

[Shri Satya Narayan Sinha]

to regularise the whole position. We, therefore, advised the two Secretariats of Parliament to continue the status quo pending legislation. For want of time we could not put through the legislation in the last session.

You are also aware, Sir, that a Committee was appointed sometime ago,—which was of course nominated by you,—to consider the question of daily allowance and travelling allowance of Members. A resolution incorporating the decisions of the Committee was placed on the Order Paper of this House, but for some reason or other it could not be moved.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: What was the reason?

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha: The reason was that the Members were very sharply divided. On the prorogation of the House, Sir, that resolution has naturally lapsed. Government has, therefore decided to place that resolution on the Order Paper of the 27th of this month. The intention of Government is to refer the whole matter to the same Committee, or to any other committee as the House desires—of course, that committee will be nominated by you, in view of the changed circumstance that has arisen, on account, as I said before, of the abolition of the first class. We shall expedite the work of the Committee and as soon as its report would be presented, we shall try to bring legislation incorporating the decisions of the Committee before the Houses. It will be the earnest endeavour on the part of Government to see that that legislation is put through in both Houses before we disperse for the next session.

COMMITTEE ON SUBORDINATE LEGISLATION

PRESENTATION OF FIRST REPORT

Shri Pataskar (Jalgaon): I beg to present the First Report of the Committee on Subordinate Legislation.

GENERAL BUDGET

Mr. Speaker: The House will now proceed with the further discussion of the first stage of the general discussion on the Budget.

Shrimati Jayashri (Bombay—Suburban): I take this opportunity to congratulate the Government for maintaining peace and stability in the country as also stability in the economic position of our country.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

We are all proud of our foreign policy India with its ideal of peace and goodwill has attracted many foreign nations who have offered to ensure her friendship and help and we are all grateful for that. The challenge to democracy today is not to be through war but in peace. Democracy, if it is to be the cornerstone of a new civilization, must justify itself in the coming years in the welfare and happiness of the people. It must produce quick, even spectacular results. Solidarity, unity, self-reliance and all-round development require a bold policy of Planning and development of the cultural, social and economic resources of our people. This can be achieved by contacting the masses and reminding them of their capacity to recall and control authority. The motive force in the Plan therefore should come from the people themselves.

Government have laid great hopes on the community projects but so long as the millions of our women are ignorant, superstitious and in disease, I am afraid that these community project schemes cannot make much headway. The social structure is the foundation on which we want to build a welfare state. I am sorry to say that so far our Government has been indifferent to the social problems on which, as I said, this welfare state has to be built. I would give only one example.

We all know that old evils such as dowry, child marriage, are the cause of rural indebtedness and have been affecting our progress. Some of us

here, Members, try to bring to the notice of the Government these things, but I am sorry to say that Government have so far been indifferent to these problems. I would like to draw the attention of Government to this. In *Kurukshetra*, we read, even the officers themselves have cause to complain against the Finance Department. I will quote some few words which the Officer has mentioned in this magazine :

"Time is the essence of the scheme and our Prime Minister has centred all his hopes on the Community Projects and National Extension Schemes for the uplift and betterment of villages..."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. There is a lot of subdued noise in the House and the Reporters are not able to report the proceedings.

Shrimati Jayashri: Sir, the Prime Minister says that we are living in an atomic age, but our Finance Department moves in a bullock cart age. For nearly a year there was hardly any engineering staff worth the name in the projects to draw up plans, prepare estimates and evaluate the work done by the villagers. The villagers' contribution can be either in cash or in kind. The work in kind has to be evaluated before they can get any government contribution. Only recently I was told that in a project area so far they have not got any contribution even though, to my mind, the work done by voluntary labour in that village alone may be worth several thousands of rupees in cash. I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to this fact so that we may go ahead with our plans in the Community Projects.

Sir, I am glad to notice at least some progress made in our food and cloth position. At present I can see that people are satisfied with these two things. But still there is the colossal problem of unemployment. For this the Planning Commission has recently appointed the Khadi and Village Industries Board. Now, this

Board also has cause to complain. I am reading from their report. They have said :

"The Government of India placed at the disposal of the Board an aggregate sum of Rs. 2,21,29,931 for 1953-54. Of this Rs. 2,07,78,928 was on account of khadi and the rest for village industries. The time lag between the submission of the Board's schemes and demands and actual Government sanction has adversely affected the full utilisation of the amount for the purposes for which it was required. Thus only Rs. 50,47,684-2-0 could be utilised so far for khadi and Rs. 56,220 in respect of village industries."

Their demand therefore is that experience has shown that, to be effective, the Board must have statutory powers with adequate finances at its disposal. I hope the Finance Minister will consider this matter also.

Coming to the taxes in the budget I am glad that the new duties will not be levied on manufactures of handlooms and small units of less than 10 power looms. I would however request the hon. Minister to raise the limit of exemption from 10 looms to 50 looms. This is necessary because there are many small looms which are running at a loss. They are not economic and, therefore, I would again request that this limit should be raised. I take this opportunity to request the Government not to be in a hurry in levying such duties which will contribute very little towards reducing the Budget deficit. From the figures we know that out of a deficit of Rs. 250 crores, only a small amount will be realised by way of these duties, which amount can also better be added in this deficit. I would, therefore, request that this time we should not levy any duty on any of these small industries. I make this request specially for the coarse cloth and artificial silk industries. Now, we are all aware that only a few months back we passed

[Srimati Jayashri]

an Act in Parliament which declared this commodity as essential and free from the burden of sales tax. Now, if we ourselves levy this duty on coarse cloth we are going against this Act, especially when we have declared this as an essential article.

With regard to the artificial silk industry, may I draw the attention of the hon. Minister to the representation made by the weavers of Surat art silk cloth. As you are aware, Sir, Surat is well known for the silk fabric since so many years. All these years it was worked as a cottage industry and only recently the use of pulley has been started and it is worked with power. Thus, in the city of Surat, the growth of power loom weaving is a natural evolution of handloom weaving. The Planning Commission themselves have recommended in their Plan to follow this process. The artificial silk industry is a cottage industry and in Bombay there are small co-operative units. I would request the hon. Minister to at least give exemption to those co-operative artificial silk cloth producers, and also, instead of exempting a unit of ten looms, to exempt a unit of fifty looms as it is an economic unit.

One thing more, and that is about the estate duty. In the Budget an amount of Rs. 25 lakhs is shown against this. I would like to know the experience of the working of this duty. When the Estate Duty Act was passed, some of us women were anxious to know the working of it, because, mostly widows have to pay this, and it would be a favour if the hon. Finance Minister could inform us about the working of this duty.

Lastly, I would like to say something about our experience of the Small Savings Scheme. At least in Bombay, it was our experience that women's organisations were asked to take up this work as agents. But, I am informed that many private members are working as agents and they are offering half of the commission

to the investors. It is through these people that small savings are organised. The other thing is that the interest is not very attractive. There are many municipal debentures and many other investments which attract the people more, especially when their money is locked up for a long time. I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to this fact also.

Dr. Krishnaswami (Kancheepuram): The Finance Minister, paradoxically enough, is not sure of the policy that he intends to pursue. For my part, I welcome such an attitude especially, as has been pointed out by that Walter Bagehot, the power of abstract thought is seldom given to those who are certain of their standpoint, and therefore have no need to think. The Finance Minister has by indulging in a revealing analysis of the limitations of the Five Year Plan, thrown out a challenge to everyone in this House to indicate what changes should be effected so that we might surmount them. I accept this challenge and shall attempt to offer a few constructive suggestions to the House and my hon. friend which he may profitably consider.

We have to ask ourselves: whether we are taking steps to give a push to the economy which has been in a slumbering state since Partition, what steps Government intend taking to make the accounts, the explanatory memoranda and the classification of figures more understandable and intelligible to us, Members of Parliament who are called upon year after year to vote large sums of money for very laudable purposes, no doubt, but which, we approve with only a partial consciousness of the manner in which funds are to be expended and finally what is the policy that the Government intend pursuing in the near future with respect to our balance of payments which, I feel must cause grave anxiety to those interested in capital development, but which strangely enough is a matter for satisfaction to

my hon. friend A favourable balance of payments in the present context of circumstances is not an un-mixed blessing. It may even be a curse.

The hon. the Finance Minister has pointed out in the speech on the budget that we have spent Rs. 1000 crores out of the Rs. 2239 crores scheduled to be spent in the five year period. We have yet to spend Rs. 1239 crores in the remaining two years. The question that presents itself to us who have given thought to this Plan which is now in its fourth year is, how is it that in spite of such a large injection of money into our economy, our economy has not been affected, our economy has not been given a push?

The push to a backward economy can be determined with reference to two considerations. First, we should like to know how much will be invested or rather is expected to be invested within the period of about five or ten years. We have planned, according to the Five Year Plan, to have a five per cent. increase in investment, but this I suggest is pitifully inadequate. What we should plan for is an investment rate of about 12½ per cent. increase in investment.

The second question is whether the process of economic growth gathers momentum once the Plan has got under way? This is a matter of basic importance.

I would like to bring to the notice of my hon. friend that while India has been proverbially a backward country in the economic sense of the term, industrial booms have not been altogether unknown to our country. My hon. friend Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava who is here took a prominent part in the debates sometime in 1933 or 1934 when an industrial boom had just started. I remember that immediately after the industrial boom came into operation, we had a spurt of reinvestment of profits in what is known as the sugar industry. From 1934 to 1936 or thereabouts, the

sugar industry was born in our country. In recent times from 1944 to 1946 the stock market floatations showed a very great spurt, which goes to prove that there was on a minor or limited scale a certain amount of reinvestment. Even that minor amount of reinvestment is lacking in our economy today.

I have to point out that one of the great difficulties of reinvestment in our economy in the present circumstances is that reinvestment in agriculture is bound to be of a minor character compared with reinvestment in industry. It is a mistake to assume as some of my hon. friends have suggested, that if we can increase the amount of savings—personal savings—it would be possible to have a large investment of funds in industry. All the statistical analyses of other countries go to prove—and the experience of other countries cannot be neglected—that saving, out of personal disposable income, is only four to six per cent, whereas the bulk of the investment made in industry comes from corporate savings, i.e., about 16 to 18 per cent. I suggest that we have now to re-think our ideas on this important matter; the time has arrived when we ought to find out what we are going to do to increase the flow of corporate savings into investment.

I should like to point out that one proposal of my hon. friend the Finance Minister, to have deficit financing on a large scale cannot be taken exception to on the ground that we would have inflation with all its baneful consequences. There is confusion even in knowledgeable circles on the subject of deficit financing. We have been living too long under the shadow of a war economy to realise that deficit spending in peace time may be quite different from deficit spending in war time. In war time it is a case of diverting factors away from the production of capital and consumption goods to the production of those goods which are essential for

[Dr. Krishnaswami]

prosecuting a war. When the war is over these articles have no value. There are no projects left with us to yield a rich output of goods for the community. But deficit spending in peace-time wisely directed and controlled leaves behind in its wake developmental projects. The history of all countries in which rapid development has taken place goes to show that economic progress has been achieved by deficit spending. But the question which faces us is not whether deficit financing is good or not. If it is inevitable and is a concomitant of rapid progress, how is it going to be directed? Where is it to be directed? What safeguards have we to take against an inflationary spiral, developing?

My hon. friend the Finance Minister pointed out that there was a shortfall in expenditure during the past two years. This year he has planned for Rs. 250 crores' increase in deficit spending. Evidently he has not given thought to precautionary measures to be adopted because he himself is not sure whether the full amount stipulated would be spent. In his opinion it is probably a waste of time to give any thought to the specific controls that ought to be introduced in order to control the inflationary spiral should it develop. I wish however to point out that when we are dealing with deficit financing and deficit spending, we ought to bear in mind two criteria.

First of all, we have to take account of the fact that when we inject such a large amount of money into circulation, there would be, a certain rise in prices. The danger that we have to safeguard against is that it must not lead to an inflationary spiral. To safeguard against the possibilities of inflation taking charge of the destinies of a people, it was suggested by Lord Keynes in *How To Pay For The War*, that a certain portion of the surplus of the income should be drawn away by Government, so that as little as possible of the surplus

might be left in the hands of individuals for the purpose of spending on goods of current consumption.

The second safeguard—and this is very important—which I would like my hon. friend the Finance Minister to bear in mind is that this money should be directed precisely at those sectors where there is a bottleneck, and where results would materialise soon. Therefore, when we are thinking of money being spent in different sectors, we should not think of spending it on vague projects which may not materialise soon, but possibly mature some twenty-five or thirty years hence. That is why it has been suggested that education cannot and should not be financed by deficit spending, much as some might like it to be done, because education takes time to mature, and the articles take time to come on to the market, whereas in the case of consumer goods and other such articles, they will be within the reach of the citizen in a relatively short interval. I suggest that this aspect of deficit spending cannot be overlooked.

Incidentally, I should like to bring to the notice of the House a point which has been mentioned by my hon. friend the Finance Minister. He suggested that there were certain delays in spending. I would also like to add my quota to the criticism that he has made. For instance, the rules and regulations under which the Finance Department functions were ideal for a period when we were living in a political condition when the State spent little. I am not suggesting that all the rules and regulations should be scrapped. When the increments to be given to an officer come up the finance department can afford to delay granting increments for six months; the heavens will not fall. But if a construction project requires a strengthening of the labour force particularly say before the harvest season so that excellent results might accrue and

we have a battle of files, not only will costs increase; it will also be found that the rate of return on this project would be much less than we anticipated.

One of the explanations for our not having been able to spend as much of the money as we stipulated last year, was due to the system of 'red tape' in our financial affairs. I suggest to the hon. Finance Minister that he should take account of the needs of a welfare state, and evolve certain rules and criteria, whereby we might have expenditure associated with a certain amount of control to prevent profligacy and waste.

There is, however, one difficulty which the hon. Finance Minister is likely to experience when he embarks on deficit financing on a large scale. I realise that one of the great virtues of a balanced budget is that the Finance Minister finds it possible to enforce a sense of discipline among his colleagues. When it is deficit financing, all his colleagues will be at his throat and suggest that he should give more and more money. But while I sympathise with him in the difficulties that he is likely to experience, I do not believe that they are insuperable; after all even Ministers have to preserve a sense of perspective, a sense of proportion and a consciousness of duty to our country. I now pass to consider the accounts, the explanatory memorandum and figures supplied to us by the Government.

The developmental expenditure summarised in the Explanatory Memorandum gives us only an idea of the maximum limit of expenditure that is authorised by the Government. We do not know how much has been spent in the previous year; nor are we in a position to judge how much is likely to be spent this year. I refer to page 53 where, for instance, a provision for development expenditure is put under the heading 'Demand'—Development of Handloom industries Rs. 3,00,00,000 and

Development of Khadi Industries Rs. 1,10,00,000. Now, these are demands made by departments. How much of the money authorised is spent? How much for instance was allowed in the previous year to lapse? These ought to be brought to our notice so that we may be in a position to find out whether these demands have any relation to past expenditure and past performance. Parliament, after all, has got a right to examine these matters.

There is also another point to which a brief reference may be made. This concerns the capital budget. On page 66 of the Explanatory Memorandum there is a remarkably obscure item for which I have not as yet been able to find an explanation. On the Machine Tools Factory in the budget for 1953-54 it is scheduled to spend Rs. 143.50 lakhs. The revised estimate however shows that we are to spend on it only Rs. 10,000. Now, obviously, there must be some explanation. But when we as Members of Parliament are asked to examine these accounts and figures, we should be in a position to find out what these figures imply. No doubt, figures are difficult to assimilate and I recollect that in the first year of this Parliament the Finance Minister pointed out that figures were not meant to be perused like a French novel. I agree. But at the same time, the finance department cannot transform figures into something like an Egyptian Sphinx which can speak in terms of a riddle. So far as the capital budget is concerned, my criticism is that neither the accounts nor the Explanatory Memorandum gives us anything like a detailed picture of the progress of the Plan. Even in the case of the Centre, we do not have anything like a picture of the progress of the Plan. The important questions to which we wish to find answers are these. How much has been spent on the schemes? Not only do we want to know how much has been spent, but must have a brief accounting resume of the history of these various projects—the Damodar

[Dr. Krishnaswami]

Valley Project, for instance. What was its progress? With what estimates did we start? With what anticipations did we start? How far have our expectations harmonised with those anticipations? It is important that we should be aware of what has transpired because in the absence of such information, we will not be able to pronounce on the productivity or otherwise of these enterprises. Secondly, what is the progress of these schemes? What exactly remains to be done? The other matter is—which is rather important—that Parliament would like to know at a glance from the accounts how much in the shape of loans and grants was envisaged to be given to the States for the Five Year Plan and how much has already been given? Last year, we had a technical document of rare value—the *Progress of the Five Year Plan*. But this year, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I regret to point out we have a pictorial and popular representation of the Five Year Plan which need not have been supplied to us. Members of Parliament and which, I, for my part, I regret to have to say it, did not derive any benefit from perusing. The main criticisms that I have to advance against these accounts of the capital budget are that the capital accounts are capable of being twisted to suit any shape because of the many complications in the capital budget. I would like to bring to the notice of my friend, the Finance Minister, an article which appeared recently in the *Economic Weekly* where there was an analysis of what is known as Suspense Accounts. Now, suspense accounts give vast elbow-room to the finance department to play about rather to manoeuvre about; they are rulers in an underworld into which we cannot penetrate and in which many pranks can be played. For instance, last year, my hon. friend the Finance Minister envisaged the cash balances going down. Paradoxically enough, this year in his budget estimates, he has pointed out that we are having an increase of over Rs. 18

crores. How could this have been achieved?

Having dealt with these incidental matters, I proceed to consider the new accounting procedure envisaged by the Finance Minister. He has suggested that he intends diverting Rs. 16 crores to capital account which would be written off by being spread over 15 years in the revenue account. It is not suggested that this amount would be uniformly spread over. The fact that this will not be uniformly spread over gives room for manoeuvring. Rs. 16 crores is not the only amount that we will be giving to the various States. For purposes of simplicity, I shall assume that we will go on granting 16 crores for a period of 15 years. In the seventh year or thereabouts, we would have about Rs. 112 crores in the capital amount and it would be possible to divert any amount that we choose to the revenue budget. Certainly, this can be done in an unpredictable manner. It would be open, for instance, to any future Finance Minister to raise the tax rates precisely for having some of these amounts transferred to the revenue account. This, I feel, would be an irrational employment of the tax weapon.

I shall now pass on to the last factor.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am afraid the hon. Member has to spread his speech over other subjects.

Dr. Krishnaswami: I shall finish within two minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have given him 20 minutes.

Dr. Krishnaswami: I shall consider the balance of payments in a minute or two. Today the push to our economy requires that we should have an unfavourable balance of payments. It was all right for us to view with disfavour the unfavourable balance of payments when such unfavourable balance of payments was due to our importing articles for current consump-

tion. But, now, we have to import capital goods—a desirable and necessary objective. Has the Finance Minister realised—I am sure he must have realised it—that today by our having an accumulation of balances in London or elsewhere and by having an increase in these balances, what we are doing is to lend abroad at a time when we should be borrowing from abroad?

Finally, in a country as large as India where an increase or decrease in export incomes is a signal for increasing employment or for diminishing employment, it would be advisable to have as a rough indicator the amount of export incomes in different regions. I suggest that when we have deficit financing, we should have some rough indicator like that which I have envisaged. Travancore-Cochin has been hard hit by the fall in export incomes and had we had a break-up of export incomes region-wise, we would have had an idea of the economic distress in that region and diverted funds to that place.

I do not have the time to deal with the taxation measures of my hon. friend and I shall take your hint, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, and consider these matters on a more favourable occasion, when perhaps I would possibly have more time allotted to deal with financial problems. Not only have I not brought any solace to my hon. friend the Finance Minister, I have perhaps caused him anxiety. No one can give him solace. He is so much troubled by many problems that it would be next to impossible for any individual in this House to give him comfort. As a matter of fact, he reminds me of the person who has been described by the poet—

“Eternal troubles haunt thy
anxious mind,

Whose cause and cure thou
never hop'st to find;

But still uncertain, with thy-
self at strife,

Thou wonder'st in the Laby-
rinth of life.”

