

Shri L. B. Shastri : I beg to move :

“That the Bill be passed.”

Mr. Speaker : The question is :

“That the Bill be passed.”

The motion was adopted.

GENERAL BUDGET—

GENERAL DISCUSSION—Contd.

Mr. Speaker : The General Discussion on the General Budget will now be resumed. The time allotted is twenty hours. The time taken is 5 hours 54 minutes and the balance is 14 hours and six minutes.

सेठ गोविन्द दास (मंडला जबलपुर—दक्षिण) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, सब से पहले मैं वित्त मंत्री जी को उन के इतने सुन्दर बजट पर बधाई देना चाहता हूँ। यह बजट यथार्थ में एक विशेषज्ञ का बजट है और थोड़े ही समय में इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ प्रमाण भी मिले हैं। यह बजट भारतवर्ष की मजबूत आर्थिक परिस्थिति का द्योतक है। कर वृद्धि के सम्बन्ध में भी, इस प्रकार की कर वृद्धि नहीं हुई है। जिस से सामान्य जनता का बोझ बढ़ा हो और इन थोड़े दिनों में देश के बाजारों की जो स्थिति रही वह इसे प्रमाणित करता है कि सभूचे देश में इस बजट का किस प्रकार का प्रभाव पड़ा है।

स्वतंत्र देश के सभी बजट महत्त्वपूर्ण होते हैं। हमारी स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात् जितने बजट इस सदन में आये उन सब का आपना अपना महत्त्व था। परन्तु इस बजट का विशेष महत्त्व इस लिये है कि हमारी जो दूसरी पंच वर्षीय योजना आरम्भ होने वाली है उस योजना का यह पहला बजट है। स्वतंत्र होने के पश्चात् हम उन्नति क पथ पर ठीक तरह से अग्रसर हो रहे हैं। हमने अनेक राजनैतिक महत्त्व के कार्य कर डाले। स्वतंत्र होते के पश्चात् सब से पहले स्वर्गीय सरदार वल्लभ भाई पटेल ने ६०० रियासतों के प्रश्न को हल कर हमारे देश में राजनैतिक एकता की स्थापना की। उस के बाद हम ने अपना संविधान बनाया, आम चुनाव हुए बालिग मताधिकार पर, और संसार के अब तक के इतिहास में हम सब से बड़े प्रजातंत्र का प्रयोग कर रहे हैं। इस प्रकार की राजनैतिक महत्त्व की बातों को करने के उपरान्त अब हम आर्थिक क्षेत्र में आगे बढ़ रहे हैं, और इस विषय में हमारा स्पष्ट लक्ष्य

है समाजवादी सामाजिक रचना। यदि हम उन देशों को भी देखें जो कि साम्यवादी सिद्धान्त के अनुसार चलते हैं तो भी हमें मालूम होना चाहिये कि भिन्न भिन्न देशों की साम्यवादी रचना उन देशों की परिस्थिति के अनुसार भिन्न भिन्न प्रकार की है। हम अपने देश में एक विशेष प्रकार की समाजवादी रचना की स्थापना करना चाहते हैं जो समाजवादी रचना हमारी संस्कृति, हमारे इतिहास और हमारी वर्तमान परिस्थितियों के अनुसार हो।

पहली योजना में हमने योजना बनाकर कार्य करना आरम्भ किया था। उस समय हमें न तो योजना बनाकर काम करने का अनुभव था और न हम ने उसके पहले कोई समाजवादी योजना की घोषणा की थी। हमारी पहली पंच वर्षीय योजना और द्वितीय पंच वर्षीय योजना में बहुत बड़ा अन्तर है। पहला अन्तर तो यह है कि यह दूसरी योजना समाजवादी सामाजिक रचना को ध्यान में रख कर बनी है। दूसरे यह पहली योजना की अपेक्षा बहुत बड़ी है और तीसरा अन्तर यह है कि यह योजना एक लचीली योजना है। हम हर वर्ष अपने कार्य का अनुभव प्राप्त करते जायेंगे और जैसी जैसी परिस्थितियां उत्पन्न होंगी उनके अनुसार द्वितीय योजना पंच वर्षीय होते हुए भी हर वर्ष उस में परिवर्तन भी होते जायेंगे। इस सम्बन्ध में जो कल श्री अशोक मेहता ने एक बात कही थी उसको मैं इस देश के लिए एक अभिशाप मानता हूँ। उन्होंने कहा था कि योजनाबद्ध कार्य करने के लिए हम को कंट्रोल (नियन्त्रण) की आवश्यकता होगी। मैंने अभी आपसे निवेदन किया कि योजनाबद्ध कार्य भी हर देश की परिस्थितियों के अनुसार होते हैं। हमारे देश की जो परिस्थितियां हैं और कंट्रोल का हम को जो अनुभव हुआ है उसके आधार पर मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से जोर देकर कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस अभिशाप को वे फिर से इस देश पर लागू न करें। कीमतों का कंट्रोल मेरी समझ में आता है लेकिन वस्तुओं के कंट्रोल का जो नतीजा इस देश में निकला था, जिस प्रकार का भ्रष्टाचार इस देश में फैला था, उन सब बातों को देखते हुए चाहे कंट्रोल साम्यवादी और समाजवादी सिद्धान्तों के अनुसार भी क्यों न हों, उनको लागू करना मैं उचित नहीं मानता। सिद्धान्त मानवों के लिए होते हैं, देश के लिए होते हैं, मानव और देश सिद्धान्तों के लिए नहीं होते। इस लिये जितना भी मुझ में बल है, उस सारे बल के साथ मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि श्री अशोक

