50 per cent, while the share of the medium and smaller units, more particularly, the former, has proportionately risen. Similarly, it appears from a survey undertaken last summer, prior to the introduction of the slab exemption in the soap industry chiefly in the interest of the medium-sized factories, that Messrs. Lever Brothers, though they have by far the largest installed capacity for soap manufacture, were also having 25 per cent of the capacity lying idle.

As for dry batteries, Messrs. National Carbons undoubtedly predominate the field and control 85 per cent of the total production. So far as we know, there never has been any demand from any quarter that a slab system should be introduced in order to safeguard the

interests of small and medium-sized units, in this particular field. May be that the National Carbons are not faced with any competition worth the name.

The Taxation Enquiry Commission has also approved of the present scheme of differentiation in favour of small industries and has suggested a periodic review of the concession so that the policy in this respect may keep in step with the changing needs of economy. In the course of such reviews, it will be examined whether the differential tariff system can be extended to any other industries.

I shall close now by repeating that the budget tries to implement the first phase of the next Five Year Plan and I am assuming that by and large the House will approve of the Plan which they now see in draft outline, and we are raising revenue only to cover the development side of the Plan and are relying in a tentative measure, shall we say, on deficit financing to a certain extent, in regard to financing the investment portion. I have allowed about one-third of the expenditure as not possibly or likely to be incurred and that we have to rely both on direct and indirect taxation for the purpose of financing that part of the Plan which is contained as expenditure in this budget. I hope, therefore, that the budget will, in due course, be approved without any material changes by the House.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

DRAFT BILL ON REORGANISATION OF STATES

3 P.M.

The Minister of Home Affairs (Pandit G. B. Pant) : I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the draft Bill on the Reorganisation of States in the form in which it is being referred to the States under article 3 of the Constitution. A copy of the draft Bill will be supplied to the Members also either today or tomorrow. [Placed in Library. See No. S—105/56]

APPROPRIATION ACCOUNTS (CIVIL) 1952-53 AND AUDIT REPORT, 1954 (PART II)

The Deputy Minister of Finance (Shri B. R. Bhagat) : I beg to lay on the COMMERCIAL APPENDIX TO APPROPRIATION ACCOUNTS (CIVIL) 1952-53 AND AUDIT REPORT, 1954

Table a copy of each of the following papers under article 151(1) of the Constitution :

(1) Appropriation Accounts (Civil) 1952-53 and Audit Report, 1954 (Part II) ; [Placed in Library. See No. S—94/56]

(2) Commercial Appendix to the Appropriation Accounts (Civil) 1952-53 and the Audit Report, 1954 [Placed in Library. See No.S—95/56]

Mr. Speaker : The House will now take up the Private Members' business.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

FORTY-SIXTH REPORT

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

"That this House agrees with the Forty-sixth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 14th March, 1956."

Shri Narasimhan is on his legs to speak on the Resolution on Prohibition for which there are 3 hours and 29 minutes. All the time that is available today, of course, will be taken by this Resolution, but should this Resolution come to a premature end, then there are Resolutions in the Report for which time allotted is stated therein. I commend this Report for this acceptance of the House.

Mr. Speaker : The question is :

"That this House agrees with the Forty-sixth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 14th March, 1956."

The motion was adopted

RESOLUTION RE. FIXING A TARGET DATE FOR PROHIBITION

Mr. Speaker : The House will now proceed with the Resolution re. Fixing a target date for Prohibition, moved by Shri C. R. Narasimhan on the 2nd March, 1956. The time allotted for the Resolution is 3½ hours. The time so far taken is only one minute. So the balance is 3 hours and 29 minutes.