Shri C. D. Pande (Naini Tal Distt. cum Almora Distt.—South West cum Bareilly Distt.—North): I rise to make a few comments on this year's Budget. I wish I had the enthusiasm to join the chorus of praise of the Finance Minister on his tolerably good Budget.

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Desai Mukh): There is no chorus.

Shri C. D. Pande: There is.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let his be the solol

Shri C. D. Pande: One of the hon. Members on the other side described this Budget as a conservative and orthodox one. If by “orthodox” he meant that the Finance Minister did not bestow sufficient thought on the conditions prevailing in the country, then certainly this year's Budget is more than conservative and orthodox. I feel that the Finance Minister should not be orthodox in the sense of the old Finance Ministers who only knew how to raise revenues and spend them. These days, the Finance Minister has to be something of a politician and it would be better if he could be a statesman. He has to implement the economic and social policies of the Government which he represents.

I am afraid, from the manner in which this Budget has been framed, the Finance Minister does not realise to the exact extent there is discontent in the country. No doubt, the Finance Minister has managed the finances of the country in a manner of which we are proud. Everybody admits that our rupee is slightly softer than the dollar and a little harder than the sterling. Yet, if we analyse the Budget with the four essential tests which must be applied, I am disappointed to find that it does not stand the close scrutiny. These are the four acid tests: firstly, whether or not this Budget reduces the incidence of taxation; secondly, whether or not this Budget brings down the cost of living in the country; thirdly, whether or not this Budget leads to the solution of the grave problem of unemployment, and fourthly, whether this Budget has

[Shri C. D. Pande]

made any effort at making economy in the administration. These are the four essential standards from which we must judge this Budget. Most of the hon. Members know these tests, and even the very mention of these items will show that we are very far from being in a satisfactory situation. I shall deal with these four items, in brief, serially.

Take the first test of the incidence of taxation. In my speech last year, I pointed out that this country had four agencies of taxation, viz. the Centre, the States, the Local Authorities and lately, the panchayats. But leaving out the fourth agency and taking into account only the first three agencies, we find that the *per capita* taxation is about Rs. 40. This is the month of Budgets in the country and you must have noticed that almost in every part of the country there is some sort of additional taxation, and in the Centre alone we are trying to get some Rs. 16 crores by way of fresh taxation. If you add all these amounts, the total comes to about Rs. 50 crores for the whole country, and represents an addition of Rs. 1-8-0 *per capita* to the already over-taxed population.

Yesterday, my hon. friend Shri Tulsidas Kilachand suggested that there should be supervision over the expenditure in the States as far as planning is concerned. I would suggest something else, namely, that there should be co-ordination between the Centre and the States in the matter of taxation. Some items that you tax here are taxed by the States also, thereby adding to the burden of the consumer. One example is cloth. On superfine, fine and medium varieties, there is an excise duty, and you have added to it by imposing a duty on superfine cloth. One Chief Minister in the South has found it very convenient to add two annas of duty to cloth.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: How can any Chief Minister impose an excise duty?

Is it open to any State Minister to impose an excise duty? Excise duty can be imposed only by the Central Government.

Shri C. D. Pande: What I mean to say is, they impose a sales tax; and you impose an excise duty. This adds to the cost to the consumer.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: There is a law regulating the imposition of sales tax on essential goods. To that extent, Parliament has secured co-ordination.

Shri C. D. Pande: Anyhow, I must admit that there may be difficulties, but you must also realise the difficulty of the consumer. The same item is being taxed here in one form and in the State in another form, thereby something like three and a half annas or four annas are added to the cost of superfine cloth alone.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad (Purnea cum Santal Parganas): You are talking of superfine cloth. How about ordinary people?

Shri C. D. Pande: I shall come to ordinary people also. Even their goods are being taxed. There is a tendency to select even obscure things for taxation purposes, which indicates that the taxation has reached saturation point and you do not find any items worth taxing. You tax betelnuts, soap and even footwear. This is the first time that such taxes are being imposed. Of course, betelnuts have been taxed before, but you have taken even soap and footwear. They are obscure items and would ever strike anybody as worth taxing. The total amount to be realised from these three items will be about Rs. 7,80,00,000. I say, it is not worth it. Psychologically, it is not very sound that you should vex the people in order to realise a meagre sum of this size. When I say that you hope to get only Rs. 7,80,00,000, I must also point out that in fact you are going to cost the consumer nearly Rs.

28,00,00,000. I shall tell you how. Take the tax on betelnuts. You have imposed an additional duty of thirteen annas a seer. You will be surprised to know that betelnuts cost only six annas or so in Singapore, but they are sold in Chandni Chowk at Rs. 4-8-0 per seer. I think betelnuts are the most highly-taxed item.

श्री अलमुराय शास्त्री : (जिला अजम-
गढ़—पूर्व तथा जिला बलिया—पश्चिम) :
स्वास्थ्य के लिए खराब है ।

Shri C. D. Pande: May be so, but people in their foolishness use betelnuts, and people's wishes and habits must be respected. When such a tax is imposed, should we not take into account that the level of prices will rise even in regard to the indigenous production of betelnuts? I asked one of the responsible persons in the Finance Ministry, "Do you think that the prices will not rise?", and he said, "No, no. We have made arrangements. Prices will not rise." But I can assure you this, you go to any market—I can tell you about Delhi, Lucknow and Naini Tal—the prices have gone up by eight annas a seer everywhere. That is the least; possibly, it may be more.

There is another point. You have taxed soap by Rs. 6-4-0 per cwt. That means, three pice per lb. One pound of soap contains three cakes. So, it comes to one pice per cake. Actually, the shopkeeper does not impose exactly one pice; instead of one pice, he charges two pice. Soap that was being sold for five annas before is now being sold, not for five annas and one pice, but for five annas and two pice.

Shri Achuthan (Cranganur): Will there not be competition?

Shri C. D. Pande: There is no competition in the present day economy. You go to any shop in the market,—you will find that soap is not being sold exactly with the addition of the tax imposed by you, but with the addition of double the tax. So, if you want to realise, say, Rs. 3 crores

on betelnuts, the consumer, actually pay Rs. 12 crores. Even the cost of the internal production of betelnuts goes up. Out of the Rs. 12 crores, you, realise only one-fourth and the rest of the Rs. 9 crores is frittered away at various stages of the trade. These are very small things, but you must realise...

4 P.M.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member will learn to address the Chair.

Shri C. D. Pande: This has been your complaint for a long time. As I get very rare opportunities of speaking, and if I have any lapse in the parliamentary etiquette, I may be excused. This is not all that you have done in the form of taxation. There is a much worse, pernicious and insidious taxation, which I call deficit financing. It may be said that after all the Plan has got to be seen through, there must be some sort of finance and therefore, deficit finance is the only way. Because I object, on the one hand, to additional taxation, I cannot also have the same objection to deficit financing, but I must say that deficit financing is exactly a form of taxation. The Finance Minister said in his Budget speech that the cost of living is going down, and things are improving, but that is not borne out by the figures. If the index figure shows slight oscillation between 397 and 392, out of 400 points a slight difference of five points is immaterial, and when your message of hope and your statements go to the people outside in the bazaars, fields and factories of India, they would be bewildered as to where the improvement has taken place. You sincerely believe that improvement has taken place but as far as the actual consumer is concerned, things have not improved much and if anybody needs any proof, let him see the reaction on the people's minds. You can simply ask your own clerk who takes your dictation and you can ask the 10,000 people who go from the Secretariat in the evening as to what

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they think of your budget and the situation prevailing. It is a mockery to say that things are improving. Things are not improving at all, and if you take resort to deficit financing, I may tell you, although I am not a great pandit of finance, that next year a rupee will not be worth sixteen annas, but it will be hardly worth thirteen annas. It will not hold the position that it holds today. After all, being a Minister of Finance, he must be admitting in his own mind that to introduce Rs. 250 crores into the financial system will have this result. I cannot understand how it will be possible to avoid this result. I am reminded of a parable. If a housewife wants to distribute five seers of milk in the family and there are more members in the family, then she puts in half a seer of water into it, but can you be sure that the nutritive value of this milk will be the same as that of pure milk?

Shri Algu Rai Shastri: Psychologically the same.

Shri C. D. Pande: At one time I was also a student of finance and I know that if you add Rs. 250 crores from outside, which is not a real limb of living economy, then it must have its repercussions on the prices. I shall be very glad if I am wrong, but I am sure that prices will not go down as we want them to go down. Laws of economics may often be imperceptible but they are inexorable.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Your fifteen minutes are over.

Shri C. D. Pande: I have just begun my speech, Sir. The figures here indicate that there is greater production in cement, there is greater production in cloth, there is greater production in match boxes, and there is greater production in iron and steel, but there is no appreciable difference in the cost of living. Individually each of these things has shown some improvement, but in the aggregate the

cost of living for the common man there is no improvement. I had to say many things, but what I wish to emphasise are the four acid tests of budgeting, namely, incidence of taxation has been reduced, whether it has reduced the cost of living, whether it has shown any economy in the administration, and whether unemployment has been arrested—unemployment is the most important thing on which I wanted to say much.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Then you ought not to have talked about the rest so long.

Shri C. D. Pande: There should be more serious efforts made to solve the grave problem of unemployment. I feel that the people outside are gravely frustrated and an attitude of cynicism is growing in their minds that nothing is done in that direction, though I myself feel that we are doing what we could do. The Finance Minister, not only as a finance minister, but as a man who has to guide the destiny of this country, should also realise the difficulties of the people. The people are not realising and appreciating what he is doing with so much assiduity and devotion. I am sure he will realise people's point of view and people should also realise his difficulties.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Sanganna. I am sorry. I had in mind Shri Somana.

An Hon. Member: Shri Sanganna is here

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I made a mistake. Instead of saying Somana, I said Sanganna. No doubt, Sanganna's name is also here and he will get his chance.

Shri R. K. Chaudhuri (Gauhati): Before that dispute is settled, can you kindly give me an assurance that I will be given an opportunity of speaking on the Budget?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The Budget Session is not yet over.

Shri N. Soman (Coorg): I am neither talking on any figures stated in this Budget, nor am I an expert on financial matters, but I have often felt and said to myself, "Save us from this expert".

We have heard in the House so much about deficit financing, both for and against, that one gets absolutely confused, but I prefer to take a layman's view of the matter and I think that there is nothing wrong so far as deficit financing is concerned in view of the fact that these amounts are to be used for development purposes. When an expert like our Finance Minister says that he would take ample safeguards against any inflationary tendencies in the country, we should take his word as truth and rest assured that there will be sufficient safeguards and that deficit financing will never prove a danger to the economy of the country. One matter which I should like to state in this connection is about the method by which the Government is now proposing to secure revenue for development purposes. We have heard that external assistance is being taken or is hoped for, but I am not very sure that we will get the assistance as we hoped for a few days ago. Granting that external assistance is coming, we have also to depend upon the internal resources and I feel that Government certainly has left some resources of income which should be tapped. I agree with the valuable suggestions made by Shri N. V. Gadgil when he said that the higher incomes ought to be taxed. I feel that when we are thinking of a welfare State, it is no use thinking of taxing the income of the smaller income groups but it will be quite proper that we tax higher income and for this purpose, there is absolutely no necessity for us to wait for the recommendations of the Taxation Enquiry Commission. There are many people in this country, especially the ex-rulers, who possess much wealth today. Only a few days ago, we saw in the papers that the Nizam of Hyderabad is having Rs. 200 crores

as personal property. I am asking the hon. Finance Minister whether in this welfare State persons should be allowed to accumulate wealth to that extent. Government has to come forward and I am sure this House will give all the assistance if we take this amount and utilise it for the purpose of development; for I think it is appropriate, *Raja Niti* or *Raja Dharma* to take taxes from the rich for the sake of the poor. There are many people who are earning more than a lakh of rupees. Why should we not take that amount? I am not going to say that that amount should not be repaid, though some may say that it should not be repaid at all. But when persons have amassed wealth to the tune of Rs. 200 crores, we can certainly take at least a sum of Rs. 100 crores and we can certainly give them bonds.

After all, what has been done in Uttar Pradesh? When the *zamindari* abolition was resorted to, they did not give cash; they gave bonds for 20 years, 30 years and so on. Why should not we take that money which is accumulated with the rich people and give them bonds and use this money for the development of this country? I think Government should pay attention to this.

I would now refer to one or two matters in connection with planning. This House certainly will approve of the very great work that has been done by the Planning Commission. It gives us a right direction, or sufficient material, as to how we should plan the development of our country. In this particular connection, I should make mention of the community projects which appeal to me more than anything else because if we go to the interior villages it is not so much these big projects like D.V.C. or Bhakra-Nangal that attract our people but it is the smaller schemes that attract them, because the villager wants a dam here or a road there and that is how, he thinks, the country improves. I think this could be done only by the community projects

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scheme which, if it is taken in the right spirit, would be a panacea for improving the village conditions.

I learn that in the second Five Year Plan, the method of planning would be somewhat reverse, that is, planning from below. That is certainly a very good idea. I think that the Planning Commission should set its mind on that method and evolve a Plan as to how best we can develop from the village level because only then we can improve the conditions of the masses.

In this connection, I would submit that there are at present certain defects in the working of the Community Projects Administration. Wherever we have found the officers and men enthusiastic about it, they are working very well. I say,—it is not a matter of exaggeration or praise to my State—that in my State of Coorg, the community projects work very well and they have certainly drawn great enthusiasm from the masses and they have done really wonderful work. What I observed is that it is mainly due to the officers who are at the helm of affairs; and if we put in men who could do this job properly, I think that would help the people a great deal and improve the state of the masses. I hope that this matter will be attended to.

At present what happens is this. In most of the districts, the District Collectors are in charge of the Plan. They are saddled with a number of other works so much so they are not able to attend to this work. I would take this opportunity to make a strong appeal to the hon. Finance Minister, who is also a member of the Planning Commission, to take this into consideration and see that at the district level, members of the legislature and Members of Parliament are co-opted as members in the Advisory Councils so that from time to time their advice could be taken to work out these community projects.

I should also state that the community projects are worked with the idea of co-ordinating in due course their work with the regular department's work that exists now. That experiment we are trying in our own small State of Coorg and we have succeeded to a large extent. Our regular administration must become part of the community projects administration so that during the period of the plan, before the community project period is over, the project administration itself becomes part of the regular administration so that work can go on smoothly.

So far as agriculture is concerned, I have already stated in the beginning of my speech that more attention should be given to minor irrigation schemes. I am alive to the fact that the Government are anxious to give attention to such schemes and they have been doing their best but I still feel that the work is not sufficient. Every State must be made to understand that it is only through these minor irrigation schemes and works that agriculture could be improved and agricultural production can be increased.

The hon. Finance Minister said that the production of last year was very good. I do not think that we can be complacent on that because I think that mostly on account of the favourable monsoon, production was good. We cannot take it for granted that on account of the improved system of cultivation or on account of there being an increase in the area, production has gone up. The State Governments have not, unfortunately, given attention to another thing. We find in the Plan that all the waste lands must be surveyed and brought under cultivation as early as possible but I find to my grief that many of the States have not even surveyed the area of the waste lands which are to be brought under cultivation. I think it is a regrettable factor; it is a matter which the Planning Commission

should take note of and take early steps.

I should also state that the means of communication must be attended to because, as I said in the beginning, nothing appeals to the villager as these small amenities. It is absolutely necessary and we should also see that medical help is made available to him and then only we can improve his lot.

So far as cottage industries are concerned, more is spoken about them than what is really done. I feel that a real survey of the cottage industries has not been taken up so far and a real impetus has not been given. This is one of the matters which should be taken note of by the hon. Finance Minister.

I will be failing in my duty if I do not refer to the new taxation proposals. I fully approve of the proposals that have been made, for more reasons than one. According to me—I may be wrong—all these commodities, except cement which probably may be an exception, like betelnuts, artificial silk and even leather goods, are luxuries. (*Interruptions*). There is nothing wrong; they are a matter of luxury because in my view chewing betelnut is not a necessity for human beings when hundreds of people do not even get food. (*Interruptions*).

Shri C. D. Fande: That way cloth is not a necessity.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Let there be no talk across the benches.

Shri N. Somana: I think it is a luxury. So far as washing soap is concerned—unfortunately our old hon. Member, Shri Tandon is not here—he would have certainly agreed with me that it is not a necessity.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Then prohibition is the proper thing.

Shri N. Somana: So far as the import duty on betelnuts is concerned, I was pained to hear my friend Shri Upadhyay saying that nothing is necessary for growing arecanut. I am sorry he has not known what arecanut cultivation is. It is a very hard cultivation and it yields only after seven years, after considerable manuring and digging. And it is only after ten years that it begins to give a regular crop. It is a hard industry and there is absolutely no reason why we should grudge or feel sorry that some extra income is given to the grower by means of the imposition of import duty on betelnut. I have received many communications from the areca growers that the price has not gone up, because after the announcement by the Finance Minister of the imposition of this import duty the Ministry of Commerce has liberalised the import of arecanut to a large extent and arecanut is pouring into the country, and there is an appreciable change in the markets where areca is grown.

In regard to ceiling of private property, which I thought was an essential matter for the growth of our economy and also in view of our idea of a welfare state, no State has so far taken any serious step. It has been definitely laid down in the Plan. Unless the Government at the Centre takes serious steps to ask every State to implement this I do not think there could be any ceiling. Because I feel every State is quite shy to introduce this measure and some pressure is necessary from the Central Government for that purpose.

Lastly, I have to say a word on the question of the coffee industry. I come from an area where coffee is grown, and I learn on good authority that a very large quantity of coffee is lying waste. The average annual consumption of coffee in India is about 22,000 tons. But the Coffee Board has a stock of 38,000 tons now. Very lately the Government of India

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has allowed the export of 1,000 tons of coffee. Only three days back I saw in the *Hindu* that there is a world scarcity of coffee because Brazil has completely failed on account of various reasons and American housewives are rushing to purchase coffee at any cost, while in England it is selling at more than Rs. 500 per cwt. It is a case where the extra coffee should immediately be allowed to be exported. I am sorry the Minister for Commerce and Industry is not here. I make an appeal to him through the Finance Minister to relax the measures and to see that at least 5,000 tons of coffee is allowed to be exported immediately. This will give some income to the Government also. As hon. Members are aware, Rs. 62-8-0 per cwt. is the export duty on coffee. On the whole...

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have already rung the bell. Hon. Members cannot go on. They must finish one minute earlier, at least at the appointed time. Mr. More.

Shri S. S. More (Sholapur): Sir, I have tried to read the Budget, but I will very frankly confess that as far as the figures are concerned I am absolutely blank. When the Budget was presented the Finance Minister was running temperature. But after the Budget papers were supplied to us we started developing headaches. And it is quite natural. The Finance Minister does not take into consideration the level of understanding of the majority of the Members here and I believe wilfully—I won't say wickedly—he loads us with a such a volume of figures that when we proceed to criticise his budget we are found to be absolutely wanting.

But in spite of that fact I am trying to react to this Budget in a layman's manner. Barring Mr. Pande and Mr. Gadgil, most of the Members who spoke from the Congress side have praised in very fulsome terms the performance of the Finance Minister. I was wondering all along what is there in this Budget to merit such

fulsome praises. But then I knew that there are some habitual admirers in this House who admire whatever is done by the Finance Minister because they believe that, like the king, the Finance Minister cannot do any wrong to the economy of this country. I was reminded of a junior lawyer. He was engaged by a habitual offender to defend him in a particular case. And this junior lawyer in his enthusiasm, possibly without substantial fees but out to acquire experience, made an address to the jury. He said: well, members of the jury, here you have before you in the dock the finest specimen of humanity, his innocence is beyond a shadow of doubt. And he went on in that strain. After he had concluded the jury retired. Then he went to his client and asked him: how did you like my performance? To that the client said: sure, I did like your performance, but who was the gentleman that you were describing so eloquently? Because he knew, as a habitual offender, that all the terms used by the lawyer could not be applicable to him! The same predicament I find ...

Shri A. M. Thomas (Ernakulam): Is the incident of autobiographical interest?