[लेड गोविंद बास]

मेहता की कंट्रोल की बात को हमारे देश की परिस्थिति के अनुसार फिर से कभी भी कार्यरूप में परिणत न किया जाए ।

उसी के साथ कल श्री एच० एन० मुकर्जी ने एक बात कही मिक्स्ट इकोनोमी (मिश्रित अर्थ व्यवस्था) के विषय में । उन्होंने यहां तक कह डाला कि यह बजट कुछ राजनीतिक बातों को ध्यान में रखकर और अगले चुनावों को ध्यान में रखकर बनाया गया है । उनके इस कथन पर मुझे तो एक कहावत याद आती है कि सावन के अर्थों को सदा हरा हरा ही सूझा करता है । इस प्रकार का बजट आने पर भी यदि श्री एच० एन० मुकर्जी को उसमें राजनीति की गंध आती है और मिक्स्ट इकोनोमी (मिश्रित अर्थ-व्यवस्था) के सम्बन्ध में वे इस प्रकार की भावना को व्यक्त करते हैं जो उन्होंने की है तो मैं यही कहूंगा कि वे सावन के अर्थ हैं । मैंने अभी आपसे निवेदन किया कि हर देश की अपनी अपनी परिस्थितियां होती हैं । साम्यवादी और समाजवादी देशों की रचना को भी हम देखें तो हमें मालूम होगा कि वे भी उन देशों की परिस्थितियों के अनुसार हैं । श्री एच० एन० मुकर्जी साम्यवादी ह, साम्यवादी दल के उपनेता हैं । क्या वे कौन जो आर्थिक व्यवस्था रूस में है, उसको देखते हैं, चीन में है उसको देखते हैं । चीन में मैं स्वयं गया हूँ और मैंने चीन के साम्यवादी ढांचे को देखा है । उस देश के एक साम्यवादी देश होते हुए भी उसी प्रकार की मिक्स्ट इकोनोमी (मिश्रित अर्थ-व्यवस्था) है, जस तरह की हमारे देश में है ।

इन योजनाओं के मोटे रूप से दो लक्ष्य होते हैं, एक बौद्धिक निर्माण और दूसरे आर्थिक निर्माण । इन दोनों निर्माणों की ओर हमारा ध्यान जाना चाहिए । यदि हम इन दोनों निर्माणों की ओर मोटे रूप से देखें तो बौद्धिक निर्माण में हिन्दी सब से पहले आ जाती है । और आर्थिक निर्माण में गाय सब से पहले आ जाती है । आप कहेंगे कि मैं फिर वही बातें कह रहा हूँ जो मैं सदा से कहता रहा हूँ । मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो बात महत्त्व की होती है, वह सदा एक सी होती है । इन दोनों निर्माणों के क्षेत्र में हम आगे बढ़ रहे हैं, इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं । परन्तु जिस तेजी से हम को बढ़ना चाहिए उस तेजी से हम नहीं बढ़ रहे हैं । जहां तक हिन्दी का सम्बन्ध है शिक्षा मंत्रालय की यह रिपोर्ट मेरे सामने है । इस रिपोर्ट लिखा है कि हिन्दी प्रसार और विकास के लिए केन्द्र ने गैर

सरकारी संघटकों को पर्याप्त धारण में अनुदान दिए । अब वह पर्याप्त मात्रा कितनी है, वह आप जरा देखिये । इस के लिए ४,८६,८७० रुपये के अनुदान दिये गए हैं । जिन क्षेत्रों की मातृभाषा हिन्दी नहीं है, उन क्षेत्रों में क्या चार या पांच लाख प्रतिवर्ष का अनुदान हिन्दी प्रचार के लिए यथेष्ट माना जाता है ?