Shri S. S. More: Those who have some practice at the Bar cannot help going through this phase at the beginning of their professional career. I do not know whether Mr. Thomas has passed through that stage. He might still be at the threshold of his legal practice.

I wanted to say that even the Finance Minister, clever economist as he is, will be shocked by the Budget. What is there in the Budget that would create some enthusiasm in the common man? I do not want to repeat; the time at my disposal is not very long; but I would underline most of the remarks which Mr. Gadgil and Mr. Pande made on the floor of this House. I want to raise one voice. I want to say that this Budget is a C.D.D.

budget. It is a C.D.D. budget in more than one sense. It is moved by Shri C. D. Deshmukh and therefore it is a C.D.D. budget. But it also represents the type of the administration, the things that are going to come, and in that sense also it is a C.D.D. budget. "C" will bring in crisis and corruption, "D" depression and destitution, and the last "D" is for deficit. My submission is that there are many classes which are touched on the vital parts, but possibly the rich people the least touched. But I won't harp on that strain. I would ask the Finance Minister what he has done for relieving unemployment in the rural areas. He says in his Budget speech that things are returning to normality. In paragraph 3 he says:

"Like other countries India has been going through a process of return to more normal conditions after the war..... The return to 'normality' commenced in 1952 and continued during 1953."

Possibly, as a member of the I.C.S., he has some personal knowledge of the administration under the British. The normal conditions in this country, as far as the large masses of the people are concerned, are starvation, semi-starvation, destitution, disease and finally, death. These are the normal features of our economy. The Congress during its long struggle for existence, its long national struggle against the British, has been condemning all these. Well, these are the features of your economy which you have introduced here. What are you doing to get rid of these ugly features? If India is going to return to normality, it means that whatever surplus funds are in the coffers of the people, whatever surplus funds are in the hands of the middle class people, they will all disappear, and starvation, struggle for living, disease and all those things left behind by the British people will invade the country.

As far as unemployment in the rural area is concerned, the Finance Minister is not prepared to take even a 26 P.S.D.

minute's notice of it. He has referred to the unemployment in this country and when he refers to unemployment, I believe he confines his attention to the urban employment, to the unemployment problem of the educated class. On page 4 in paragraph 8 of his speech, he has made certain references. In order to illustrate the gravity of unemployment prevailing in this country, he has also given certain figures of those who register themselves at the employment exchanges. But, what happens to the unemployed in the rural areas? They are illiterate, disorganised and they do not know where to register themselves. Superstitious belief and fatalism have gripped them and they suffer in silence. Illiteracy has its permanent seal on their closed lips and they cannot grumble or complain. What is to happen to their unemployment? The gravity of unemployment has been emphasised by one of those persons whose words we respect and who is in charge of the Planning Commission. I refer to the latest issue of *Kurukshetra* in which the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Shri V. T. Krishnamachari has given a short article. This is what he says:

"The basic problems of rural India are the enormous volume of unemployment and under-employment that exists in agriculture and its extremely low productivity."

Then he gives certain figures showing how progressively the cultivated area, the double-crop area and the irrigated area, due to the rise in population, have been decreasing. After referring to these figures which have been given in the Census Report, he says:

"The facts set out above disclose the colossal volume of the unemployment and under-employment among the large proportions of the population in rural India, resulting in extremely low standards of living."

And he is further pleased to call this as the most deep-seated evil in our

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economy. In spite of all this Sir there is hardly any substantial reference or any substantial allotment in order to relieve the unemployment problem prevailing in the rural area, in the Budget. I have cared to see that there is some reference in the Explanatory Memorandum on the Budget of the Central Government, on page 77. Cottage and village industries are supposed to be the industries which shall relieve the growing unemployment in the rural areas. This is a very complacent statement of the Finance Department. The central object of the programme is to secure fullest development of these industries and thus to solve the problem of unemployment, and some unemployment in rural area. Now, Sir, about 69 per cent. of our population is living on agriculture. As the Census Report has stated, out of these 69 per cent.,—something like 249 million people,—147 million people are living as non-earning dependents, which means that they are also unemployed. I should like to ask the Finance Minister in all humility as to what concrete steps he proposes to take in order to give immediate relief to these large masses of the people who happen to be the backbone of our country. The educated few, Sir, from platforms, through the Press and through other sources, can stress the point of unemployment. They can clamour and those who clamour always get something. But, as I have already said, the unemployed people in the rural areas are the real sufferers. They have not got the voice which can reach the ears of the Finance Minister. Therefore, I very humbly request him to give very urgent attention to this matter. Ignoring this matter for a long time is ignoring the existence of a mine of dynamite which is going to explode any day. We say that it is the Communists who will stage a revolution in this country. But, all the prerequisites necessary for a revolution shall be supplied to them by the Finance Minister and his mixed

economy. Unless he takes immediate steps and do something to set right the economy of the country, something worse may happen; that is my foreboding.

Then, Sir, in the short time at my disposal I want to refer to other problems. I have cared to read the reports of the Estimates Committee and the reports of the Public Accounts Committee. It is very unfortunate that the valuable reports of the Estimates Committee and the Public Accounts Committee are not placed for discussion on the floor of the House, and the rich mine of information and the caustic penetrating criticisms made therein, go unnoticed by the majority of Members of this House. I would rather request you,—you happen to be the Chairman of the Estimates Committee,—to introduce a convention, if not by a rule at least by practice, that the reports of these Committees which are supposed to be the watch-dogs of this House on the Treasury, the moment they are introduced or submitted to the House, shall form the basis of a full stage discussion. Unfortunately, Sir, I have read those reports and I find that there is excess expenditure over the budgeted grant. There are savings over the budgeted grant and these savings are not surrendered in proper time. I cannot quote all those things in details, but the criticism is there that there is corruption, inefficiency, and with all that there is overstaffing. We have stopped our "grow more food" policy and we are now growing more officers. Whenever there is a complaint, Government at once propose the appointment of a committee for the purpose of going into the allegations. In creating these special committees Government again appoint a host of officials and thus give free scope to the play of nepotism, favouritism and even corruption. What happens to these officers? Whenever the Public Accounts Committee points out any defect or negligence on the part of any officer, the Department always

tries to white-wash the conduct of the officer and he escapes scot-free. Unfortunately, the time at my disposal does not permit me to quote some of the passages from these reports. I would also request the Finance Minister to see that this parliamentary control, the control of this House on the Treasury is made more effective, the budgeting is done more scientifically, all anticipations are done correctly and there are no cases in the future budget where he will have to say: "We made the provision for a particular job, but the job could not be undertaken because the supply could not be had, orders could not be placed, or necessary preparation was not there."

Before I conclude, I want to say something about the America-Pakistan Pact. I fully realise that there is a grave danger to the country. In spite of our differences with Panditji,—there are so many differences of vital importance as far as the internal administration of his *raj* is concerned,—on the issue of the proposed threat to our country, to the security and independence of our country, I speak not only for myself, but for every single Member who had the misfortune to sit in opposition to the Congress, we do whole-heartedly support whatever Panditji suggests in order to ward off this great danger. America is out for imperial purposes. America does not want Shri Jawaharlal Nehru who is championing the cause of the enslaved races of Asia. America does not like Shri Jawaharlal Nehru remaining aloof from their power bloc. This is a sort of pressure tactics. They want to coerce Shri Jawaharlal Nehru into a particular course of action. I need not say much about Pakistan. The people are already revolting against their feudal and reactionary rulers as will be seen from the results of the elections in East Bengal. We find that the people are already revolting. We should support, not openly, but with mental blessings all such revolts of the people against their autocratic rulers. I cannot share the views of

those who want to start a sort of war hysteria in this country. My hon. friend Shri V. G. Deshpande, my esteemed friend Shri N. C. Chatterjee and my esteemed friend Dr. N. B. Khare spoke something about increasing our defences. Is it possible to increase the amount that is allotted for Defence? What do we possess? Look at the cost of modern weapons; look at the large quantity of modern weapons. I do not think our one year's budget amount of Rs. 467 crores would be sufficient to purchase even a dozen good destroyers and submarines or good fighting planes of the MG type which have played such a wonderful part in the Korean war. We cannot afford to go in recklessly in a hysterical manner to increase our expenditure on Defence. Does that mean that we should sit with folded hands? To say that we ought to increase the expenditure on Defence is a cruel counsel of despair. But, to say that we will sit with folded hands, nothing wrong will happen to our country, is to suffer under the worst delusion. What has to be done? Shri V. G. Deshpande made one suggestion that we should train our youth. I do say that we should train our youth and give them military training, not for the purpose of destruction, but for the purpose of undertaking constructive work in a disciplined manner in this country. General Eisenhower in his message to the Congress said that we must strengthen ourselves economically, and that economic preparedness is much more valuable than military preparedness. His words were quoted in the communique which was issued after the Finance Minister's Conference at Sydney. I stand by that sort of declaration.

Ours is a poor country. Ours is a vast country. We have limitless man power. But, as far as finances are concerned, we are poorer than church mice and we cannot afford to spend larger amounts and enter an armaments race. Once a race for armaments starts, you go on running, running till you stop and vomit blood.

[Shri S. S. More]

I say, let us be prepared morally, let us be prepared in a disciplined manner. The army marches on its belly. If there is the slightest danger to this country, it is the youth, the peasantry, the workers who will be fighting for the freedom of this country and not those who are seeking permits and licences at the door of the Finance Minister or the Commerce Minister. Let the people be fed properly, those who are our future fighters. I would like the Finance Minister and the Defence Minister to look upon every village as a potential barrack and see that happiness and contentment prevails there.

Shri A. Ghosh (Burdwan): I rise to appreciate the Budget presented by Shri C. D. Deshmukh as a habitual admirer. The intelligence which has prompted some of the friends on the other side to be habitual abusers, has prompted me to become a habitual admirer. I admire him for presenting the Budget now before us.

We find that during these four years he has made such landmarks in increasing the expenditure on nation-building and welfare services. The expenditure on nation-building and welfare services have been increased several times almost under all heads. For those who are very eager to compare the progress made in this country with other countries like China, I would just indicate a few figures:

Education: In 1950-51, it was Rs. 3.2 crores. In 1954-55, it is Rs. 12.8 crores, that is an increase of 300 per cent.

Scientific departments: In 1950-51 it was Rs. 4.3 crores; in 1954-55, it is Rs. 8.7 crores, that is an increase of 102 per cent.

Medical and Public health: In 1950-51 it was Rs. 2.00 crores; it is now Rs. 3.9 crores, that is an increase of 95 per cent.

Agriculture: In 1950-51 it was Rs. 2.3 crores; now it is Rs. 5 crores, that is an increase of 117 per cent.

Industries: In 1950-51 it was Rs. 6.5 crores; now it is Rs. 13.9 crores, that is an increase of 113 per cent.

Welfare of Tribal people: In 1950-51 it was Rs. 1.6 crores; today it is Rs. 4.4 crores, that is an increase of 196 per cent.

We should not forget that we began from a scratch. After we achieved independence, we started with a liability. An under-developed country like India should turn to deficit financing. When a country declares war, it resorts to deficit financing. We have also declared war against poverty and lethargy and for the development and progress of the country. We therefore should not criticise deficit financing. But, we should be very careful about our expressions and sentiments. I congratulate the Finance Minister on the way in which he has talked of deficit financing.

I must point out that out of Rs. 2200 crores which was the Budget by Planning Commission for five years, a little less than Rs. 1,000 crores have been spent. That is a creditable thing, and I appreciate the Finance Minister, as a habitual admirer. In this connection, I would like to refer to one thing. We have to consider the Budget from the ideal of a welfare State, and how far we have been able to proceed with nation-building activities. Speaking about the State from which I come, I must first refer to the refugee problem. For the freedom of India, India was partitioned and Bengal was partitioned. If you look at the map of West Bengal, you will find that it is divided into three portions. The Radcliffe Award created the new West Bengal State which had no connection or communication between the headquarters and the other two portions. Three portions of Bengal are now styled as West Bengal. There is no link with the headquarters and between the three northern districts:

and the central districts. It is very difficult to rush any relief if that is required and rush any articles that are required for administrative purposes. A Government which cannot send relief and supply and which has no direct communication with other portions of the state, cannot function properly. I wish to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to this vital necessity of West Bengal. Near about 3½ million people have come to West Bengal from East Bengal. Our migration is a different one; it is unlike that of Punjab. In West Bengal, it was a single-way traffic. Near about 35 lakhs of people have come and only about 1½ lakh people have migrated from West Bengal. I want to emphasise here that the State of West Bengal has not the capacity to accommodate them, nor the capacity to finance them—to give them financial stabilisation. The Central Government should give top priority for the early settlement of the refugee problem and should try their level best for the rehabilitation of the downtrodden, frustrated human beings, those who have left their homes for the independence and freedom of India.

In this connection, Sir, I want to draw your attention to the fact that the port of Calcutta which contributes 50 per cent. of export revenue and 30 per cent. of import revenue to the Central Exchequer is facing a serious crisis. The river Hooghly does not get any overflow supply of water from the river Ganga; it has become more or less a tidal channel. If we want to save the port of Calcutta, if we want to help the West Bengal State, a barrage is required over the river Ganga in the District of Murshidabad near Farakka. The barrage will enable the West Bengal Government to have direct link with the northern districts as well as the central districts. With this barrage also, we will get sufficient supply of water—a perennial supply from the Ganga—which will enable us to keep the port of Cal-

cutta intact without the fear of silting up. If we look at the map of West Bengal, we will find that we have to go to the northern districts from the headquarters either through Pakistan or through a sister State, the attitude of whose authorities is detrimental to the great ideal envisaged by the great party which is responsible for the administration. Bengal is hated by them; the Bengali language is hated by them; they hate any assistance to our State. I draw the attention of the Central Government and of the Finance Minister and request them to give top priority for the Ganga Barrage scheme to enable the Government of West Bengal to have direct connection with other portions of West Bengal.

We have heard criticism about the Damodar Valley and other projects. I request the critics to go and see Damodar Valley, Chittaranjan, Sindri and other project and then come and criticise. We should not forget our past legacy. A country of 36 crores of people which had to indent for locomotives, which had to indent for every material, machine parts—everything—should not talk about development within seven years. We must study these things. The Finance Minister is being faced on the one side with the colossal ignorance of the educated masses and on the other side, with the colossal lethargy of the uneducated masses. Under the circumstances, I congratulate the Finance Minister on his very bold piloting of the Budget this year.

Shri Mohiuddin (Hyderabad City): Sir, the Finance Minister's proposal to incur deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 250 crores next year has caused a little consternation to some of our friends. Dr. Krishnaswami spoke of controls as of primary importance. The Deputy Leader of the Communist Party compared it to a hippopotamus and was afraid that if the guest came to the party, there would be nothing left for the host to eat.

[Shri Mohiuddin]

Sir, the Finance Minister has said that during the last two years there has already been deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 230 to 240 crores. What has been the effect so far of deficit financing to the tune of Rs. 230—240 crores on the economy of the country? Voices have raised that prices have increased. As a matter of fact, prices are just steady round about 395 which is the index number of wholesale prices. Prices have not shown any tendency to rise in a way that they cannot be controlled. Now, the Planning Commission and the Finance Minister have given the definition of deficit financing in the following terms:

“Deficit financing arises from an excess of Government expenditure over receipts from the public. Such an excess financed by drawing upon cash balances or by borrowing from the Reserve Bank would have the effect of expanding the money supply held by the public”.

The increase of money supply with the public has been laid down as the most important criterion in regard to deficit financing. Now, we may examine the figures, whether there has been an increase in money supply with the public during the last three years we find that as compared with 1951, there was, of course, a sudden fall of money supply with the public in 1952, of over Rs. 150 crores. Since 1952, the rise in the money supply has been negligible. We have been given figures in one of the progress reports of the Planning Commission regarding money supply in 1952 and 1953. In 1952, it was Rs. 1805 crores and in 1953—this refers to the month of March—it was Rs. 1851 crores. On February 26, 1954,—I have worked out the figure—it came to Rs. 1845 crores. There is an increase of only about Rs. 5 crores at the end of 1953 as compared to end of 1952. This is a negligible in-

crease. The increase should have been much higher in order to meet the demands caused by increased production in the agricultural and industrial sectors.

I think that deficit financing is being managed too well and there is no danger that if deficit finance to the extent of Rs. 250 crores is incurred, there will be any inflationary spiral. But I would like to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to one important factor and that is, that there is a continuous rise in the short-term money rates. In 1948, of course when the money supply was considerably larger, the short-term money rate average was 1/2 per cent. In 1952, it went up to 2-1/32 per cent. In 1953, it was 2½ per cent. In January 1954, it is 2-7/8 per cent. Similarly, the rate of interest for Treasury Bills has gone up considerably. During last year, it was Rs. 2/8/- and now, during the last week, it has gone up to Rs. 2/11/-. Now, the Finance Minister, of course, has devised the method of borrowing money from the Reserve Bank on the basis of Treasury Bills. The Treasury Bills on which money is created do not affect the money supply in the market which is available for commerce and industry, but at the same time I do think that the heavy drafts on the short-term market by ordinary issue of Treasury bills are increasing the rate of interest for short term supply. I would suggest that the alternative method of borrowing money on the basis of *ad hoc* securities pledged with the Reserve Bank of India for a period suitably adjusted to Rs. 2/8 or Rs. 2/12 interest should be explored and examined.

5 P.M.

The Planning Commission had made it clear, when they presented their report to Parliament, that the first Five Year Plan would only initiate a process of economic development. In the third or fourth year of the Plan, it is expected by some that

the miracle should have been performed and that every economic evil should have been absolutely eradicated. That is an unjustified expectation.

Mr. More has referred to the fact that there is no proposal in the Budget for the relief of the unemployed in the rural areas. I am really surprised at his criticism because a very large part—I cannot say how much, but over 80 per cent.—of the money for development purposes is spent in the rural areas and it is adding to the employment of those who are either unemployed or under-employed. Increased irrigation means that instead of the agricultural labourers or the small cultivators being employed or having work only for three or four months in the year, they will now have, under the irrigation system, work for 8 to 9 or even 10 months in the year. The criticism that not a single word has been spoken or no money has been provided for the relief of the under-employed or the unemployed is rather irresponsible. As I said, the Five Year Plan was meant to initiate a process and I hope this proposal of incurring Rs. 250 crores of deficit financing in the next year and Rs. 500 to Rs. 600 crores for the whole of the Plan period will help us in breaking the vicious circle that we are passing through. The vicious circle is that our population is increasing by 1·4 per cent per annum, while our savings are only 5 to 6 per cent. This saving of 5 to 6 per cent. per annum is just enough to keep our standard of living where they are. I hope that by means of deficit financing, we will be able to break through the vicious circle and pass on to brighter days.

I wish to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to one important lacuna in the development plans. I wish to take this occasion, specially because the Finance Minister has said in the other House that he expects that by the end of the five year period at least 90 per cent. of the Plan will be completely fulfilled.

It means that a surplus will be left over from the total provided for the Plan. The lacuna that I was pointing out was in respect of agricultural development in those areas which are commanded by large irrigation projects I am referring, for example, to the Tungabhadra project. The Tungabhadra dam was practically completed last year and it is reported that by June this year it will be fully ready and the water will accumulate. The problem of developing the area commanded by the Tungabhadra project is still to be thought of. The whole area is under dry cultivation and, according to estimates, 4½ lakh areas under the dam will have to be converted to wet cultivation. The minimum financial estimate required for developing this area is about Rs. 300 to 400 per acre. At this rate, the total amount that will be required for developing these 4 or 4½ lakhs of acres under the Tungabhadra will be about Rs. 15 crores. Of course, the Hyderabad Government has not got the resources and I suggest to the Minister for Planning and Irrigation that he should examine this aspect of the question and take necessary action for the quick development of the area, because as the water is already available there, the lack of use of that water means the loss of increased production of wheat, cotton and other agricultural produce.

I wish to draw your attention to another aspect, and that is, the industrial undertakings under the Ministry of Production. In the 1953-54 budget, there was a provision for Rs. 3,45,95,000 while in the revised estimates it is Rs. 1,03,20,000. We have not got any information as to why this budgeted amount could not be spent. Now, in the budget for 1954-55, the amount provided is Rs. 14,43,79,000. There is a rapid increase in the amount that we have provided for Government industrial undertakings but the information about industrial undertakings is very meagre. The summary that was

[Shri Mohiuddin]

circulated by the Ministry of Production mentions that Sindri made a profit of Rs. 271 lakhs in the year ending March, 1953. I looked up the balance sheet, which is, fortunately, placed in the Library, and I find that the total capital expenditure on the Sindri factory was Rs. 24,50 lakhs and the development expenditure is reported to be Rs. 113 lakhs, which comes to about 5 to 6 per cent. The development expenditure, which is commercially called the preliminary expenses, of Rs. 113 lakhs is, I think, rather high. It means that we are over-capitalising our industries. Similarly, we want information regarding the machine tool and other industries that we are establishing. I suggest that the Ministry of Production may kindly see that complete information is supplied, so that we can see whether any progress has been made or what was the reason for the lack of progress.

My last point is this, Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani the other day, referring to the capacity of the soap industry, said that out of the total production capacity of 1,94,000 tons, the capacity of the British Firms was about 60,000 tons and only those factories were working to full capacity.

The other important industry that we have in India is the *vanaspati* industry. It is reported that the total capacity of *vanaspati* factories is 3,50,000 tons, and out of that, foreign-owned companies are producing up to 80 per cent. or 90 per cent of their capacity, whereas Indian factories are producing only up to 50 per cent of their capacity. I also understand that nine Indian firms with a capacity of 47,000 tons have been closed.

So, the important point is: how is it that the foreign-owned concerns are working to their full capacity and Indian concerns are not able to work even up to 50 per cent. of their capacity? I hope that the Minis-

try of Commerce and Industry will examine that problem.

Shri Khardekar (Kolhapur *cum* Satara): It is a fact that place, environment and atmosphere have an effect on human beings. For the last four years, I have been living and working in a village and I feel rather a villager than a townsman, and my approach to this Budget will be from the point of view of a villager, simple, unsophisticated, healthy having a sense of justice.

I was very glad to hear towards the end of the Finance Minister's speech when he said that the face of the country is changing and changing rapidly for the better. I hope that this face becomes very charming—almost beautiful. Who would not like to have the mother beautiful? It would mean that the children would be lovely. But, as a matter of fact, I find that on the fair face of this country, Mother India, there are many black spots and they are by no means beauty spots. They are very ugly spots in the form of backward classes and Scheduled Castes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Mr. Rajahoj looks beautiful.

Shri Khardekar: Unless these black spots are removed, I am afraid there is no hope for this country. So, I wish to speak about the Budget and the Five Year Plan in relation to the backward classes in general and the Scheduled Castes in particular.

The greatness of a country does not lie in the extent of its territory nor in the number of individuals who occupy that country, but in the quality and greatness of the individuals. The Five Year Plan rightly aims at the all-round development of the citizens, but unless this all-round development applies to all citizens, we can hardly develop proper citizens. You will agree with me, Sir, that more than a quarter of our population, apart from being ill developed, is almost in a sub-human condition. The Constitution aims at

equality and justice—social and economic. But this aim seems to me to be far too high. Considering the way we are going, I do not know whether we will reach it at all, unless we change our ways very much.

Looking at the Budget and the Five Year Plan, I feel rather despondent. In all, about Rs. 45 crores are to be spent on these people—several millions of them. We see no sense of urgency whatever. In the Budget speech, it was stated that the amount that was to be spent last year has not been spent in full. I personally think that this problem must be dealt with almost on a war basis. These are days when there is so much an atmosphere of that kind. We must declare a war against this social disease in the body-social.

The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been given certain facilities and concessions for ten years. Ten years will be over very soon, and looking at the speed with which we are progressing, we seem to beat even the snail in slowness. At the rate at which we are going, I do not think that even in a hundred years we can reach that standard when the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes can come up to the level of other citizens.

I am glad to see that some Rs. 72 lakhs have been given to the refugees for their rehabilitation. My point is that there are two kinds of refugees in this country: recent refugees and permanent refugees. The recent refugees have, of course, to be rehabilitated, because on their sacrifice our friends are sitting on the Treasury Benches, but the permanent refugees have got to be if I may say so—"habilitated". I do not know, Sir, if you have stayed in a cottage of a Scheduled Caste person. I have. It is a small shed. It cannot be called even a hut. Its size is about 20 ft. x 10 ft. About a dozen human beings and about half a dozen animals are huddled up together. The condition is very shocking.

We find that everywhere in India the Asoka Chakra and the Sarnath lions of Asoka are used as national emblem. Why not go a little further? Have a little bit of the sense of justice, of the zeal for reform, of Asoka, and go a little further. You know, Asoka had a separate Ministry for the aborigines. I recommend to the Government that they ought to have a separate Ministry for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, because we are not in a position to understand their mind and their difficulties. The wearer alone knows where the shoe pinches, and that is the essence of democracy.

Very often, we in this House are very much irritated when Shri Rajabhoj says something. We do not understand his mind, and what really troubles him and the other Scheduled Caste hon. Members. For generations, we have starved them; we have insulted them; we have humiliated them. If now they want to kick a bit, I think we ought to be just, and try to understand. We should try to be just before we affect to be generous. I suggest that we should really have a sort of tax on the higher castes—the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas and so on, of course including myself. We must wash off our sins which have been there for a long time. Unless we do something in this exciting manner, *swaraj* for those who are down-trodden has really no meaning. How can they possibly feel enthusiastic?

Take, for example, the estate duty. I think that all the amount that we get from it should go towards these people, because when you scrape those who are at the top, justice requires that those who are at the bottom ought to be fed. We read in Government reports that wastelands are to be distributed among these people. With the means that they have, how can they make the wastelands in any way useful? If *zamin-dari* is to be abolished, all the land that would be available—good land—should be distributed, so that these

[Shri Khardekar]

people may get something to fall back upon. The problem of the Scheduled Castes is actually economic and their main crime is poverty. I will illustrate how it is impossible for us to understand this. Actually, it is very difficult to get over this question of untouchability; because of their poverty, they are in that situation. I will narrate an experience which I very often have. I have four brothers and one of my brothers I do not allow to enter even my room—he does not take his bath for four or five days, he eats anything he likes and goes about in dirty clothes. If that is my reaction to my natural brother, what would you think my reaction would be in the case of a Harijan brother who does not get any water to wash,—(now soap, of course, will be still more difficult or impossible),—and who eats anything that he gets? I naturally should feel that a *bhangi* really is what my mother was when I was very young. Now when I see a *bhangi* fifty yards away, I pull out my scented handkerchief and close my nostrils—that is the reaction. It is for this main reason that the Scheduled Castes must be made economically independent. Then, they will improve in every way. It is no use our going and staying in a *bhangi* colony—it may show our greatness—but the important thing is that we must put an end to the *bhangi* colonies and they must be part and parcel of the community at large.

As regards the Finance Minister levying a tax on soap, I do not know if it is the recent political contamination that has made him dislike cleanliness. His tax on betelnut and keeping the same tax on tobacco indicates that he does not like these innocent luxuries, or that he detests these minor vices. I think Mr. Deshmukh originally a good man is fast degenerating into a Congressman.

The Deputy Minister of Finance (Shri A. C. Guha): He is now a better man.

Shri Khardekar: Their main approach is that the temples are kept open. This has led to a lot of bitterness and has embittered the feelings of a good many, *Sanatanists*.—Hindu Mahasabha or Ram Rajya Parishad. If I were a Harijan, I would say “my God is not imprisoned in the temple; He is where the tiller is tilling his soil and where the path-maker is breaking his stones.” That is what the great poet Tagore said, and if I want to have my God in a temple, I will have my own temple. Why should we bother about throwing open these temples and create ill-feeling? If there is ill-feeling created in the minds of the people of the higher castes, who are the people that are going to give work and other facilities to the Scheduled Castes, what is the use? Either you make them economically independent or you do not embitter the feelings of the *Sanatanists*, or whatever you might like to call them. After all you have to admit that he who loveth not his brother whom he has seen cannot love God whom he has never seen. About this question, I may strike a note of warning in the words of Lincoln, “A house divided against itself cannot stand and a government, half free and half slave, cannot endure for long”.

I would just end by saying that we should do our duty and we should do justice to these people; or else in the words of Shylock, the Harijans will say “If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you wrong us, shall we not revenge?” Let us try to wash off our sins and let us make our hands clean; otherwise, I might say in the words of Shakespeare “All the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten our hands”.

श्री अलगू राय शास्त्री: उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो बजट है उसकी बड़ी आलोचना, मधुर आलोचना और कड़ी आलोचना, यहां कई दिन से हो रही है और आज भी अंग्रेजी

भाषा में अब तक अनेक भाषण हुये हैं। यह पहले पहल में आज के बादविवाद में हिन्दी में बोल हा हूँ। मैं नहीं जानता कि कितने आइयों के पल्ले मेरी बातें पढ़ेंगी, क्योंकि उनको अभ्यास अंग्रेजी का है, हिन्दी का नहीं है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : हिन्दी वाले ज्यादा हैं।

श्री अलगू राय शास्त्री : मेरी विवशता यह है कि मैं अपने विचारों को हिन्दी में ही रख सकता हूँ और मैं यह कर्तव्य भी समझता हूँ कि जब हिन्दी को हमने अपनी राज्य भाषा और राष्ट्र भाषा का स्थान दिया तो उसका प्रचार भी होना चाहिये और उसमें इस भवन के अन्दर अधिक भाषण भी होने चाहियें।

मुझे बजट के आंकड़ों पर कुछ नहीं कहना है। बजट इसी तरह से बनते हैं, कुछ आमदनी होती है और कुछ खर्च होता है, कुछ आय, कुछ व्यय। आय की भी भिन्न भिन्न मदें होती हैं और व्यय के भी भिन्न भिन्न खाते होते हैं। इस प्रकार कोई नई बात, अलौकिक और नई अदृष्टपूर्व और अश्रुतपूर्व बात कोई फाय-नैन्स मिनिस्टर ला कर रख दें किसी बजट में, यह संभव नहीं है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : पल्ले कुछ नहीं पड़ता।

श्री अलगू राय शास्त्री : पड़ेगा धीरे धीरे।

अब इस दृष्टि से देखें तो बजट के सामान्य बाद-विवाद में कुछ मौलिक नीतियों के बारे में सरकार का ध्यान दिलाया जा सकता है और उससे अनुरोध किया जा सकता है कि जब वह जनता का धन इस तरह अपने खजाने में, अपने कोष में लेती है, तो उसके व्यय को इस तरह चरितार्थ करे कि उससे अधिक लोक

सेवा हो और समाज उन्नति की ओर जाय। इसी दृष्टि से कुछ सुझाव में यहां रखना चाहता हूँ।

पहली बात जो मुझे कहनी है और जिसका मुझे बड़ा भारी महत्व मालूम होता है वह यह है कि जहां स्वराज्य होने के बाद स्वर्गीय सरदार पटेल ने बहुत सी देशी रियासतों को मिलाया, एक किया, और वह टुकड़े टुकड़े मिल कर कुछ बड़े टुकड़े बने, वहां आज छोटी छोटी बातों के सामने रख कर नहीं नहीं बातों में पड़ कर हम भाषावार प्रांतों की मांग करते हैं और एक आयोग की नियुक्ति भी इस सम्बन्ध में हो गई है। छोटे छोटे प्रदेशों का निर्माण, करके हमने लाखों विधान सभाओं के सदस्य, हजारों मंत्री और सैंकड़ों मुख्य मंत्री बनाने की व्यवस्था की है। यह सब जनता के ऊपर शासन का भार बढ़ाती है। हमें नहीं चाहिये कि हम छोटे छोटे प्रांतों की संख्या बढ़ाये और इस भाषा के भेद को ले कर देश के और भी टुकड़ करे। यहां पर जब मुस्लिम साम्राज्य था तो छोटे छोटे टुकड़ों को बना कर लोग अपनी नवाबी देश में फैला कर इस देश को रसातल में ले गये। भेद को फैलाने वाली और आपसी भेद को बढ़ाने वाली कोई भी योजना चालू नहीं होनी चाहिये। आयोग का ध्यान इस ओर जाना चाहिये। सरकार को भी अपनी नीति इस तरह से निर्धारित करनी चाहिये कि जो प्रदेश हैं उन की सीमा बड़ी हो। २०० से कम जहां की विधान सभा के सदस्य हो सकते हों, ऐसा प्रदेश अपने खर्च को आप चलाने वाला नहीं हो सकता। केन्द्र से खर्चा देकर, सबसिडी दे कर छोटी छोटी स्टेट्स को चलाते रहना न किसी प्रकार से श्रेयस्कर है और न उससे जनता का कोई लाभ है और न ही कोई वहां बड़ी योजना चलाई जा सकती है। छोटे क्षेत्र में छोटी भावनार्यें जागृत होती हैं। तो पहली बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि भाषा के कारण जो

[श्री अलगू राय शास्त्री]

भेद फँला कर देश के टुकड़े करने की भावना है, छोटे छोटे हिस्सों में देश को जो बांटने की भावना है, इसको रोकना चाहिये ।

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA
in the Chair]

दूसरी बात जो मेरे सामने है, उसको मैं इस तरह से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी वैदेशिक नीति के परिणामस्वरूप हमने कोरिया में जो दृष्टिकोण लिया वह एक शानदार दृष्टिकोण था ।

हमारी शान्ति सेना ने वहाँ भारत का गौरव बढ़ाया । पाकिस्तान को अमरीका ने जो प्रोत्साहन दिया पिछड़े हुये राष्ट्रों को बढ़ाने के ये उन के विकास के लिये सहायता देना श्रेयस्कर है किन्तु जो अविकसित अवस्था में हैं, जो आर्थिक और सामाजिक दृष्टि से पिछड़े हुये हैं, विशेषकर आर्थिक दृष्टि से, उनको लड़ने के लिये आमादा कर देना उनको लड़ाई का सामान मोहैया कर देना यह उनके विकास को आगे बढ़ाने की बात नहीं है, ऐसा करके तो उनके लिये पूरे विनाश का मार्ग खोल देना है । इसमें भी जो दृष्टिकोण हमने अपनाया वह श्रेयस्कर और प्रशंसनीय है, उससे राष्ट्र जागरूक हुआ है, उसके गौरव को ठेस लगी है और जिसको बड़े ओजस्वी शब्दों में हमारे राष्ट्र नेता पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने यहां पर अपने वक्तव्य में स्पष्ट किया था । मैं इस विषय में अपनी सरकार को चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ और एक सवाधानी का शब्द कह देना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी वैदेशिक नीति बड़ी जागरूक और बड़ी सतर्क होनी चाहिये । हमें यह देखना चाहिये कि हम तटस्थों को शत्रु न बनावें । और मित्रों को तटस्थ न बनावें । हमारी नीति यह होनी चाहिये कि जो आज शत्रु हैं हम इस तरह से बताव करें, और इतने सतर्क हों कि वह कम से कम तटस्थ तो बन ही जावें और जो आज तटस्थ हैं उन के सम्बन्ध

में हमारी नीति ऐसी हो कि वह हमारे साथ मित्र की तरह व्यवहार करें । जहाँ हमने अपने गौरव के अनुकूल अब तक कदम बढ़ाया है और जो कुछ हमने किया है उससे भारत का गौरव बढ़ा है, वहाँ यह भी देखना जरूरी है और वैदेशिक नीति निर्धारित करते समय हमारे सामने यह गाइडिंग प्रिंसिपल होना चाहिये कि हम असावधानी में कहीं ऐसी बातें न कर जायें जिससे हमारे दोस्त शत्रु बनते जायें । और जो हमारे मित्र लोग हैं वह तटस्थ बनते जायें । हमारी पालिसी तो इस प्रकार चलाई जानी चाहिये जिससे जो तटस्थ हैं वह हमारे मित्र बन जायें और शत्रु तटस्थ हो जायें । विशेषरूप से इस बात की सावधानी हमको मुस्लिम राष्ट्रों के प्रति बरतनी चाहिये, हमारे वैदेशिक विभाग का प्रचार इस दिशा में इतना गहरा, गम्भीर और विशद होना चाहिये कि किसी प्रकार का भ्रम हमारी भावनाओं और आकांक्षाओं के बारे में उल्टा न पड़ने पाये, इसमें हमको सतर्क रहना है ।

दूसरी बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि काश्मीर समस्या पिछले ६, ७ वर्षों से उलझी हुई पड़ी है । वहाँ की संविधान परिषद् ने अपना एक निर्णय दे डाला, मगर चीजें वैसी ही चली जा रही हैं, तलवार लटक रही है और कोई हल होता नहीं दीखता । वहाँ पर हमारी फौजें भी घिरी हुई हैं, काश्मीर के बारे में यह जो एक अनिश्चितता की अवस्था आज वर्षों से चली आ रही है, उसकी समाप्ति की कोई सीमा होनी चाहिये और अब वह अवस्था समाप्त होनी चाहिये । काश्मीर का जनमत काश्मीर की जनता जिसने बयस्क मताधिकार पर अपने यहां चुनाव किये, वहाँ की संविधान परिषद् का निर्णय हो गया, अब कौन सी पंचायत दुबारा बैठ कर उस प्रश्न का निर्णय करेगी, संविधान परिषद् ने काश्मीर के भविष्य का निबटारा तो कर दिया और

इसलिये वह प्रश्न समाप्त सा मानना चाहिये । वह तो विवाद हल हो गया, सब बात समाप्त हो गई, काश्मीर की जनता जहां है वहीं है उसके न उधर जाने का प्रश्न है न उधर जाने का प्रश्न है, उसने अपना भाग्य सदा के लिये भारत के साथ जोड़ने का निश्चय कर लिया है और इस विवाद को अब हमें हमेशा के लिये खत्म कर देना चाहिये, और काश्मीर का प्रश्न जो एक मेलटिंग पीट में पड़ा हुआ है, वह समाप्त होना चाहिये ।

सैनिक संगठन की बहुत आवश्यकता है और यह निर्विवाद है कि सैनिक संगठन जिस राष्ट्र का प्रबल नहीं है वह राष्ट्र नहीं टिक सकता । व्यक्ति अवश्य अहिंसा के आधार पर संसार को चला सकते हैं, एक व्यक्ति ऐसा भी हो सकता है जो अपने त्याग और तपस्या से इस पृथ्वी को हिला दे, मगर जहां पूरे राष्ट्र के पृथ्वी और पाप का संतुलन होता है वहां पर राष्ट्र की रक्षा के लिये सेना की आवश्यकता होती है और उसके लिये प्रदर्शनात्मक ढंग से सेना की तैयारी को बताने की आवश्यकता नहीं है, अब जैसे कुछ राइफल्स क्लब्स खोल दिये, उससे काम बन नहीं सकता, वह केवल प्रदर्शन की बात है । हीरा गुदड़ी में भी पड़ा हो तो भी हीरा रहता है ।

“हीरा पाया गांठ गठि आया

बार बार वाको क्योँ खोले ?”