श्री कामत (होशंगाबाद) : बहुत कम है ।

सेठ गोविन्द बास : यदि इस गीत से हिन्दी का अहिन्दी भाषी क्षेत्रों में प्रसार हुआ तो अगले १० वर्षों में हम हिन्दी को उसका उचित स्थान कदापि नहीं दिला सकेंगे ।

जहां तक हिन्दी की पारिभाषिक शब्दावली का सम्बन्ध है, एक बात मौलाना आजाद साहब ने मेरे भाषण पर सदन में यह कही थी कि पारिभाषिक शब्दावली जो अंग्रेजी की है, वह इंटरनेशनल नहीं है, अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय नहीं है, इसका मेरे पास क्या प्रमाण है । उस समय तो मेरे पास कोई लिखित प्रमाण नहीं था पर उसके बाद मैं दिल्ली के भिन्न भिन्न देशों के दूतावासों में गया, उनसे परामर्श किया और आज मेरे पास इस बात का प्रमाण है कि यदि हम इंग्लैंड और अमेरिका को तथा इंग्लैंड के चार उपनिवेशों को यानी साऊथ अफ्रीका, आस्ट्रेलिया, कनाडा और न्यूजीलैंड को छोड़ दें तो शेष २१ राज्यों में अंग्रेजी की पारिभाषिक शब्दावली नहीं है अतः अंग्रेजी पारिभाषिक शब्दावली को अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय पारिभाषिक शब्दावली नहीं कहा जा सकता । आपको यह बात सुनकर हर्ष होगा कि हमारे पड़ोसी स्याम देश में तो पारिभाषिक शब्दावली संस्कृत से ली गई है । पारिभाषिक शब्दावली के सम्बन्ध में जो कुछ शिक्षा मंत्रालय ने किया है वह संतोषजनक नहीं है ।

अब तीसरी बात मुझे साहित्य निर्माण के विषय में कहनी है । गत वर्ष के अपने भाषण में मैंने यह कहा था कि जहां आप नहरों के ऊपर, उद्योग घंघों के ऊपर करोड़ों और अरबों रुपया खर्च कर रहे हैं, वहां साहित्य निर्माण के लिए आपको कम से कम पांच करोड़ रुपया अवश्य खर्च करना चाहिए । यदि इस देश का आप बौद्धिक निर्माण करना चाहते हैं तो बिना इतनी धनराशि के हम हिन्दी में साहित्य को तैयार नहीं कर सकेंगे ।

और हिन्दी की जो अन्तिम बात मुझे कहनी है वह सरकारी क्षेत्रों में हिन्दी के चलन के सम्बन्ध

में है। यह काम भी बहुत धीमी गती से हो रहा है। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि शिक्षा मंत्रालय हिन्दी के सम्बन्ध में कुछ नहीं कर रहा है, देश में इस विषय में एकमत है कि शिक्षा मंत्रालय हिन्दी के सम्बन्ध में जो कुछ कर रहा है वह असंतोषजनक है।

दूसरी बात में ने आपसे गाय के सम्बन्ध में कही। गाय के ऊपर इस देश का सारा आर्थिक भविष्य निर्भर है। हमारे यहां पर भूमि का जिस प्रकार का वितरण है और भूदान यज्ञ के कारण तथा जमीन का सीलिंग (उच्चतम सीमा) होने के बाद, जिस प्रकार का भूमि का वितरण हो जायेगा उसमें हम ट्रैक्टरों से काम नहीं कर सकेंगे। हमें बैलों की जरूरत होगी और बैल हमको गायों से ही प्राप्त हो सकते हैं। फिर यह देश निरामिष भोजी है। वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् का सिद्धान्त हमने स्वीकार किया है। ऐसी अवस्था में इस इतने बड़े निरामिष भोजी देश में यदि फिर से मछली खाने का प्रचार किया जाये या मुर्गी खाने का प्रचार किया जाये, या और इस प्रकार के प्रचार किये जायें, और वह भी हमारी स्वतंत्र भारत की सरकार करे, तो मुझे इस प्रकार के प्रचार से हादिक दुःख होता है। अतः हम निरामिष भोजनियों को दूध के लिए, घी के लिए, भी गायों की आवश्यकता है।

जहां तक गोवध बन्दी का सम्बन्ध है, हम बराबर आगे बढ़ रहे हैं। मेरा विधेयक इस सदन ने तो स्वीकार नहीं किया पर उसके बाद उत्तर प्रदेश में, बिहार में गोवध निषेध के विधेयक पास हुए हैं। पंजाब में भी वह होने वाला है। हमारे मध्य प्रदेश में सबसे पहले वह विधेयक पास हुआ था लेकिन उसमें बैलों का बध शामिल नहीं था। वह भी किया जाने वाला है।