प्रदर्शन से कोई लाभ नहीं ।

सरदार ए० एस० सहगल (बिलासपुर) : सरकार की तरफ से राइफल क्लब्स नहीं चल रहे हैं ।

श्री अलगु राय शास्त्री : जी नहीं । मेरे कहने का तात्पर्य है कि अगर हमारी शक्ति सचमुच दृढ़ है तो हम एक विशाल राष्ट्र कहलाने के योग्य हैं । उसमें किसी प्रकार की नुटि और कमी नहीं आनी चाहिये, उस दिशा

में हमको पूरा सावधान रहने की आवश्यकता है । सैन्य बल बढ़ाने के सम्बन्ध में हम यह नारा नहीं दे सकते कि आत्म बल से और आध्यात्मिक शक्ति से हम राष्ट्र की रक्षा कर सकते हैं । उस ओर मैं अपनी सरकार को जागरूक करना चाहूंगा, सरकार को पूरी सतर्कता और सावधानी से हमको जो वर्तमान युग है उसके अनुरूप अपने सैन्य बल को संगठित करना चाहिये ।

“निर्हस्ताः नः शत्रवः”

हमारे शत्रु निरस्त्र हों, हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण करने वाले पछतायें और हम आक्रमण करने वाले न हों, किन्तु किसी भी आक्रमण को रोकने की हममें शक्ति और क्षमता हो, ऐसा हमारे राष्ट्र का लक्ष्य होना चाहिये ।

दो शब्द शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ । हमारी शिक्षा की जो आज विधि है वह ऐसी है कि जिसमें हम प्रति वर्ष हजारों और लाखों की तादाद में पढ़े लिखे आदमी पैदा करते हैं, लाखों की तादाद में लिटरेट बनते हैं, शेक्सपियर के नाटक पढ़ते हैं, काली दास और भवभूत छोड़ दिये गये, Keats, Shelley Shakespeare और Byron यह हमारे ऊपर सवार हैं और आज यही पढ़ाई, पढ़ाई मानी जाती है । इसी पढ़ाई, ने हमको एक क्लर्क नेशन बना कर छोड़ दिया है, हम में न इनिशियेटिव है, न अपने पैरों पर खड़े होने की और न अपनी भाषा में बोलने की क्षमता है । आज तो हालत यहां तक पहुंच गई है कि हम शरमिदा होते हैं कि हम अंग्रेजी नहीं बोल सकते हमें इस बात में गौरव प्रतीत नहीं होता कि हम अपनी भाषा में अपने विचारों को व्यक्त करें और अपनी भाषा में जिस कुशलता से और अच्छी प्रकार अपने विचारों को व्यक्त कर सकते हैं उतनी अच्छी तरह दूसरी भाषाओं

[श्री अलगू राय शास्त्री]

में हमारे लिये व्यक्त करना असम्भव सा है। आज यह बड़े खेद का विषय है कि हम में अपनी भाषा को सम्पन्न और प्रतिभाशाली बनाने के लिये जो उत्साह और लगन होनी चाहिये उसका अभाव है। इस समय हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री नहीं हैं, मैं आशा करता हूँ कि हमारे गुहा साहब मेरे विचार उन तक पहुँचाने की कृपा करेंगे कि शिक्षा मंत्री को हिन्दी के प्रचार में विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिये। उनको ऐसा प्रबन्ध करना चाहिये जिससे हमारे नवयुवक पढ़ाई लिखाई पूरी करके केवल एक सफेद हाथियों की एक बड़ी भारी जमात के समान न खड़े हो जायें जिनको अच्छा भोजन तो चाहिये लेकिन जो भोजन का एक दाना भी खीदा करना अपराध समझते हैं। और मैं इस बात की चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि अगर हम शिक्षण पद्धति में आमूल परिवर्तन नहीं करते और शिक्षण में वर्तमान दोष मौजूद रहता है तो देश के सामने एक बड़ी भारी क्राइसिस आने वाली है, क्योंकि शिक्षितों की बेकारी की समस्या का तो हमें सामना करना ही पड़ेगा। बेकारी को हमने जान-बूझ कर बहुत बढ़ाया। उसके सम्बन्ध में मैं सिर्फ इतना कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे प्राइवेट सेक्टर की बातें कही जाती हैं, वहाँ हमारी सरकार एक ट्रेडिंग कम्पनी सी बनती जा रही है। हर एक छोटा मोटा काम सरकार चलाना चाहती है। बेकारी बढ़ रही है, यह जो मामूली लारियां चलाने वाले हैं, तीस २, चालीस २ और पचास २ ये बेचारे गरीब आदमी एक दिन में बेकार हो गये और वह रोते हुये आते हैं और कहते हैं कि बताइये हम कल से क्या काम करें वे बेकार हो गये क्योंकि सरकार ने उन रूट्स को ले लिया जिन पर उनकी गाड़ियां चलती थीं, उनकी लारियां बेकार खड़ी हैं और हम कहते हैं कि हम बेकारी को हल करना चाहते

हैं। सरकारी काम जो भी होता है उसमें कुछ तनख्वाहें ज्यादा मिलती हैं, सुविधायें ज्यादा होती हैं, कम से कम आदमी उस में खपते हैं, इसके बरअक्स जो व्यक्तिगत उद्योग और घघे हैं उनमें ज्यादा आदमी खप सकते हैं। इसलिये जरूरत इस बात की है कि हमको समझ बूझ कर बहुत सतर्क हो कर इस काम में ध्यान देना चाहिये कि जिन कामों को वह अपने हाथ में लेना चाहती है, उनके बारे में देखे कि हम उस से कितने आदमियों को बेकार बनाते हैं। सरकार हर एक उद्योग घघे और व्यवसाय में स्वयं एक व्यापारी की तरह से आ पड़ती है। हमारे शासन को शिक्षा, रक्षा और पालन-पोषण के काम के लिये अधिक सतर्क होना चाहिये।

मैं एक बात यहां पर और कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमने राष्ट्र संघ में बड़ा गौरवपूर्ण स्थान पाया है और यह हमारे देश के लिये बड़े गौरव की बात है कि हमारी श्रीमती विजयलक्ष्मी पंडित उस राष्ट्र संघ की यू० एन० ओ० की प्रेसिडेंट हैं और उनके रहते मैं यह आशा करता हूँ कि जैसे राष्ट्र संघ की अंग्रेजी और फ्रेंच आदि भाषायें हैं, उसी प्रकार ३५ करोड़ देशवासियों की यह हिन्दी भाषा भी वहां की स्वीकृत भाषा होनी चाहिये, वहां हमारे प्रतिनिधियों को हिन्दी में बोलना चाहिये, हमारी श्रीमती विजयलक्ष्मी को हिन्दी में बोलना चाहिये, उसका उल्था भले ही दूसरी भाषा में करा लिया जाय, परन्तु मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दी को वहां स्थान मिले।

एक, दो बातें कह कर मैं खत्म किये देता हूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार को केन्द्रीय सरकार से जो सहायता अपने कार्यों के लिए मिले, वह सहायता काफी

और पर्याप्त हो, आज सहायता का उचित भाग उसको प्राप्त नहीं होता, और अधिक सहायता उसको मिलनी चाहिये और मैं चाहता हूँ कि जिस तरह के प्राजेक्ट्स और प्रदेशों में हो रहे हैं, उसी तरह कोई न कोई प्राजेक्ट वहाँ पर भी होने चाहिये। जैसे हमने चितरंजन या सिदरी फौद्री या दूसरे काम सरकार की तरफ से चलाये हैं, कारखाने खोले हैं, वैसे कारखाने उत्तर प्रदेश में भी खुलने चाहिये। यथासम्भव इस के पूर्वी जिलों में जहाँ रेह का एक खजाना है, जहाँ ऊसर भूमि है, वहाँ पर इंडियन ऐग्रीकल्चरल रिसर्च कॉन्सिल की तरफ से कोई न कोई इस तरह का प्रयोग होना चाहिये, जिस से उसमें हम घान की खेती कर सकें या उसको रिक्लेम कर के उस में दूसरी खेती कर सकें। वहाँ हम जूट (सन) की खेती कर के उसकी पैदावार बढ़ा सकते हैं। इस तरह का कोई न कोई काम इस क्षेत्र में भी अनिवार्य रूप से चालू करना चाहिये। केन्द्रीय सरकार को इस तरीके पर उत्तर-प्रदेश की सरकार को मदद करनी चाहिये, मैं इस के लिये अनुरोध करूँगा।

एक चीज कह कर मैं खतम करता हूँ। मैंने इस बजट में आय बजट की सारी चीजों को देखा। आय के साधनों में साबन, सुपारी और शू हैं। इन तीन तिलों में से इतना तेल नहीं निकल सकता है जिससे यह नव-राष्ट्र का शिशु अपने शरीर में तेल लगा सके और उससे कुछ खाने की चीज भी बना सके। यह ओस चाट कर प्यास बझाने का काम है। इस में इतनी शक्ति नहीं होगी कि वह अपना पालन पोषण कर सके। अगर हमें आय बढ़ानी है तो इस के लिये हमें दूसरे साधनों की तरफ देखना होगा। मैंने साबुन, सुपारी और शू के साथ तिलों का तेल जो बताया है उस में 'स' और 'त' दोनों को मिला कर एक आश्चर्य सत्य की विवेचना की है।

इतना निवेदन कर के मैं आशा करता हूँ कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय मेरे सुझावों पर ध्यान देंगे।

Swami Ramamanda Tirtha (Gulberga): The Finance Minister in a mixed economy should be always ready for a mixed reception of his budget, and it is no wonder that this House has reacted with mixed feelings of approbation and also accusation to the degree that was necessary. I am neither a habitual critic nor one used to praise things that do not deserve any praise. I do not want to tire the House with the question of accuracy or otherwise of the tables compiled in the big volumes supplied to us. I would only apply a layman's mind to the economy of the country and say what the impressions of the field worker are. I do not wish to dispute the accuracy of the figures given to us by the Finance Minister. I am not also apprehensive of the deficit finance to the tune of Rs. 250 crores which he has ventured upon in this Budget. I know he is quite capable of fully controlling the economy of the country, so that the people would not suffer due to deficit financing. I am quite confident of that, and therefore I do not take an alarmist view of this Budget. At the same time I am not complacent also. And therefore I wish to say a few words wherein due care has to be taken in order to ensure a better life for the so-called under dog in the country. There are very many factors of uncertainty in the calculations and in the estimates made. And if these factors of uncertainty continue to exist as they are, then the results possibly expected, will not be realised. I would like to draw attention to these factors of uncertainty in the economy of our country.

Production, both industrial and agricultural, has increased to whatever extent it was possible. And all praise to the Finance Minister. But that is too small. I am not worried about the tiny figure or the smallness of the production. If it is in the right

[Swami Ramananda Tirtha]

direction, well, it will also help to spur on to greater activity. But the question is whether it is in the right direction. Here some misgivings are created in my mind. The Finance Minister has said that the aim of the Budget is to ensure an orderly implementation of the Five Year Plan. Well, Rs. 1,300 crores still remain to be spent during the next two years. I do not know whether these Rs. 1,300 crores are going to be properly spent. I use this word because I doubt very much about the relationship of the schemes which are being formulated to the reality of the situation. I know from very reliable sources that under cottage industries, small-scale industries, schemes might be coming up—I do not use the words 'are coming up'—might be coming up which may not materialise at all. And the result will be that the amount that has been estimated in the Budget may remain unutilised, or, if at all, utilised in a wrong manner. Therefore I would request the Finance Minister to take due care to scrutinise these various schemes which are being forwarded to him and to see that they are quite in consonance with the real requirements of the particular area in which they are located.

I would not find fault with the Finance Minister so much. But I have my own complaint about the manner in which we are moving. The production is increasing. Well and good. In what direction is the economy of the country being shifted? It pains me very much to say that there is no clear-cut policy so far, though of late some light is visible in that direction between the small-scale industries and the large-scale industries. Let the Government once for all decide its policy. Unless a policy is laid down, any amount of production is not going to help in improving the economic life of the common man. Therefore, I want that the policy should be definitely laid down. Sir, I will quote one or two instances. Very unfortunately we had the

experience, or had an occasion to hear one of the Ministers of this Government saying "Let us drink for ten years to make India prosper". About the ceiling on land also there is something flimsy. What is the direction in which the economy of this land is being led? I wish to say, under a mixed economy, let there be no mixed thinking. Let us be clear in our mind that the economy of the country has to be switched on to the betterment of the under dog. I use this word because after all, it is the common man and not a few rich men whose interests should be considered. We are not enemies of rich people, but we do not want India to consist of a few rich men and millions of under dogs. I want that the direction of the country's economy should be fixed in a firm, determined manner. I do not see that determination in the Budget and I am very sorry for that. This question cannot be evaded. We may evade it for the time being, but realities of the situation will compel us to take due cognizance of these requirements of the situation.

I have gone through the speech of the Finance Minister at least a score of times. I find that he is cautious. I also realise that he is cautious of the dangers and risks involved in the enterprise which he has undertaken. He has already admitted in one of his speeches in the other House that at least there has been no deterioration in unemployment in the recent months. Well, Sir, that is small satisfaction. We do not want to hear from the Finance Minister that there is no deterioration in the situation. We want him to say that there is definite improvement and progress. The situation is an explosive one. If you go to the rural area, look to your economy. I find that two sectors in society are linked together at least in one great aspect. One is the landless labourer in the villages, he is unemployed. Secondly, the educated man in cities and suburbs, who is also unemployed.

Both are explosive materials. I do not know the histories of revolutions and I am no believer in slogans. I am not afraid of 'isms' and I can tell you that the common man in India is not enamoured of 'isms'. These are the two explosive materials in our country. What is our educational system doing? It is simply throwing out jobless people. Put a stop to it and change the whole system of education. If you wait, wait, and wait, the explosiveness in the situation is not going to abate. Therefore, I beg of the Finance Minister that instead of telling us that the face of the country is changing,—yes, it is changing,—but to take it proverbially, he should see in what part of the body the change is taking place and to what extent.

I am not afraid of the U.S.-Pak. Pact. Let us not be alarmed at that and let us not go in for arming ourselves. Let us not run a race in that direction. If we are to stabilise the life of the common man and the intellectuals, I say that India need never be afraid of any totalitarian regime but would be sure of a democratic life.

श्रीमती मधिवेन पटेल (कैरा दक्षिण) :

चेयरमैन साहब, कुछ बातें जो मेरी जान में आयी हैं मैं सरकार के सामने उनको रखना चाहती हूँ ।

आपने आर्टिफिशियल सिल्क पर जकात लगाने का सोचा है । उसके कारण कितनी परेशानी होगी उसके बारे में मैं जानती हूँ कि बम्बई राज्य से आपके यहां पत्र आया है । इससे मजदूरों को भी दिक्कत होने वाली है ।

किसानों के घरों में तम्बाकू फंसी पड़ी है । उसको देखने के लिये आपने एक अफसर को आन दी स्पॉट इन्क्वायरी (On the spot enquiry) करने को भेजा है अच्छा है और मुझे उम्मीद है कि वह आपको पूरा ख्याल दे

दे सकेगा कि इस से उनको कितनी मुसीबत होने वाली है ।

दूसरी बात मुझे यह बतानी है कि कुछ दिन हुए कि यहां पर एक शार्ट नोटिस क्वेश्चन के जवाब में जो कुछ नमक के बारे में कहा गया था उससे मुझे बहुत परेशानी हुई । अगर यह ख्याल हो कि इससे गांधी इरविन पैकट का भंग न हो तो यह काफी नहीं है । उसके बाद तो महात्मा जी के साथ यहां के उस वक्त के जो फाइनेन्स विभाग के अफसर थे और जो नमक के बारे में देखते थे, वह अग्रज थे उनसे बहस हुई । और मैं जानती हूँ कि डिपार्टमेंट तो इस चीज पर राजी नहीं था लेकिन काफी बहस के बाद कुछ सहूलियतें दी गई थीं जिनके द्वारा दस एकड़ तक नमक बनाने की इजाजत थी और उसको कहीं भी ले जा कर बचने की आजादी थी । अब यह कह कर उस सहूलियत को वापस ले लेना कि इसका ट्रेडर लोग राजायब फायदा उठाते हैं मेरी समझ में नहीं आता । आपको यहां बैठे बैठे इस बात का ख्याल नहीं हो सकता है कि समुद्र के किनारे पर जो देहात हैं वहां के जो लोग हैं उनको इस सहूलियत से कितनी राहत मिली है और उनके जीवन में इससे जो आमदनी होती है कितना लाभ हुआ है । शायद यह भी दलील दी जायगी कि वह नमक इतना साफ नहीं होता है । तो इसका उत्तर यह है कि सारा नमक खाने के उपयोग में ही नहीं आता है । नमक की तो खाद में भी जरूरत पड़ती है, नमक की चमड़ा पकाने में भी जरूरत पड़ती है । जिन को बढ़िया नमक खाना हो तो उन के लिये आप के कारखाने से नमक लेने की छूट है और आप चाहें तो उसकी क्वांटिटी ज्यादा हो तो उसकी क्वालिटी पर भी ध्यान दीजिये । परन्तु आप का उत्पादन बढ़ गया है, इसलिये उस को रोकने के लिये

[श्रीमति मणिबेन पटेल]

उस को मीट ओवर करने के लिये, गरीब आदमियों को इस तरह से मारना नहीं चाहिये। इसलिये मेरी विनती है कि अभी इस का अमल तो अगले साल होने को है, तो फिर इस बात को सोचिये। अगर आप का कहना यह हो कि आपने सब स्टेट्स को लिखा है और उनके पास से भी यही जबाब आया हो, तो मैं आप से यह जानना चाहती हूँ कि आप ने यह भी कहा है, उनको यह भी बताया है, कि महात्मा जी के साथ जो समझौता हुआ था उस के पीछे आप जा रहे हो, उस वक्त जो सहुलियतें देने को क्रबूल किया था वह सब वापस ले रहे हो।

6 P.M.

एक बात यह कहनी है कि हमने सब हवाई जहाज की कम्पनियां ले लेने को तय किया। करीब दस ग्यारह महीने होने को आये और सब हवाई जहाज ले लिये। सब को लिये हुये भी जहां तक मुझे ख्याल है दस या आठ महीने हो गये हैं। जहां तक मैं जानती हूँ, उस का पैसा अभी तक किसी को नहीं दिया गया है। अब इस में जिन की कम्पनियां थीं, उन को कोई दिक्कत होती है या नहीं, उस से मेरा कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है मुझे कोई परवा नहीं, पर उसमें जो शेयरहोल्डर्स हैं, उन की बात को भी आप को सोचना चाहिये। पैसे लेने में तो आप बहुत होशियार हैं, तो देने में भी मेरी विनती है कि आप थोड़ी तेजी रखें। आज इस के लिये बाहर क्या कहा जाता है, यह भी मैं आप को बताना चाहती हूँ। कहा जाता है कि पता नहीं कोई पैसा दिया जाने वाला है या नहीं। तो ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये कि सौ के हुये साठ, उसके किये आधे और आधे में फिर देना क्या और लेना क्या। इस में सरकार की प्रेस्टीज का बड़ा सवाल है। इसलिये मैं आप से, सरकार से, विनती करती हूँ कि शेयरहोल्डर्स की बात

आप सोचिये। आप को फ़र्स्ट इंस्टालमेंट में काफी हिस्सा दे देना चाहिये और जल्दी देना चाहिये। पीछे आप उन का हिसाब किताब आराम से करते रहिये।

एक बात यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि यहां एक भाई ने कहा कि उत्तर प्रदेश को पूरा पैसा नहीं दिया जाता, या यह कि कम दिया जाता है। तो मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि शूगर सैस कई साल से वहां लगाया जाता है और आपने कभी पूछा है कि वह पैसा किस काम में से लगाया जाता है। पहले जब लगाया गया तब कहा क्या था कि गन्ने की सुधार के लिये, शूगरकेन को इम्प्रूव करने के लिये, इस सैस का उपयोग करना है। उस में से कितना पैसा उस में लगाया गया और कितना उस में सुधार हुआ? अगर सुधार नहीं होता है तो सारे देश पर इस का बोझ क्यों लगाया जाता है? सुधार नहीं हो तो देश में और जगह कारखाने खोलने की रजा देनी चाहिये, अगर कोयम्बटूर में जो गन्ना पैदा होता है उसमें से चीनी ज्यादा मिलती है। बम्बई राज्य में जो गन्ना पैदा होता है उसमें ज्यादा चीनी पैदा हो सकती है तो फिर बिहार और यू०पी०, जहां की जमीन में से सोना निकले ऐसी उत्तम जमीन है, गंगा तट की जमीन है, वहां क्यों गन्ने में से ज्यादा चीनी नहीं निकल सके, इस के बारे में सोचना चाहिये।

इन्होंने यह कहा है कि जितने चाहिये उतने पैसे कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट में नहीं दिये जाते हैं, तो यहां मैं आप को एक बात जो हमारे लोगों के ख्याल में है, जो उनके दिल में है, वह बता दूँ। वह जो कहते हैं वह बताती हूँ। वह कहते हैं कि जो यहां के होते हैं प्रधान लोग वह अपनी अपनी कांस्टीट्यूएन्सी की तरफ ध्यान देते हैं और जहां से बेचारे मामूली आदमी आते ह उसकी तरफ उस की वृद्धि के लिये कोई नहीं देखता है। आप ने अच्छा

किया कि जो नये नये मजर्ड स्टेट्स से एक एक राज्य बने, जैसे कि सौराष्ट्र, मध्यभारत, इन सब के हालत देखने के लिये समिति बनाई उसको कितनी आर्थिक मदद देनी चाहिये, यह सोचने के लिये एक इस कमेटी ने रिपोर्ट दी इसके साथ साथ आपको यह भी सोचना चाहिये कि जो पुराने राज्य थे और उनमें जो मजर्ड एरिया आये हैं, उन की क्या हालत है। उन को मदद देने के लिये, उनको आगे बढ़ाने के लिये क्या करना चाहिये, यह आप को देखना है। मैं अपने यहां के दो प्रदेश की मिसाल देना चाहती हूं और आप वहां जावो तो मैं बहुत खुश होऊंगी क्योंकि मोटर में तो कोई जा नहीं सकता है—साबरकंठा और वनस्कंठा। वहां कोई सड़क नहीं है, जीप में जायें तो भी चार पांच मील की गति से कहीं आप चल सकेंगे और शाम को तो अच्छी तरह आप के बदन में दर्द होने लगेगा। तो ऐसी जगह जहां जहां हैं वहां आप को कुछ पैसा खर्च करने और तेजी से आगे बढ़ाने के लिये सोचना चाहिये।

कुछ बातें और मेरे ध्यान में आई हैं, वह भी आप को बताना चाहती हूं और उन को आप को सोचना चाहिये। यहां जो बसेज चलती हैं वह दो प्रकार की बसेज चलती हैं, ऐसा मैं समझती हूं कि। एक तो लीलंड या ऐसे नाम की कुछ बसेज हैं। वह १७० बसेज ली गईं। उन में से ४८ तो तीस हजार मील चलीं और टूट गईं, उन का गीयर बक्स टूट गया और कई दिनों तक वह गराज में पड़ी रहीं। उसकी कीमत करीब ३४ हजार रुपया है। दूसरी स्कैंडिनेवियन बस हैं, उस की कीमत है २८ हजार के आसपास। फिर ३४ हजार की कीमत वाली बसेज एक लाख मील चलीं तो उस के बाद उन को ओवरहाल करने की जरूरत है, ऐसा कहा जाता है और स्कैंडिनेवियन बसेज अगर दो लाख मील चलीं तो उसके बाद उन को ओवरहाल करने की

जरूरत है। फिर जो स्पेयर पार्ट्स हम को लेने पड़ते हैं, उनमें ३४ हजार कीमत वाली बसेज में हम को २५ पर सेंट ज्यादा देना पड़ता है। अगर यह चीज हो तो जो कोई मोटर के घन्घे को समझता हो और जो कोई उसकी मैशीनरी को समझता हो, उस तरह इंडिपेंडेंट आदमी से आप तलाश करवाइये और जो बात हमारे देश के भले में हो, उसको आप को सोचना चाहिये। जो कम्पनी ठीक कीमत पर हम को दे और हम को लूटे नहीं उसी से सामान लेना चाहिये। इस के साथ ही अगर इस सब के लिये अगर यहां पर ही फैक्टरी बनाने की बात सोचनी हो तो वह भी आप को सोचना चाहिये।

एक दूसरी बात जो मेरे ध्यान में आई है, उस को भी आप को सोचना चाहिये कि हम इतने रिबर वैली प्राजैक्ट्स बना रहे हैं। इन रिबर वैली प्राजैक्ट्स के लिये हमको बाहर से मैशीनरी की मदद मिलती है तो अच्छी बात है। यह मैशीनरी के लिये फिर स्पेयर पार्ट्स हम की करीब करीब १५ साल के लिये लेने पड़ेंगे। लेकिन उन स्पेयर पार्ट्स में सुना है कि जिस की कीमत २८ डालर पड़ती है उसके लिये हमारे पास से ७२ डालर दिये जाते हैं, तो क्या यह बात सही है? अगर ऐसा हो तो उसकी कीमत कम कराने के लिये और ठीक दाम देने के लिये हम को कुछ न कुछ करना चाहिये। बाहर से हम को आगे बढ़ाने के लिये मदद मिले, यह ठीक है। मगर उसके हिसाब किताब में हम को कोई मूर्ख बना दे, ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये, जैसे कि एक हालिक्स मिल्क का उदाहरण आप को मैं देती हूं। हालिक्स मिल्क की बोटल के अन्दर जो चीज है उसको बनाने के वास्ते वहां उन को कोई छः पैसे पड़ते हैं। बोटल की कीमत तीन आने होगी। तो इस तरह उस सब की कीमत छः आने बढ़ा कर रुपया ले ले। लेकिन यहां उसके साढ़े तीन रुपये लिये जाते हैं

[श्रीमती मणिबेन पटेल]

इसी तरह से स्ट्रैप्टोमाइसीन, आरियो माइसीन, और न जाने कितनी तरह के माइसीन तैयार दबाए हैं। इन के बिना भी पहले काम चलता था, लेकिन अगर काम नहीं चल सकता है और इन को लेना हो तो ठीक दाम से लेनी चाहिये, क्योंकि यह इस तरह की ऐंटी बायो-टिक्स दवाइयां हम लें और उस में हम को लूटा जाय तो यह इस तरह से काम नहीं होना चाहिये।

आपकी टेलीफोन डाइरेक्टरी है उस में मैं जरा देखने लगीं तो इतनी लम्बी चौड़ी आप की मिनिस्ट्री की लिस्ट है, उस में इतने ज्वाइंट सेक्रेटरी, डिप्टी सेक्रेटरी वगैरह हैं कि मैंने सोचा कि जरा देखूँ तो। मैंने देखा और गिना तो मेरी हिम्मत नहीं चली। इतना ज्यादा स्टाफ होने के बावजूद भी सरकार का काम कितनी तेजी से चल रहा है इसका आप इससे अन्दाजा लगा सकते हैं, कि मई सन् १९५३ को एक आदमी को कोलम्बो प्लान में स्कालरशिप दिलाने के लिये लिखा गया लेकिन उसका निबटारा होते २ कितना वक्त लगा? वस फरवरी सन् ५४ को कहीं उसका निकाल हो पाया। इतनी तेजी से आपके यहां काम होता है तो उसकी यह गति देखकर हम को बड़ी निराशा होती है। रोग बहुत उत्पन्न है कि अपने देश को आगे बढ़ायें, उसमें मदद भी करना चाहते हैं, परन्तु आपके डिपार्टमेंट में हर जगह से बाधा चलती है और रोक डाली जाती है और जिससे लोगों को बहुत निराशा होती है। अभी आज मैंने पढ़ा कि हमारे यहां एक जगह पर वैगन्स न मिलने के कारण सीमेंट आदि नहीं आ पा रही है और वैगन्स न मिलने के कारण कम्प्यूनिटी प्रोजेक्ट का काम रुका पड़ा है।

सोशल वेलफेयर के बारे में कह कर मैं अपनी बात खत्म कर दूंगी। जैसा कि कल हमारी एक बहिन ने कहा, सोशल वेलफेयर

वर्क ठीक ढंग से होना चाहिये। पच्चीस लाख रुपया उस साल के लिये रक्खा गया और उसमें से करीब पच्चीस हजार रुपया खर्च हुआ। कुल ९१९ अजियां आई थीं, जिनमें से ५४६ केसेज में मदद देना तय किया गया और उस धनराशि में से काफी लोगों को मदद दी गई और ऐसा करते वक्त बिना सोचे समझे हुये कोई चीज नहीं की गई थी। सब इन्स्टीट्यूशन्स देखे जाते हैं और जो सही हों और जिनको स्टेट्स भी सपोर्ट करती हैं ऐसे इन्स्टीट्यूशन्स को मदद दी जाती है। मुझे जो बोलने का अवसर दिया उसके लिये मैं आप की बहुत आभारी हूँ।

Shri Nambiar (Mayuram): Sir, I have also to approach the Budget from the angle of the common man. (Interruptions). But when I go through the Budget, I find so many contradictions in the speech of the hon. Finance Minister. I can sum it up by saying that the first contradiction which I could find is this: that he sees progress achieved, but the reality is not so which is the experience of an ordinary man in the street. He says that progress is achieved, but we on the other side see unemployment, which in a way he also admits. The next contradiction which I find is the ever-falling purchasing power when the so called progress is recorded. The other one is that which demands an immediate increase in direct taxation. I do not know, when there is progress, why there should be an increase in taxation and that too on cement, footwear, soap, betelnuts, cloth etc. This does not suit the progress which he expected during the past year. So also I have to say that he has to resort to large scale deficit financing. If there is progress, why should there be deficit financing to an extent which we cannot understand? Therefore, I can say that there is something wrong with the so-called progress that is already said to have been achieved.

Coming to the question of industrial production, I submit, Sir, that if there is increase in industrial production, let us see what is happening in the various sides of industry. Take, for instance, the textile industry. On the one side we see the closing of mills in all parts of the country; in Ahmedabad, in Sholapur, in Bombay, in Kanpur, in Malabar, in Travancore-Cochin and so on and so forth. If small-scale producers are faced with such a serious situation, then we do not understand where the increased production is. Increased production may be there in certain big factories, big factories owned by textile magnates. Therefore, at the cost of the small-scale producers, at the cost of the handloom weavers, there may be an increase in production. I do not know whether he can take credit for that. It is the ruination of the rural economy on the one side and the ruination of the purchasing power of the vast sections of the masses when he achieves a certain increase in production; I mean to say that if there is a fall in the total number of workers employed in the industries, if there is a fall during one year of one lakh in the number employed and at the same time there is an increase in production recorded, then it is only increased workload that he is achieving; otherwise, he cannot do it. On the one side, there is the fall in the number employed and on the other, there is increased production! These cannot go together. He admits.—according to Government figures,—that there is a fall in the total number employed in industry to the extent of one lakh.

Then there is the danger of rationalisation. This is the key point of this so-called industrial production. In Kanpur recently 8,000 workers—textile workers—have been faced with retrenchment. There was an agitation and the agitation is going on. If this can happen in a city like Kanpur where 8,000 people can be rendered unemployed in one industry, the textile industry alone, I do not know

what will be the position in other centres? He will have to answer these points, because he says that Rs. 175 crores are going to be added to the expenditure on the Five Year Plan in order to relieve unemployment. If that is so, how should there be regular increase in the number of unemployed in the way that we see in the country?

Then about the condition of the worker who is already employed, the Government gives promises but these promises are not at all kept. The International Labour Organisation recommended certain improved conditions of work for industrial workers. But the Government dare never follow these recommendations. Not only that. Today the claim of the industrialists is that the concessions that the employees are getting already should be curtailed. The labour welfare measures are going to be reduced, if the Government are to concede the claims of the industrialists. Therefore, I submit that this policy is going to create more danger than that exists now in the working class front. So also I can say that social insurance schemes like old-age pension, voluntary unemployment relief, medical and maternity facilities are practically inadequate or non-existent. In spite of this, the industrialists are being allowed to attack the living and working conditions of labour. I need not allude to the figures of the latest unemployed. I have brought to the notice of Government that in Malabar, in Cannanore, the only textile mill, the Aaron Mill, has closed. So also from various other sides, we get similar reports.

I have to speak a word about rural unemployment also. I have to quote here what Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari said in his Grow More Food Inquiry Committee report. He says:

“Roughly four-fifths of the agricultural population can find work in farming operations for one-third to one-fourth of the year.”

[Shri Nambiar]

"The rest is double this period." He goes to say that "every year a net addition of the order of 3 millions takes place to the number that work on already overcrowded holdings." If that is the position and if it continues during the Plan period, God alone knows what will happen after the Plan period, and after pouring out so much of money.

Mr. Chairman: Supposing there was less of under-employment, yet the number of the unemployed will remain the same.

Shri Nambiar: Here the situation is different. He says that during the five year period he will relieve this unemployment problem, but, we do not see any relief. On the other hand, we have more of unemployment; that is what we cannot understand.

Mr. Chairman: Go to the irrigated areas of Punjab.

Shri Nambiar: The irrigated areas of Punjab may have given some employment to a certain section of the people but the number of persons unemployed is increasing at a very high rate. That is the vicious circle.

Sardar A. S. Saigal: Have you seen Hirakud?

Shri Nambiar: Then, he speaks of progress. Where is progress? If it is not in the rural areas, if it is not in the towns, where is it? It may be in hell or in heaven, we do not know. That is what he will have to explain to us.

Sardar A. S. Saigal: He does not believe either in hell or heaven!

Shri Nambiar: I submit that whatever little facilities are given to the peasants due to certain legislation are not being implemented. I can quote from my own place. There was a legislation, the Tanjore Tenancy and Pannayals' Protection Act. When this Act is sought to be implemented, the police come to the aid of the *mirasdars* and the 40 per cent. of the crop promised to the tenant does not come to him. On the other hand,

those who claim it go to jails and mass arrests are taking place in the Tanjore district. So also in Malabar. A tenancy legislation was passed recently by the Madras Legislative Assembly but it is awaiting the assent of the President. I do not know why it should take so much time to get assent, whereas the repressive laws that we have passed recently—the Press (Objectionable Matter) Act—are assented to immediately.

Then, with regard to the purchasing power, during the last two years of the Plan period there is a fall in the purchasing power. I mean to say that the money supply with the public has gone down to the extent of Rs. 209.73 crores. That means so much of money is stored or hoarded somewhere else. If that is so, where is the money for the people to purchase even if there is industrial production? Purchasing power of the people does not cope up with the production. We have the need to run for export and more export. I admit that exports are necessary for the needs of the nation. If you do all for exports, then we will have to tie our belts tight round our waists. That is the policy we are driving at.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I would like to ask the hon. Member where he got his figures from this Rs. 209.73 crores?

Shri Nambiar: It is the fall within the two years of the Plan period in the "money supply with the public."

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Where is the figure from?

Shri Nambiar: I have got the figures from certain journals; I can give you the source.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I am interested in finding out the source.

Shri Nambiar: Two days back an article appeared in the *Hindustan Standard*, which gives these figures. I do not remember exactly the date.

With regard to deficit financing, much has been said and I do not want to go in for the details. But, I want to give a certain warning to the hon. Finance Minister, who is an expert in finance, whereas I am not. The common man feels that (1) if deficit financing is resorted to, Finance Minister should attempt to mop up the additional purchasing power in the hands of the few richer people. (2) He must have fiscal control over the production, price and distribution which is not there today. On the other hand he is lifting whatever controls there are. (3) There is no guarantee of improving the administrative efficiency to check tax evasion. We hear of cases. Lastly, (4) I warn him that there should be import surplus to make good the demand for utilising our sterling balances. If large-scale deficit financing is attempted without these safeguards, there will be an increase in the cost of living. Already the working class cost of living has increased, which the hon. Finance Minister admits. There will be another large-scale increase in the cost of living wherein he will be faced with so many other economic problems, which I want to bring to his notice.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: On a point of information, I have not admitted that the cost of living has arisen. I gave figures in my speech in the Council of States to show that the cost of living has fallen in almost every sector.

Shri Nambiar: The figures show an increase in the working class cost of living index—from December 1952, to August 1953.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: It may not be a fall in your mind.

Shri Nambiar: I can show you the figures. There is a rise in the working class index.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: Is that from *Blitz*?

Shri Nambiar: You wait; I will give you *Blitz*.

In December 1952, the working class index in Calcutta was 346, and in August, 1953 it was 373; in Kanpur, in December 1952, it was 447 and in August, 1953, it was 469; in Bombay, in December 1952, it was 346 and in August, 1953, it was 376. These are the figures I have got.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: We have subsequent figures, we are in March 1954 now.

Shri Nambiar: These are the figures I have got.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: From which source?

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member wants to contradict what the hon. Minister has said.

Shri Nambiar: The figures subsequent to August are not ready with me.

Mr. Chairman: He is not relying on August figures.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I have made a simple statement that I have not admitted that the cost of living has increased. That is the only point I have made.

Shri Venkataraman (Tanjore): It is contained in the Explanatory Memorandum supplied to the Members.

Shri Nambiar: In conclusion, I have to submit this, that apart from these factors, if we want to maintain and continue the foreign policy which was enunciated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in spirit, then there must be a radical change in the home policy. But there seems to be no change in it at all. The attitude towards the workers, towards the middle classes and others remains the same and, as conditions are, they are not well looked after. If that is so, there may not be any peaceful atmosphere at home, which will help peace abroad.

श्री पी० एच० राजशेखर (झोलापुर—

रक्षित—अनुसूचित जातियां): सभापति महोदय, हमारे फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर जी ने इस मर्तबा हमारे साथ बड़ा अन्याय किया है। कास्ट इजर उन्होंने बजट के मूछ ११ पर जो रकम मंजूर किया था उसको भी कम कर दिया है। उन्होंने अब की हमारे ऊपर अच्छी तरह से ध्यान नहीं दिया। खाली टाल मटोल कर दिया है, इस से क्या होता है? देश में हमारी करीब करीब ६ करोड़ की आबादी है, हमारी हालत सब से खराब है, यह हमारे फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब जानते हैं लेकिन फिर भी हमारे लिये कोई प्रोग्राम बमल में नहीं करते हैं। जब जब हम बतलाने के लिये जाते हैं तो सुन लेते हैं लेकिन उस का कोई नतीजा नहीं निकलता है। हम लोग भी देश के रहने वाले हैं, देश के सेवक हैं, लेकिन जब तक हमारी हालत, जो हजारों वर्षों से गिरी हुई है, वह ठीक नहीं होती है, हमारी उन्नति, आर्थिक, सामाजिक और शैक्षणिक, नहीं होती तब तक हमें बराबर इस हाउस में बोलना पड़ेगा।

में एक बात जरूर कहना चाहता हूँ। हम में और गांधी जी में कुछ भी डिफरेंस आफ ओपीनियन रहा हो, हम में कुछ भी मतभेद रहा हो, लेकिन जब वह जिन्दा थे, बराबर हम लोगों के लिये दुनिया में नारा लगाते थे। लेकिन गांधी जी के मरने के बाद अछूतों के बारे में कोई कुछ नहीं बोलता है। जब हम कुछ बोलते हैं तो प्रेजुडिस्ड माइंड से, हर एक हम पर कुछ न कुछ शक करता है, और हमारे अलाई के लिये कोई कुछ नहीं करता है। आज कितनी ही पार्टियां देश में हैं, उन के कई प्रकार के प्रोग्राम हैं, लेकिन हम किसी पार्टी के साथ नहीं ह, हम इंडेपेन्डेंट पार्लिसी चलाने वाले हैं इसलिये दूसरी पार्टियों के लोग जो बुनाब में हमारी वोटों पर आये हैं, वह भी हमारे लिये कुछ नहीं बोलते। उन को बोलने

की जरूरत भी क्या है? उनका काम खत्म हो गया, उसके बाद हमारे लिये कोशिश करने से उन से क्या मतलब? लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कि यहां के ५० परसेन्ट लोग जो हमारे वोटों पर चुन कर आये हैं वह हमारी ओर ध्यान दें। हमारे भाई खड्केर ने अछूतों के बारे में बहुत अच्छी बातें कहीं हैं, हम लोग हजारों वर्षों से मरते आये हैं, हम दबे हुये रहे हैं, जब तक हमारी हालत अच्छी नहीं होती है, तब तक किस तरह से देशमुख साहब अपने बजट में इतनी स्कीमें रख रहे हैं? उन को हमारे गिरे हुये भाइयों के लिये, उन की आजादी को सुरक्षित रखने के लिये, उन को सब प्रकार की सहूलियत देने के लिये कुछ न कुछ स्कीम रखनी चाहिये ताकि हमें यहां हाउस में बोलने के लिये ज्यादा जरूरत न पड़े।