लेकिन गोवध के अतिरिक्त जहां तक गोसंवर्धन का सम्बन्ध है हम आगे नहीं बढ़ रहे हैं। सरकार ने निश्चय किया था कि वह १६० गोसदन स्थापित करेगी, लेकिन १६० गोसदनों के स्थान पर केवल २० गोसदन स्थापित किये गये हैं। सरकार ने निश्चय किया था कि १२५ सांड तैयार करने के लिये वह फार्मों की व्यवस्था करेगी। सांडों के तैयार करने के लिए १२५ के स्थान पर एक फार्म की भी स्थापना नहीं की गयी।

इसके अतिरिक्त चारे की रक्षा और उत्पादन के दोनों अत्यन्त आवश्यक चीजें हैं। आप रेल से भारत के पूर्व से पश्चिम या उत्तर से दक्षिण कहीं भी चले जाइये, आपको रेल के दोनों तरफ जंगलों में चारे की इफरात मिलेगी, जो या तो गरमी की गरम हवा में जल जाता है, या बरसात में गल जाता है, या शीत ऋतु में भस्म हो जाता है। अगर उस चारे की हम रक्षा कर सकें, और साथ ही हम चारे का उत्पादन कर सकें तो इस प्रश्न के हल करने में हमें बहुत बड़ी सहायता मिलेगी। लोग बड़ी भूल करते हैं जब वे यह कहते हैं कि इस देश में आदमियों के लिए तो खाना नहीं है और हम गोवध बन्द करने की बात कहते हैं। यह बहुत बड़ी गलतफहमी है। जो कुछ गायें खाती हैं आदमी वह नहीं खाते। आदमियों का भोजन और गायों का भोजन ये दोनों अलग अलग हैं। इसलिए अगर हम इस इफरात चारे की रक्षा कर सकें और चारे का उत्पादन बढ़ा सकें, तो हमको गो संवर्धन में बहुत बड़ी सहायता मिल सकती है।

Shri Ramananda Das (Barrackpore): I take exception to the remarks on the ban of "murgi" and "machhli".

सेट गोविन्द बास : अंत में मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहां तक योजनाओं का सम्बन्ध है उन योजनाओं को कार्य रूप में परिणत करने के लिये जहां तक हमारे राष्ट्रीय बजट का सम्बन्ध है हमको कुछ बातें सिद्धान्त के बतौर (रूप में) अपने सामने रखनी होंगी। मेरी दृष्टि से इन पंच वर्षीय योजनाओं का और इन बजटों का एक ही लक्ष्य हो सकता है और वह है बौद्धिक योजना और आर्थिक योजना। जैसा अभी मैंने आपसे कहा, हम राजनीतिक कार्य में बहुत आगे बढ़ चुके हैं। लेकिन जहां तक बौद्धिक और आर्थिक उत्कर्ष है वहां तक इन दोनों प्रश्नों से हिन्दी और गाय का बहुत बड़ा सम्बन्ध है। मैं ३३ वर्ष से इस सदन में हूँ और शायद आगे भी मैं इस सदन में रहूँ। जब तक ये प्रश्न हल नहीं होंगे मैं बराबर इनको सरकार के सामने रखता रहूँगा।

श्रीमती मणिबेन पटेल (कैरा—दक्षिण) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं वित्त मंत्री के बजट के दोनों भाषण, लोक सभा का भाषण और राज्य सभा का भाषण, गौर से पढ़ गयी। ठीक है कि प्रथम पंच वर्षीय योजना में कई बातों में हमें काफी सफलता मिली है। अब हमें उस अनुभव से दूसरी पंच वर्षीय योजना में लाभ उठाना है।

[श्रीमती मणिबेन पटेल]

हम देख रहे हैं कि प्रथम पंच वर्षीय योजना में रेलवे के बारे में ठीक से नहीं सोचा गया था जिससे हमारे सामने काफी मुश्किलता आयी। तब भी दसरी पंच वर्षीय योजना में रेलवे के विकास में जो काट छांट की गयी है उसमें बड़ी गलती हुई है ऐसा मुझे अभी भी लगता है। मेरी विनती है कि इसको फिर से सोचा जाय। चाहे और कहीं काट छांट की जाये पर रेलवे के विकास के लिए पूरे पैसे देने चाहिए। आप स्टील प्लांट (इस्पात का कारखाना) बिठाने की सोच रहे हैं। उसका लिए रेलवे लाइन ले जाने के लिए आपने प्रबन्ध किया है। परन्तु जो माल बनेगा उस माल को उठाकर जहाँ जरूरत हो वहाँ अगर नहीं ले जा सकेंगे तो स्टील प्लांट के बिठाने से क्या फायदा होगा। इस तरह से जहाँ जहाँ आपने नई योजनायें बनाने की बात सोची है, नये कारखाने बिठाने की बात सोची है, वहाँ रेलवे की कमी के कारण असफलता मिलेगी। सरकार के जितने नये कारखाने होंगे और जितनी योजनायें होंगी उनकी तो प्रायः (प्राथमिकता) मिलेगी। उसके लिए रेलवे में प्रबन्ध किया जायेगा। और जो प्राइवेट सेक्टर (गैर सरकारी क्षेत्र) है उसको कोई कच्चा माल नहीं मिलेगा, उसके लिए वेगन्स नहीं मिलेंगी और जो बना हुआ माल है उसको उठाने के लिए भी वेगन्स नहीं मिलेंगी और पीछे प्राइवेट सेक्टर को हम दोष देंगे कि उन्होंने अपना टारजेट (लक्ष्य) ठीक से पूरा नहीं किया। तो यह भी ठीक नहीं होगा।

मैं देखती हूँ कि फेडरेशन (संघान) के मकान के लिए जमीन दी गयी है। लेकिन उस पर काम नहीं हो रहा है क्योंकि उसको सीमेंट नहीं मिला। उसको सीमेंट देने का प्रबन्ध करने के अलावा कहते क्या हैं कि अगर आप मकान नहीं बनाते हैं तो हमको जमीन वापस दे दो। अगर इस तरह से होगा तो हमको दूसरी पंच वर्षीय योजना में सफलता मिलने में काफी कठिनाइयाँ होंगी और असफलता भी मिलेगी। इसलिए मेरी अभी भी सरकार से विनती है कि इस पर फिर से सोचना चाहिए और रेलवे के विकास के लिए परा पैसे देना चाहिए।

एक और भी मार्ग है। मैं ने सुना है कि आज हमें स्टील (इस्पात) मिल सकती है और उसको हम दस साल, पन्द्रह साल या बीस साल बाद वापस दे सकते हैं। अगर अमरीका, रूस या और कोई देश हमको इस प्रकार स्टील

दे सके और ऐसा करने में हमको कोई नुकसान न हो तो इस चीज पर भी हमें सोचना चाहिए।

वित्त मंत्री ने हम को अपने भाषण में बताया है कि जहाँ तक हो सके वहाँ तक इकानमी (मितव्ययता) करने के लिये भी उन्होंने प्रबन्ध किया है। हम को स्वतन्त्रता मिलने के पहले सात सेक्टर (सचिव) थे। चार हजार तनस्वाह पाते थे। यह ठीक है कि अब हमारा काम बढ़ रहा है इसलिये हम को ज्यादा आदमियों की जरूरत है और हम को ज्यादा आदमी रखने होंगे। आई० सी० एस० वालों को हम ने चार हजार रुपया देने की गारंटी दी है। लेकिन आज मैं देखती हूँ कि सात के स्थान पर चालीस से अधिक और पचास के नजदीक सेक्टरियों की संख्या पहुँच गई है और उन में सब तो आई० सी० एस० नहीं हैं। लेकिन इन में भी कई आदमी ऐसे हैं जिन को चार हजार दिये जाते हैं कितने ऐसे कर्मचारी हैं जिन को कुछ साल पहले तीन सौ या चार सौ रुपये मिलते थे पर जिन को आज तीन हजार तक मिल रहे हैं और कुछ तो तीन हजार से भी आगे गये हैं और आगे जाने वाले हैं। क्या इस में कमी करने की बात सोची गई है या कि एक पर दूसरे का दबाव पड़ रहा है इसलिये तनस्वाह बढ़ाई जाती है और आदमियों को रखा जाता है। ऐसा भी मैंने सुना है कि जिन अफसरों को काफी जांच पड़ताल करने के बाद हटाया गया है, जिन के कि बारे में कमेटी बठी और उस के बाद उन को उनकी जगहों से हटाया गया है, उन को किसी भी कारण से पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन (लोक सेवा आयोग) तक न भी गये हों या गये भी हों, इस कारण उन आदमियों को डिसमिस नहीं किया। अब अगर आप यह जो नये कारपोरेशन (निगम) और कारखाने आदि स्थापित कर रहे हैं उन में रखेंगे तो हमें अपने इन नये कामों में सफलता कैसे मिल सकेगी। यह भी सुना जा रहा है कि इस बारे में उन अफसरान को लिये जाने के लिये काफी प्रयत्न हो रहा है और दबाव पड़ रहा है लेकिन मैं सरकार से यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि उस को इस विषय में काफी सावधान रहना चाहिये और अगर हम ने जरा भी इस विषय में असावधानी बरती तो असफलता के अतिरिक्त हमें काफी बदनामी भी उठानी पड़ सकती है।