आज हमारी गवर्नमेंट के पास कोई स्कीम नहीं है। गवर्नमेंट अनटचेबिलिटी बिल जा रही है, गवर्नमेंट बजीफे दे रही है लेकिन जबतक हमारी आर्थिक हालत नहीं सुधरती और हमारे लिये कपड़े, खाने और मकान का प्रबन्ध नहीं होता तब तक कुछ नहीं हो सकता। इसके लिये कोई स्कीम नहीं है। अगर आप हमारे लिये थोड़े दिन के वास्ते एक अलग कालोनी बना दें तो उससे हमारी उन्नति हो सकती है और हम बढ़ सकते हैं, जैसे कि आपने रिफ्यूजीयों के लिये किया है। हम तो यहां पर हजारों वर्षों से रिफ्यूजी हैं। हमको हिन्दुओं ने दबाया हुआ है। इसलिये मेरा कहना यह है कि पहले आप अपना मकान तो ठीक बनाइये फिर दूसरी बात कीजिये। हमारे पंडित नेहरू और श्री बहुल सी बातें करते हैं लेकिन हमारे लिये एक भी बात नहीं करते। और सब के लिये बोलेंगे, महिलाओं के लिये बोलेंगे, रिफ्यूजीयों के लिये बोलेंगे लेकिन पिछले दो वर्षों में मैं ने

उनकी शिडयूल्ड कास्ट वालों के लिये एक बात भी नहीं मुनी। जब हम बोलते हैं तो कहा जाता है आर्डर आर्डर, दूसरों के लिये यह नहीं कहा जाता। हमारे मुसलमान भाई चिल्लाते हैं तो उनके एक, दो, तीन, चार, पांच मिनिस्टर बना दिये जाते हैं। अब पाकिस्तान और अमरीका का पैक्ट हुआ है तो कहा जाता है कि मुसलमानों को और बढ़ाना चाहिये। बढ़ाओ तुम्हारे हाथ में ताकत है। लेकिन हम लोग उनसे ज्यादा गिरे हुए हैं। वह तीन करोड़ हैं, हम ६ करोड़ हैं। जब समय आवेगा तो देश की रक्षा के लिये हमसे कहा जायगा। आज भी हमारी ३ पलटनें काश्मीर में हैं। देश की रक्षा करने के लिये हम लोग हैं और खाने के लिये मैं और मेरा बड़ा भाई। तो हिन्दुस्तान की रक्षा के लिये हमारी सहायता चाहिये लेकिन वह सहायता कैसे मिलेगी जब कि हमारी हालत ही ठीक नहीं होगी। आप किस दृष्टि से हमारी सहायता मांग सकेंगे। हम तो देश के दुश्मन को खत्म करने वाले हैं लेकिन आप की गवर्नमेंट की मशीनरी में उच्च वर्ण के लोग हैं जो कि मिनिस्टर हैं। आप देखिये कि हैदराबाद में आठ में से ५ मिनिस्टर ब्राह्मण हैं। इसी प्रकार सब प्रान्तों में हैं। मुझे किसी जाति से द्वेष नहीं है। लेकिन यह लोग थोड़ी तादाद में होने पर भी सब उच्च पदों पर बहुमत में हैं और हमारे लोगों को सताते हैं। आपके आफिसर में जो सेक्रेटरी हैं, डिप्टी सेक्रेटरी हैं वह हमारे कामकाज गोलमाल करते हैं और ठीक से जवाब नहीं देते हैं। आठ महीने हुए मैंने पंडित नेहरू को एक पत्र लिखा था लेकिन उसका जवाब टाल मटोल में पड़ा हुआ है। जब हम कहते हैं तो कहा जाता है कि होम डिपार्टमेंट को कामकाज भेजा है। कभी कहते हैं कि यहाँ भेजा है कभी वहाँ भेजा है। आठ महीने हो गये जवाब नहीं मिलता। अभी हमारी मणि

बेन ने कहा कि उनके पत्र का भी जवाब नहीं मिला। आपकी जो मेशिनरी है वह इतनी खराब है कि वहाँ से जवाब तक नहीं मिलता है। वह मेशिनरी इतनी खराब है कि हमारी हालत को देखकर ठीक नहीं जाती जहाँ नहीं निकालती।

जहाँ तक गवर्नमेंट सरविसेज का सम्बन्ध है उसमें हमारा कोटा पूरा नहीं है। हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब वैसे देखने में तो बहुत होशियार हैं लेकिन उनको प्रैक्टिकल नालिज नहीं है। इसलिये मुझे दुःख है।

एक महिलाओं के लिये केन्द्र खोला गया है। वह तो ठीक है लेकिन वह काम तो मिडिल क्लास के लोगों के लिये है। उससे गरीबों की बस्ती के लिये कोई लाभ नहीं है। आपने अन्नपूर्णा निकाल दिया। इससे हमको क्या लाभ है। हमारा कौन है। अगर हम कुछ कहते हैं तो कहा जाता है कि हम जातिवाद की बात करते हैं। लेकिन वास्तव में आपकी गवर्नमेंट में जातिवाद है। हम तो चाहते हैं कि जाति पात बिल्कुल मिट जाय और हम लोग भाई भाई बन कर काम करें। हम चाहते हैं कि हम देश के दुश्मनों को खत्म करें। अभी हम किसी पार्टी में नहीं हैं। लेकिन अगर हम कम्युनिस्ट बन जायेंगे तो क्या हालत होगी? पेप्सू के इलेक्शन में हमने किसी पार्टी के साथ सम्झौता नहीं किया और हम इंडिपेंडेंट रहे। हमारी आबादी वहाँ पर एक चौथाई है लेकिन हम गिर गये क्योंकि वहाँ पर जाईट इलेक्टोरेट है। मैं जानता हूँ कि कांग्रेस गोलमाल करके आ गयी है। लेकिन देखना है कि तीन बरस के बाद हम लोगों की क्या हालत होती है। हम नहीं चाहते कि रिजरवेशन बना रहे। हम लोभ कहते हैं कि हमें मकान दो, जमीन दो जिससे हमारी आर्थिक हालत सुधरे। हमारे देशमुख साहब तो अर्थ-शास्त्र के ज्ञाता हैं। वह हमारे लिये कुछ करें। मेरे पास

[श्री पी० एन० राजभोज]

फिगर्स हैं जो कि मैं पेश करना चाहता हूँ। हमारे देश की ज़मीन की स्थिति इस प्रकार है :

कुल भौगोलिक क्षेत्र	८१.१ कोटि एकड़
किसानी किया हुआ कुल क्षेत्र	५७.७ कोटि एकड़
जंगल विभाग का क्षेत्र	८.४ कोटि एकड़
निरूपयोगी पड़ा हुआ उप-जाऊ क्षेत्र	६.३ कोटि एकड़
निरूपयोग पड़ा हुआ अनु-पजाऊ क्षेत्र	६.३ कोटि एकड़
ज्योतकर छोड़ा हुआ क्षेत्र	६.२ कोटि एकड़
किसानी के काम में आया हुआ कुल शुद्ध क्षेत्र	२४.४ कोटि एकड़

भारत वर्ष कृषिप्रधान देश होते हुए भी यहाँ भूमिहीन मजदूर बड़ी संख्या में हैं। इन मजदूरों की उपजीविका अत्यन्त दरिद्रता में व्यतीत होती है और बड़े किसान इनका शोषण करते हैं। इन मजदूरों में अछूत और अन्य पिछड़े हुए जाति के मजदूरों की संख्या बहुत बड़ी है। कोई कारण नहीं कि यह भूमिहीन मजदूरवर्ग अपने और अपने देश के दारिद्र्य का कारण या प्रतीक बने रह कर अपने भाग्य के भरोसे छोड़ दिये जायें। मैं हाउस को अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि जो ज़मीन उपलब्ध है उसमें कम से कम हमारी एक कालोनी बना दीजिये। जब हमारी आर्थिक हालत ठीक हो जायगी तो सब बात ठीक हो जायगी। हमारे लिये मंदिर खोल दिये जाते हैं, हमारे लिये होटल खोल दिये जाते हैं। लेकिन हमारे पास पैसा नहीं है। हम मंदिर में क्या चढ़ायें और होटल से क्या खरीदें। यह ठीक है कि एक समय हम इन चीजों के लिये लड़ें थे। लेकिन इतने से ही हमारी समस्या हल नहीं हो सकती। आप अनटचेबिलिटी बिल ला रहे हैं। यह ठीक है

लेकिन अगर हमारी आर्थिक हालत नहीं सुधरेगी तो यह डिमांडेन्सी फेल हो जायगी। मैं तो सोचता हूँ कि यहाँ सिविल वार हो जाय। आप कहते हैं कि यह आजादी अच्छी है। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि यहाँ जूते पर टैक्स है, साबुन पर टैक्स है। यह सब ठीक नहीं है। मैं अपने फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि वह नमक पर टैक्स क्यों नहीं लगाते। दारूबन्दी करके क्यों आप अपनी आमदनी खो रहे हैं? आपकी दारूबन्दी की नीति के कारण बम्बई में घर घर शराब बनने लगी है। इससे आपका बहुत नुकसान हो रहा है। आप बीमा का राष्ट्रीयकरण करें और यह जो राजा, सामन्त भाई हैदराबाद में और दूसरी जगह पर है इन पर टैक्स लगायें। लेकिन आप समझते हैं कि इन लोगों ने तो हमारी मदद की है इसलिये आप इनको नाराज नहीं करना चाहते। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि राशनिंग आफ हाउसेज, राशनिंग आफ प्रापर्टी और राशनिंग आफ लैंड इन तीन के करने से हमारे हाथ में पैसा ही पैसा आ जायगा और दूसरे टैक्स लगाने की जरूरत ही नहीं रहेगी। इससे सब कुछ ठीक हो जायेगा। लेकिन करते हैं भूमिदान। क्या इससे कोई काम होने वाला है? यह जो ज़मीन इकट्ठी की गयी है यह दी नहीं जा रही है। यह तो इलैक्शन के वक्त दी जायेगी। इस तरह कुछ न कुछ षड्यंत्र किया जायगा। तो मैं हाउस से यह अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि हम हज़ारों वर्षों से दबे हुए हैं, हज़ारों वर्षों से हमारी हालत खराब है। मैं ने सजेशन दिये हैं। मेरे पास फिगर्स भी हैं जो कि मैं आपको देना चाहता हूँ। मैं कहता हूँ कि कोई कारण नहीं कि नमक कर को क्यों न फिर जारी किया जाय। केवल भावनाओं से प्रभावित होकर नमक कर उठा दिया गया था। इससे नमक सस्ता नहीं हो पाया उल्टे नमक बहुत महंगा हो गया। इससे एक बाल मात्र हुई और जो

यह कि इससे सरकार ने ११ कोटि की आय को खो दिया जिसके कारण देश के विकास कार्य में बड़ी न्यूनता आययी। यदि नमक पर ३० कोटि आय प्राप्त तक कर लगाया गया होता तो भी जनता पर उसका कोई बोझ नहीं पड़ता। दारूबन्दी से बम्बई और मद्रास में बहुत नुकसान हो रहा है। जो लोग सामन्त हैं, राजा हैं, जागीरदार हैं उनसे टैक्स लीजिये। हमारे भाई श्री दास ने कहा था कि इस देश में जो ६६ परसेंट गरीब हैं उनके पास कुछ नहीं है। कांग्रेस वाले भी यही कहते हैं। अवध मिडिल क्लास बाबों को भी तकलीफ है लेकिन उस से हमारा मुकाबला नहीं है। हमारी बहिन श्रीमती अम्मू स्वामीनाथन ने कहा कि मिडिल क्लास की हालत बहुत खराब है। उनके लिये कुछ न कुछ किया जाय यह ठीक है। लेकिन फिर भी उनकी हालत कुछ न कुछ ठीक है। लेकिन जो बैंकवर्ड क्लास के और सिड्यूल्ड कास्ट के हैं उन की हालत कितनी खराब है। आप उनके लिये एक अलग मिनिस्ट्री बनावें, उनको ठीक से नौकरी दी जाय और हमें उम्मीद है कि अगर हमारे देशमुख साहब चाहें तो उनकी उन्नति के लिये बजट में सब कुछ कर सकते हैं।

लेकिन उन की सराउंडिंग ऐसी खराब है, हमारी मेशीनरी इतनी खराब है, कि उन के दिल में बहुत प्रेम नहीं होता। वह मेशीनरी बताती है और यह उसी तरह काम करते हैं। तो मैं हाउस से अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे हज़ारों वर्षों के जो गिरे हुए लोग हैं, उन की आर्थिक, सामाजिक स्थिति बदलने के लिये कोशिश करना चाहिये। उन को सेपरेट मिनिस्ट्री बनाने से सब प्रकार की स्कीम, योजना बना कर, पांच-दस वर्ष में ही उनकी सामाजिक, आर्थिक, औद्योगिक, सब तरह की उन्नति करने की आप कोशिश

कर सकेंगे। ऐसी मुझे उम्मीद है और इसी-लिये मैं ने अपील की है।

मैं ने पंडित जी का उल्लेख किया है और कहा है कि हमारी फारैन पालिसी ठीक नहीं होगी जब तक कि हमारे लोगों का उद्धार नहीं होगा। कोरिया, साउथ अफ्रीका की बात करने से क्या फायदा जब कि हमारे यहां गांव गांव में कोरिया और साउथ अफ्रीका है। यह पहले अपने घर की बात देखो, फिर दुनिया की बात करो। जब मकान ठीक होगा तो दुनिया के लिये चाहे जितनी मदद हम पंडित जी की करने के लिये तैयार हैं। यह कह कर मैं हाउस से प्रार्थना कर के यह कहता हूँ कि मैं ने जो कुछ बताया है उस को अमल में लाने के लिये कोआपरेशन होना चाहिये।

Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy (Mysore): There is a story in China. Once there was a man who owned a horse. One day the horse was stolen. His neighbours came to him to sympathise with him. He asked them: how could you say it is bad luck? After some time the same horse came along with other horses. Then his neighbours came again to congratulate him. He asked them: how could you say it is good luck? One day his son took one horse for riding, on the way, he fell down, broke his leg and was disabled. His friends came again to sympathise with him. He asked them: how could you say it is bad luck? Later there was a war and there was total mobilisation of the youth in the country. His son was not recruited to the army because he was disabled. He was lucky.

I am narrating this story just to show that the Finance Minister is, or seems to me anyway, a believer in luck. If he achieves a good thing, it is his good luck. If there is a bad thing, it is our bad luck. So he is relying and basing his policy on

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the element of luck. Today there may be improvement in the food front. The situation may be better in so far as our food production is concerned. It may be due to his good luck, but that good luck may not last long.

India is a land of 360 million people and our population is ever increasing. The crop in our country even now entirely depends upon natural factors. India produced 34 million tons of rice in 1953 and not about 23 million tons as has been declared by the Food Minister,—(I am subject to correction in this respect),—in the House of the People on 13th March 1954 in order to justify 9,00,000 tons of rice imported from Burma. This production is more than our annual requirements, but still there is starvation in our country. The price of indigenous rice ranges between £24 to 34 per ton in our indigenous purchasing market, but the price in the selling market ranges between £49 to 50 per ton. Therefore, the real cause for starvation, the real cause for the existing difficulty is not that there is no food available in the country. The real cause and the real danger is that the price that is prevailing in the market is beyond the purchasing capacity of the common man. Food is amply available, but the poor man cannot purchase it. As compared to the price in the world market, it is true that the price of our indigenous grain including rice is lower, but our people have not sufficient purchasing power to pay even this low price. The remedy to this problem therefore lies in the fact that either the Government should evolve a plan to increase the purchasing power of the people, or the Government should adopt a policy which may force down the price of rice and all kinds of foodgrains, and also other items of daily necessities of the common man. The Government has no plan for increasing the purchasing power of the common man and this Five Year

Plan is no answer to that as it has no data to plan. In this connection I want to say something about our rice deal recently made with Burma. Unfortunately there is a sad omission in the Finance Minister's Budget speech about this deal. Everyone expected that this deal which is very important ought to have found a place in his speech, but unfortunately this has been omitted. We hear lots of complaints and rumours about this deal—maybe unjustified—but, what I have heard, I would place before the House. I am not saying any cock-and-bull story. I am just saying what has happened and I am giving the reality of the situation for my friends who are sitting opposite.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: What is the basis of this story?

Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy: Let him deny if it is not a fact. I am agreeable to be corrected. The United Commercial Bank, Rangoon Branch, which is an accursed concern of Birlas, without taking previous sanction of the Reserve Bank advanced loan on 1953 crop Burma rice at a particular rate, but this could not be cleared and Birla could not get back the money invested or loaned out to Burma. As a matter of fact, the loan was given at a very high rate. Afterwards, stocks accumulated, there was no sale and the price level was declining. So, in a fit of hysteria, these business people got round some influential Members who are in the Ministry or outside and cooked up a story. The story is that Burma is in trouble, there is accumulation of stock of rice, it is not cleared, unless we come to the help of Burma. Burma will be lost and it will become not only hostile to India, but economically Burma would be destroyed. They also played another trick. They said that if India is not going to purchase this stock of rice, then, Burma is going to conclude a military pact with America as Pakistan did. That was the threat, that was

the opinion expressed to Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. That is what we have heard. The whole deal has got a nefarious background. In this context I may remind the House of the statement of Shri Kidwai as it is relevant. He made a statement on the 31st of January this year in Vallabh Nagar near Ahmedabad that our food position is very secure, we have got an adequate surplus, and if at all we purchase any rice from abroad, it will be at our "own price". Now, the deal is for 900,000 tons of rice and the price agreed upon is £48 per ton. Burma rice was available and even today it is available at £34 or £35 per ton. Why should we pay such a huge amount? Not only that. We are paying that huge amount for the rice of 1953. It has become already rotten; it has become decomposed; it cannot last for more than four months. Why are we purchasing it? Is it a political gesture or is it something else? I want to know the real state of affairs. What induced the Government to revise its policy? In January 1954 the Food Minister says, we are self-sufficient, we have got enough stocks and we purchase rice if at all at our own price. What happens after two months? Sir, I feel that this deal is not to help Burma. This deal is to help the Indian industrialists who had advanced a huge amount of money in Burma on rice. More than that, this particular bank which had advanced the money without the authorisation of the Reserve Bank, has committed a great financial irregularity. This is the way in which this deal has been concluded. It is a most nefarious and shameful deal. This deal ought not to have been accepted by the House. It should have been debated at great length.

Next, I wish to come to another aspect. The Budget is a routine affair; it is an annual feature. But, it has become such a routine thing that we do not see any change at all at any time. If at all there is a change, it is a change in the reverse

direction; a change for the worse. We boast over the fact and the Minister says eloquently that there is all round improvement economically and the cost of living is declining. He is also saying that the balance of payments position is very favourable. That is all good. But, what is happening to the common man? If at all the problems of our Indian economy have to be solved, they cannot be solved from the angle of production. They could be solved only from the angle of distribution. We want not high production; high production may be necessary sometimes; more than that, we want distributive and economic justice for the common man. We cannot allow a few people to make merry and others to starve on the pavements. Such a state of society cannot be called a democratic society.

A democratic society can be called democratic when the society is founded on economic equality, social justice and equal opportunity. Where is all this today? We talk of equal opportunity. We talk of justice. We talk of all sorts of noble things and noble principles. Where are they now? They have been defeated and they are being defeated and the Budget has become an annual insult to us. In my opinion this Budget is only a Budget of insults. It is not a true, correct and popular Budget. It is a Budget of reaction, benefiting only a few, protecting only a few, working for only a few. Sir, this Budget cannot be voted. I want a correct and progressive budget policy. For this, it is necessary that the opinions of the House should be taken into consideration. What are we doing today? The ruling party frames the budget, and places it before the House and their party men will say 'Aye' to it and it is passed. But a correct national budget policy requires the unanimous—as far as possible, unanimous—consent of the House. As far as possible, all the parties should see some common things. (Interruptions).

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member and his party may join in it.

Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy: So many unique experiments are being conducted in this strange land. Where are we?

Before I conclude, I would like to submit that a Committee of Parliament should be set up with a view to aid the Government in framing a good, progressive, really democratic and popular budget. This Budget, Sir, cannot be called a popular budget; it may be of figures. It is not a budget of ideals. This Budget does not take stock of our economic situation. Such budgets should not be encouraged.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: Give us some ideas. *(Interruptions.)*

Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy: I would conclude by saying that the Finance Minister is riding on two horses at the same time. One is deficit finance and the other is external aid. The Five Year Plan, the national budget, all depend upon these two horses, and he is riding on these two horses at the same time. He may not fall so long as he is lucky. So long as his stars are good, he may ride these horses well. But after some time, he may be riding for a fall, he may fall off the horses and the country may be in danger.