12 NOON

वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने राज्य सभा में आम बजट पर हुई बहस का जवाब देते हुए यह भी कहा कि महीन कपड़े पर हम ड्यूटी इसलिये नहीं डालते हैं क्योंकि महीन कपड़े पर ड्यूटी

डालने से जो महीन कपड़ा पहनने वाले हैं, वे उस के विरुद्ध बहुत ज्यादा शोर मचायेंगे जब कि मोटे कपड़े पर उत्पादन कर लगाने का असर मध्यम वर्ग के लोगों पर पड़ेगा और जिन के लिये बिना हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने यह कहा कि वे यह कर भार देश के आम हित को देखते हुए बर्दाश्त कर लेंगे। अगर मंत्री महोदय ने यह चीज मजाक में कही हो तब तो यह ठीक है परन्तु उन का यह कहना कि अगर हम ने महीन कपड़े पर उत्पादन कर लगाया तो धनी लोग उस के खिलाफ ज्यादा शोर मचायेंगे और उस शोर के डर से दब कर महीन कपड़े पर उत्पादन कर में वृद्धि न करना मेरी समझ में यह उचित कार्य नहीं है.....

वित्त मंत्री : (श्री सी० डी० देशमुख) :
मैंने राज्य सभा में ऐसा नहीं कहा।

श्रीमती मणिबेन पटेल : मैं अभी आप के वहाँ पर दिये हुए भाषण में से उस वाक्य को पढ़ कर सुनाय देती हूँ :—

"I am quite convinced that the common man will complain less than those who are championing his cause here as indeed it was evident from what the hon. Members said that the country was prepared to bear some more taxation in the furtherance of the Plan."

इसका मतलब तो यही होता है कि जो सामान्य आदमी हैं, सर्वसाधारण आदमी हैं, वे ज्यादा टैक्स बर्दाश्त करने के लिये तैयार हैं परन्तु मेरा तो यह कहना है कि जो महीन कपड़ा पहनना चाहते हैं वे उस को थोड़े ज्यादा पैसे देकर पहनें, उन में देने की सामर्थ्य है और थोड़ा उत्पादन कर में वृद्धि भी कर दी जाय तो वे आसानी से दे सकेंगे।

श्री सी० डी० देशमुख : मैंने तो सिर्फ इतना ही कहा था कि वे लोग ज्यादा शिकायत करते हैं।

श्रीमती मणिबेन पटेल : ठीक है शिकायत ज्यादा करते हैं इसलिये आप उन को रियायत देते हैं और जिन लोगों की शिकायत आपके कानों तक नहीं पहुँच सकती है, जिन के पास अखबार नहीं हैं और जिन के पास अखबार वाले नहीं जाते हैं, उन का न सोचना और उन का ध्यान न रखना और जिनकी कि शिकायत गवर्नमेंट तक पहुँच सकती है, उस का ख्याल रख कर महीन कपड़े पर उत्पादन कर में वृद्धि न करना यह ठीक बात नहीं है, ऐसी मेरी मान्यता

है। मैं अब भी कहती हूँ कि सुपर फाइन कपड़े पर यदि आप कुछ अतिरिक्त कर भार डालें तो कोई हर्ज नहीं है लेकिन मोटे कपड़े पर उत्पादन कर में वृद्धि नहीं करनी चाहिये, यह मेरी विनती है और यह मेरी मान्यता है।

श्री सी० डी० देशमुख : मैं ने ऐसा तो नहीं कहा जैसा कि आप समझ रही हैं।

श्रीमती मणिबेन पटेल : ठीक है शायद आप जितनी अर्थजी तो मैं नहीं समझ पाती लेकिन मेरी तुच्छ समझ में मतलब तो उसका वही होता है जो मैंने कहा है। आप इंश्योरेंस (बीमा) को नेशनलाइज (राष्ट्रीयकरण) किया, ठीक है, आपने राष्ट्रीय करण किया, परन्तु एक बात का आप को ख्याल रखना पड़ेगा कि राष्ट्रीयकरण से पहले और आप के द्वारा उस को अपने हाथ में लेने के बाद उन के काम में किसी तरह की प्रगति हुई है या नहीं और उन का काम आगे बढ़ा है कि नहीं, इस कसौटी पर आप को जांचना होगा। मैंने तो सुना है कि एक जगह पर आगे और काम करता था आज वह आदमी दिन भर में कुल तीस चैंकों पर दस्तखत करता है। मेरा कहना है कि अगर इसी तरह से राष्ट्रीयकरण का कार्य चला तो राष्ट्रीयकरण से पहले जैसी बीमा कम्पनियों की हालत थी, उस से हम कुछ अच्छी नहीं कर पायेंगे और उन के काम को हम आगे बढ़ा नहीं सकेंगे और इस लिये इस के ऊपर भी आप को काफी सावधानी रखनी होगी और काफी जांच करनी होगी।

एक बात मैं आप से और कहना चाहती हूँ और वह शायद आप को पसन्द भी न आवे। आप के फाइनेंस बिल (वित्त विधेयक) में मैंने देखा कि आप ने उस में इस तरह की चीज डाल दी है जिस के द्वारा आप ने इनकमटैक्स आफिसर को १५ साल पहले की बातों के सम्बन्ध में लोगों से पूछने और उनकी छान-बीन करने का अधिकार प्रदान किया है जो कि मुझे ठीक नहीं लगता है। ऐसी बातें लानी हों तो उसके लिये एक अलग बिल लाना चाहिये ताकि सेलेक्ट कमेटी (प्रवर समिति) में उस को ले जा कर उस पर अच्छी तरह से सोच विचार किया जा सकता है। आज हालत तो यह है कि अगर हम सरकार से पूछते हैं कि हम ने साल भर हुए आप को एक चिट्ठी लिखी थी, उस का जवाब हमें अभी तक नहीं मिला है और हमें बताया जाय कि उस के बारे में क्या हुआ तो हम को कहा जाता है कि आप अपनी उस चिट्ठी की नकल भेजिये तब उस पर आगे

[श्रीमती बन्दिनेन पदेल]

कार्यवाही की जायगी। आज जब सरकारी दफ्तरों में साल भर पहले की चिट्ठी मिलना भी मुश्किल हो जाता है तो आप लोगों के पास से १५-१५ साल के पुराने हिसाब-किताब के कागजात मांगना चाहते हैं। एक लाख रुपये के बारे में जिस पर आप को शक हो उस आदमी से १५ साल का हिसाब मांगा जाय, तो संभव है कि उस के लिये लाख रुपया देना तब संभव रहा हो लेकिन आज उस के पास न हो और उस में से कितने ही आदमी अब तक मर भी गये होंगे, तो इस तरह से कितने दिनों तक आप यह रगड़ने की चीज चलायेंगे? स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्ति के पूर्व जब यहां पर हमारी अन्तरिम सरकार थी और उस में मुस्लिम लीग के मिनिस्टर लियाकत अली खां वित्त मंत्री थे, तो वे यह इनवेस्टिगेशन कमिशन (जांच आयोग) लाये थे और उस के कारण कैबिनेट में भी काफी हल्ला हुआ था और पार्टी में भी काफी हल्ला हुआ था और तब उस के लिये एक अवधि निर्धारित की गई थी कि इतने साल के लिये यह कमिशन रखा जायेगा और लोगों ने सोचा था कि चलो कुछ दिन बाद यह कमिशन हट जायगा। लेकिन हम ने देखा कि उस इनवेस्टिगेशन कमिशन की अवधि बढ़ती चली गई और हम ने देखा कि आखिर में जब सुप्रीम कोर्ट में उस को अवैध ठहराया गया और उस को गलत बतलाया गया तो उस के तत्त्व को फाइनेंस बिल में इस तरह से डाला जाना ठीक और उचित नहीं है। आप इस तरह की चीज फाइनेंस बिल में डाल कर कितने ही लोगों को तकलीफ देंगे और उन को परेशान करेंगे। मैं इस चीज को अस्वीकार नहीं कर सकती कि आपने काफी ऐसे अफसरान को पनिश (दंड) भी किया जिन्होंने कि इनकमटैक्स सम्बन्धी कर्तव्य को ठीक तरह नहीं निभाया लेकिन आप को यह भी समझना चाहिये कि काफी लोगों को उस से तकलीफ होती है। क्या इनकम-टैक्स आफिसर ये सब साहूकार और जिस के यहां इनकमटैक्स के लिये जाता है ये सब चोर हैं, मैं समझती हूँ कि इस निगाह से देखना ठीक नहीं है। यह भी देखने में आया है कि लोग किसी प्राइवेट (निजी) रंज की वजह से बिना बात को बेनाम चिट्ठी किसी शास्स के खिलाफ इनकमटैक्स के विभाग में डाल देते हैं लेकिन बाद में जांच कर ने पर मालूम होता है कि उस चिट्ठी में कोई सच्चाई नहीं होती है तो मैं जानना चाहती हूँ कि ऐसे कितने आदमियों को आपने प्रासिक्यूट (अभियोग चलाना) किया है जिन्होंने