Shri U. M. Trivedi (Chittor): I am no financier and I only want to say a few words from the angle of the common man. The hon. Finance Minister in his speech said that there would be some—not many—in the House and outside who would have doubts as to the wisdom of launching upon deficit financing on this scale. Unfortunately, he is so placed that those who want to call themselves wise must fall into line with him. Whether they will be acting in a herd mentality or whether they will be acting with a like-mindedness is a question to be determined separately. If you do not agree with him, then

you are not a wise man! Therefore, one has got to agree with a man who says that he understands finance, and he is our Finance Minister. Unfortunately, looking from the angle of the common man, understanding of this deficit financing becomes a problem. It might be some sort of jugglery with financiers, but an ordinary house-holder, a man-in-the-street fails to understand why a man should, and how he can, at all earn less and spend more. Those of us who have some idea of the laws of insolvency know that if you spend more and earn less, or if you borrow when there is no capacity to earn, then you are an insolvent and, more than that, you are committing an offence for which you should be punished. Nothing like that happens with the budget. Of course, it is the budget of a big country.

Mr. Chairman: Where is the law saying that if a person spends more than he earns, he will be punished?

Shri U. M. Trivedi: You as a lawyer know it fully well that if a man incurs debt knowing that he has absolutely no wherewithal to pay it back, he commits an offence under the Insolvency Act.

Shri S. S. More: He can be prosecuted for cheating.

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Shri U. M. Trivedi: He could be prosecuted for it, and you know it fully well, both under the Provincial Insolvency Act and under the Presidential Towns Insolvency Act.

What happens in our country at least in this case is that the Finance Minister goes on preparing for his Budget speech all the 365 days of the year but we get once in four years an opportunity to attack his Budget or talk about it for hardly ten minutes and it becomes extremely difficult for any one to say something which may be very cogent about the Budget. *(Interruption.)* Some

ideas are here and some ideas are there and we just piece them together and talk something which may or may not convey anything sensible to the hon. Finance Minister.

We have got our friends who, instead of criticising the Budget—those of them who understand—only suggest some sort of panacea for the whole community. If Mr. Velayudhan or Mr. Rajabhoj speaks the whole panacea is placating the Scheduled Castes. If the Communist friends speak, they suggest, placate China or Russia, or the labour. If our friends from the Congress speak, they say placate Pakistan and that is the end.

Shri S. S. More: They do not say that.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: Our difficulties are that we do not apply our minds so far as the common man is concerned. We get glimpses of it when people say that the price of footwear will go up. Of all things, why should footwear be taxed like this? From the definition of 'factory' in the Finance Bill, it makes it difficult for an ordinary investor in this footwear business to carry on his business. If there are 19 workers in a shop and on one day at a particular time of the year he likes to have a pucker to send his shoes, then he will have 20 men and will come under the definition of 'factory' and he will be governed by it and will have to pay 10 per cent. duty. Already we are getting costly footwear. Some provision must always be made to safeguard the small investors. It is such people who give greater employment than those that employ big labour. The employers of big labour are more or less exploiters. They sit in their bungalows and air-conditioned places and order things about, knowing nothing about their work. If such people are affected nobody worries. But, if those persons who organise themselves and do something for their own brethren who work along with them are taxed, they are completely ruined and will not

be able to stand on their own legs. I will, therefore, suggest that in making taxation proposals, the hon. Finance Minister will kindly look into this and see that the definition of 'factory' as suggested by him may not hit those small people who run the business of shoe-making on an ordinary scale. If we scan the pages of the Budget, we will find that so far as the External Affairs Ministry is concerned, the scales of pay of the staff of our embassies posted all over the world at present are themselves sumptuous, but added to this sumptuousness, foreign allowances are given to them, which exceed their salaries. If they want to go out and serve their country, they ought not to have any mercenary idea, but if they go with mercenary idea, we had better send other people who have a desire to serve their country and do not wish to make money out of those circumstances. No country can afford to pay such big allowances as these people get. After all, one must be considerate for the sake of the country. Other countries do not pay so much, and pomp and show are not very necessary as our country has always been talking about plain living and high thinking. It is this plain living and high thinking which can make all of us increase our status before the other nations and it is not the foppish way or the snobbish behaviour that can make us great in the eyes of other countries. We must, therefore, start curtailing our expenses so far as these embassies are concerned.

I have a few more words to say. I have read the Five Year Plan over and over again. As a student of science, I was interested in the industrial development of the country from my childhood. In the year 1917 I read Indian Munitions Board report, which was prepared during the First World War days and I say with emphasis that with these two big volumes of the report or suggestions on planning, we have not progressed any further than what we have done in the year 1917. That small book:

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of hardly 120 pages contains more information and contains better suggestions for the improvement of the country than these volumes of 2,000 pages do. We must look up and seriously consider whether we have in any manner progressed after the year 1917. In the year 1917, the loco workshop at Ajmer produced 45 P class engines, which we are not able to produce even today in the TELCO workshop, and we have gone retrograde so far as production of engines, one of the primary needs of our country, is concerned. The workshop which produced 45 engines in 1917 has produced only one XT class engine in 1953. We must take stock of the situation and the growing inefficiency that we find all round. Our expenditure on defence is really great. I am not here to suggest that our expenditure should go up. After all, from where is money going to come? I have already criticised the method of deficit financing. We must try to realise in what manner we should spend this money. With an expenditure of nearly Rs. 206 crores our army's strength must be about five crores, but it is not so now and we are still treating the army as a sort of mercenary employment, which must cease.

We are now a growing nation and it is up to us to be prepared to lay down our lives for the sake of the protection of our country. I urge, therefore, that this huge expenditure must be looked up in a proper angle and in a proper perspective. Mr. More suggested that the armies do march on their belly and I say that they not only march on their belly, but march with coat and pants. We must cut our coat according to our cloth and so we cannot go on imitating the Britishers; we should not continue the methods that we used to adopt in those days. We must have our army clothed in such a manner, trained in such a manner and paid in such a manner as will best fit this poor country and we must have

an army which must be able to save the country; but it is not necessary to have a very big army which is not called for, really. It is quite true that big Powers may do mischief but manpower is always there in our country.

In concluding my speech I should say, and repeat along with Mr. More, that if any undertaking is necessary or any suggestion is called for from this side, I as a representative of the Jan Sangh say that the public and the Jan Sangh will always be with the Government in case of any serious difficulties or national calamities which may arise in this country.

Shri Nageshwar Prasad Sinha (Hazaribagh East): Mr. Chairman, I am glad and thankful to you that I have caught your eye at the fag end of the day. I was listening to the debates and just now I heard a very fine story from my friend sitting on the other side, Mr. Gurupadaswamy. I am also reminded of a story which I shall immediately narrate.

There was a very learned atheist. One fine morning he announced that if there be anybody in the world who could convince him that God existed then he would readily part with his young wife and also all his other landed property in his favour.

Shri S. S. More: Was she very ugly?

Shri Nageshwar Prasad Sinha: No. When the wife came to know of the announcement, she began to weep. She said, "There are so many hundreds of Pandits, more qualified and learned than you claim to be that I am sure, anybody can convince you. I do not know whose wife I will be from tomorrow morning and who will possess all your landed property!" The husband said, "You are a fool. Do you think that I will accept anybody's logic; I am determined not to be convinced by anybody. I want publicity and popularity and nothing else." So, Sir, if that be the idea behind the opposition criticism and telling all those stories, then I am very glad that

you have given those people an opportunity to criticise the Budget and say "I am determined not to be convinced by the Budget."

I shall now come to the point and I will immediately congratulate the Finance Minister for having produced a "bold and judicious" budget...

Shri V. G. Deshpande (Guna):
Bold and judicious?

Shri Nageshwar Prasad Sinha:
Yes. I repeat—it is a bold and judicious Budget under the present circumstances, it is really judicious and I should say, it is extraordinarily bold...

Shri V. G. Deshpande: And cautious also!

Shri Nageshwar Prasad Sinha:
I need not dilate upon the figures but I should say that it has become a fashion for this House to approach a Budget either in the spirit of a layman, or a common man, or in the spirit of an economics-pandit and was thinking seriously how to approach it. I do not know how best to approach it, but we know that this is our "own" Government, we know that this is our "own" country and so I approach this Budget now with a "own" man's point of view.

Coming to the point, I feel, I should say something how this has impressed me as a bold and judicious Budget in the circumstances. India has now ceased to be exclusively a Police State; it has now been rapidly marching on to become a Welfare State. India has now ceased to reside in the big cities and big towns. Now, it is fast moving towards the villages—the six lakhs of villages—and I am glad that the Finance Minister has kept his eyes open while preparing this Budget towards the fate of those villagers, and towards the interests of the country as a whole for whose purposes the development programmes, the gigantic developmental programmes, have been undertaken. It is no joke. When we are determined to improve the lot of the common man and the workers, when we are now convinced that in a welfare state our only duty,—the foremost duty,—is to look after the good of the people, to raise the standard of living of the

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common man, there would have been no risk, Sir, or harm if we had adopted this deficit financing even earlier. But however we have done it now, and we have done it at almost the proper moment. So I say, that in order to push forward those development schemes, in order to bring success for those development programmes, in order to achieve the targets of the Five Year Plan, what we, have done and what the Finance Minister has done is no doubt excellent in the present circumstances.

The Finance Minister has also said that now we have to live, not only within our means, but also that we have to live up to our means. That is an excellent indication of how the country or how the Government has been moving—so far as we are expected to live up to our means. How it strikes me is like this. Not only have we to raise the standard of living of the common people, but we have also to bend down the rising riches of the wealthier people who have amassed wealth for, I should say, absolutely no useful purpose. We do not know still how to do it. But recently the Estate Duty Act has been passed. Recently some measures have been taken. Why? All these measures have been taken from an egalitarian point of view. The purpose behind all these is to bring the upper end down from the top as well as to raise the lower end of the people up from the bottom. Of course, we will halt at a certain level or standard which will according to my interpretation, be "living up to the means."

What is this deficit budget? A deficit budget presupposes four things:

Firstly, applying a brake to the rise of heavy income, which may be caused by levying new taxes and floating loans (and I am perfectly convinced that the Finance Minister has taken this step).

Secondly, increasing production and keeping prices under check.

Thirdly, a rigid control over expenditure and avoidance of wastage.

Fourthly, arousing public consciousness to its highest pitch—State Governments also not excluded.

[Shri Nageshwar Prasad Sinha]

I have now to deal with the question of rigid control over expenditure and avoidance of wastage. I will have some words to say now which may not be very relishing but I feel I must say them. It is this. While making an appeal to the public the Finance Minister has called for their enthusiastic co-operation in the fulfilment of the developmental programmes. But while so doing, I am sorry to say, he has said not a word in regard to the need for efficiency of the "officials" as a whole, because, in my opinion, it is the officials who will have to play the Hero of the whole show. As a worker in the fields, I know how these developmental programmes are actually being worked out. Things are worked out on the desk, figures are prepared that "such and such projects have been executed", we see them before the District Development Committee and so on. But if you actually go to the spot you will find that practically nothing has happened. I do not know how these things come about. I know, after all, what we have to do when we have to co-operate. And we are co-operating. But co-operating with whom? The officials have not been seriously moving. I think that the Finance Minister should have said something about that also. He should have told the officials about the need for their efficiency. Otherwise, I am afraid, we expect not only deficit on the financial front but we expect deficit so far as the achievement front also is concerned. In this connection, and also with regard to the wastage that I have just now stated, I will say that the Government of India should consider seriously why these departments—the Labour Employment Exchange, the Directorate of Supplies and Disposals, the Indian Bureau of Mines—should continue henceforth. Of course, I am not competent to talk about the first two departments, but as I come from an area known as Chota Nagpur in Bihar, which is more or less not only the Ruhr of India, but also the T.V.A. of India; the mines are all there and the minerals are also there. I can say that this Indian Bureau of Mines have

actually been doing nothing. We have got the Geological Survey of India with mining engineers and experts. There are six circles of this Survey. Then there is the Mines Inspectorate Department in Dhanbad under the Chief Inspector of Mines with about eight circles. Then, why should there be this Indian Bureau of Mines? When we go to the fields we find that there is distinct overlapping of work between this department and that department. So, I should invite the attention of the Finance Minister to the existence of these expensive Departments and to decide, if not today, tomorrow or the day after, as to whether he could save some money by avoiding this sort of wastage.

Lastly, I would say that a Budget is not only a financial estimate, but is also meant to reflect and shape the general policy of the Government. I have heard criticisms, so far as the performance of our Prime Minister is concerned; that he has done this in Korea, he has done that in South Africa; that he goes on talking about external affairs, but does not mind the internal conditions of his own country. I refute those charges. I say that while this Budget was under preparation, the Finance Minister was conscious of the surcharge that was there in the atmosphere on account of the preparations that were going on between Pakistan and United States regarding the arms aid. There is a line in his Budget speech. On page 24, paragraph 42, he says:

"If, however, major changes in the economic situation or climate take place, obviously, Government policies will have to be reconsidered."

This means that our Finance Minister and our Government are fully alive to the situation that is developing, and we hope, Sir, that if there be any emergency, that situation will be met effectively. It also means that the Government are fully prepared for the emergency. This U.S.-Pakistan military alliance is, no doubt, an unfortunate one. We do not like to quarrel

with either of the power blocs. We have no quarrel either with Communism or with Americanism. But, I would say that, our Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, always means what he says; the Government of India actually means what it says and if only we are convinced that these power blocs also mean what they say, we are all good friends. The difficulty is that we still hope to be convinced.

Here is a book named "*The Peace We Seek*" which contains the Address of the President of the United States, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, delivered on April 16, 1953 before the American Society of Newspaper Editors. I read one para. from page 4:—

"Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies—in the final sense—a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed.

This world in arms is not spending money alone.

It is spending the sweat of its labourers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children.

The cost of one modern heavy bomber is this: a modern brick school in more than 30 cities.

It is two electric power plants, each serving a town of 60,000 population.

It is two fine, fully equipped hospitals.

It is some fifty miles of concrete highway.

We pay for a single fighter plane with half million bushels of wheat."

This is from page 4 of the USA President's address; the title of the book is, *The Peace We Seek*. In view of this, may I ask a question: how many modern schools, how many electric power plants, how many hospitals, how many miles of concrete highway, are

they going to sacrifice in the matter of giving arms aid to Pakistan? My point is this. It is India that means what she says; it is our Prime Minister who means what he says. We have still to be convinced with regard to the other power blocs that they also mean what they say.

श्री जांगड़े (बिलासपुर—रक्षित-अनुसूचित जातियां) : सभापति महोदय, इस समय मैं

माननीय वित्त मंत्री को धन्यवाद देता हूँ। पांच वर्ष पहले इस देश में क्या हालत थी और आज इस देश की क्या हालत है, इसके लिये हम गांव में जाते हैं और देहात की ओर जो कोई यात्रा करते हैं तो उन को मालूम होगा कि आज देहात के लोग सुखी हैं, आज चीजों की कीमत घट गई है। जो चीजें पहले पैसे देने पर भी नहीं मिलती थीं, वे चीजें आज हमें गांव गांव में मिलती हैं। इन बातों से कोई भी इन्कार नहीं कर सकता। हम जानते हैं कि हमारे देश की जो आमदनी है उस का आधा हिस्सा हमारी सुरक्षा में खर्च होता है। इस सुरक्षा के ऊपर खर्च इतना होने में हमारे देशी कारण नहीं हैं, बल्कि अन्तर-राष्ट्रीय कारण हैं। उसी अन्तराष्ट्रीय कारण की वजह से हम अपने देश के उन्नतिशील कार्यों में अधिक खर्च नहीं कर सकते। इसीलिये हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाई चिल्लाते हैं, हमारे प्रजा सोशियलिस्ट भाई चिल्लाते हैं, हमारे जन संघी भाई चिल्लाते हैं। कम्युनिस्टों की आदत बन चुकी है, क्या आदत बन चुकी है कि जितना अन्धा बजट हम बनायें, जितनी उन्नति हम करें, उतने ही कड़े शब्दों का ये प्रयोग करते हैं और जितना ही निकम्मा बजट हम बनायेंगे उतना ही वह हसेंगे और मखौल उड़ायेंगे। इसलिये उन की आदत की परवाह न करते हुए जो हमारे देश के लिये रचनात्मक कार्य हैं, जो हमारे देश को आगे बढ़ाने वाले कार्य हैं, उन को हमें करना है।

हमारे माननीय मंत्री महोदय को मैं सन् १९५० से बजट पेश करते हुए देख रहा

[श्री जांगड़े]

हैं। उन में एक खास बात की कमी मुझे दिख रही थी। इस साल इस बात की खुशी है कि गृह उद्योगों में और छोटे पैमाने के उद्योगों में अब हमारे वित्त मन्त्री चार पांच करोड़ रुपये खर्च कर रहे हैं। वह खर्च तो जरूर कर रहे हैं, पर इस का मतलब यही होता है कि हाथी और पूंछ। बड़े उद्योगों में हम कितने करोड़ रुपये खर्च कर रहे हैं, और छोटे उद्योगों पर हम कितने करोड़ रुपये खर्च कर रहे हैं, इसकी माननीय मंत्री महोदय को तुलना करनी चाहिये। आज हमें दिल्ली, कलकत्ता, बम्बई, मद्रास, बंगलौर, पूना आदि की ओर नहीं देखना है। हमें जर्जर देहात की ओर देखना है। हमें पसीना बहा कर काम करते हुए किसानों की ओर देखना है। आज इस देश में हाउसिंग प्राबलैम है, घर की समस्या है। घर की समस्या कहां है? आज दिल्ली की बड़ी बड़ी चमकती हुई सड़कों की ओर हम जायें तो महलों को हम देखेंगे। बड़े बड़े महल आप की नज़र में आयेंगे। परन्तु उन महलों के पीछे जो स्लम्स हैं, उन की हालत को आप देखेंगे तब आप को मालूम होगा कि हिन्दुस्तान में हम को दिल्ली जैसे शहर नहीं चाहिये। हम को एक लाख, दो लाख या तीन लाख की पापुलेशन तक के शहर चाहिये, उससे ज्यादा के नहीं। इन शहरों की जन संख्या को आज आप देखेंगे तो पता लगेगा कि सन् १९४१ से सन् १९५२

में उन की संख्या कितनी ज्यादा बढ़ती जा रही है। आप डेवलपमेंट प्लान में देखिये। मैं ने एक्सप्लैनेटरी मीमोरैंडम को देखा तो जितनी ज्यादा विकास योजनाएं दिखाई जा रही हैं, वह बंगलौर, मद्रास, दिल्ली, बम्बई, कानपुर, लखनऊ, इत्यादि स्थानों के लिये दिखाई जा रही हैं। आज आप जानते हैं कि बिजली का और हर एक वैज्ञानिक वस्तु का अनुसन्धान इतना ज्यादा हो चुका है और उस का उपयोग इतना ज्यादा बढ़ चुका है कि हम मामूली स्थानों में, देहातों में भी उद्योगों को स्थापित कर दें तो सरकार को भी कोई घाटा नहीं होने वाला है। अगर हम बम्बई या बंगलौर के बजाय, भूसावल, मनमाड या कटनी में या किसी भी मामूली जगह में कोई उद्योग स्थापित कर दें तो किसी भी भाई को किसी प्रकार का नुकसान नहीं होगा। हम यह देखते हैं कि हम देहात में सड़क बनाते हैं, स्कूल खोलते हैं, चिकित्सा की व्यवस्था करते हैं, नहर का इन्तज़ाम करते हैं, छोटी सिंचाई का इन्तज़ाम करते हैं, यह सब ठीक है।

Mr. Chairman: Order, order, The hon. Member seems likely to take long.

The House stands adjourned till 2 P.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned till Two of the Clock on Thursday, the 18th March, 1954.