कि आप को गलत सूबरे दीं? घेरे पास कितने ही लोष आते हैं और बतलाते हैं कि वे किस तरह से परेशान किये जाते हैं और मैं उन से यह कह देती हूँ कि मैं किसी व्यक्तिगत केस को लेकर किसी मिनिस्टर के पास नहीं जाती हूँ परन्तु मैं आप को बतलाना चाहती हूँ कि इस के बारे में काफी लोगों को तकलीफ होती है, मैं बड़े बड़े आदमियों की बात नहीं करती, छोटे-छोटे आदमियों को इस के कारण कितनी तकलीफ पहुंचती है वह शायद आप को मालूम नहीं है। आप तक उन की पहुंच नहीं हो पाती है।

एक बात की ओर मैं आप का ध्यान विशेष रूप से दिलाना चाहती हूँ और वह यह है कि हमारे देश में जो विदेशी आते हैं और काफी तादाद में आते हैं और आ रहे हैं, उन सब को हमारे पहाड़ों पर चढ़ने का एक शौक सा हो गया है, आगे तो इस तरह हमारे पहाड़ों पर घूमने के लिये आते नहीं थे, तो यह सब लोग क्या पहाड़ों पर चढ़ने और घूमने के शौकीन हैं और इसी कारण वे पहाड़ों पर जाते हैं या उस के पीछे कोई और कारण है और हमें इस विषय में सावधानी बरतनी है और यह देखना है कि क्या वह घूमने के बहाने हमारे पहाड़ों की तस्वीरें नहीं खींचते, नक्शे नहीं बना जाते और विदेशों में तो नहीं ले जाते और कहीं ऐसा न हो कि दस वर्ष बाद हमारे सामने कोई आश्चर्यजनक घटना घटे मेरा सरकार में अनुरोध है कि वे इस विषय में सावधान रहें।

हम यहां बहुत जल्दी जल्दी कानून बनाते हैं। उन के बारे में कोई हाई कोर्ट जाता है, कोई सुप्रीम कोर्ट जाता है। उन में गलतियाँ निकलती हैं और बार बार संसद् को बुला कर हमें उन में सुधार करना पड़ता है। यह बात अच्छी नहीं है। जब कि किसी बिल को संसद् में लाना हो तो उस पर पहले से विचार हो जाना चाहिये और खूब सोच समझ कर तब फिर उस को यहां पर लाना चाहिये। आज कल यह होता है कि संसद् के बुलाने के बाद जल्दी जल्दी में बिल बनाये जाते हैं जिस के कारण उन में बहुत गलतियाँ रह जाती हैं और फिर बार बार उन में सुधार के लिये आना पड़ता है।

इस के बाद मैं आप का ध्यान इस ओर दिलाना चाहती हूँ कि जो पुराने रूल्स (नियम) हैं उन की ओर भी आप को देखना चाहिये और जिन जिन रूल्स को तब्दील करने की जरूरत हो, उन को तब्दील करना चाहिये। एक अजी सा रूल है जिस के ऊपर मैं आपका ध्या

सोचना चाहती हूँ। वह यह है कि अगर किसी भी आई० सी० एस० अफसर की छुट्टी छः महीने से अधिक जमा हो गई हो और वह छः महीने से अधिक देश में रहता है तो उस को बाकी छुट्टी के समय में केवल ७५० रुपये मासिक मिल सकते हैं, परन्तु अगर वह परदेश जाय, यहां से विलायत जाय, तो पूरी तनखाह मिलेगी। जब यहां पर पुरानी सरकार थी अंग्रेजों की तब तो उन के लिये यह ठीक हो सकता था क्योंकि उन का उद्देश्य यह था कि वह लोग अपने देश को खूब रुपये ले कर जायें, यहां पड़े रह कर मौज न करे। लेकिन अब जब कि हम स्वतन्त्र हैं और अपने देश के कामों के लिये पाई पाई बचाना चाहते हैं, एक एक पाई की हिसाब को जरूरत है, तो इस प्रकार के कानून का रखना मेरी राय में ठीक नहीं है। इस प्रकार के जितने कानून हों, उन को देख कर, परिवर्तन करना चाहिये। जितने भी इस तरह के रूल्स हों उन में योग्य तब्दीली कर देनी चाहिये।

निष्णात के नाम पर, एक्सपर्ट्स (विशेषज्ञ) के नाम पर, हमारे यहां जो लोग बाहर से आते हैं उन के बारे में भी मैं कहना चाहती हूँ। जिनको यहां निष्णात कहा जाता है वह अपने देश में कभी कभी कोई बहुत अधिक महत्व नहीं रखते हैं। मैं पूछना चाहती हूँ कि क्या हमारे देश में ऐसे लोग नहीं हैं? जिन देशों से वे लोग आते हैं जिन देशों से हम मदद लेते हैं, वे लोग अपने देश का अनएम्पलायमेंट (बेरोजगारी) कुछ साल्व (हल) करने के लिये हमारे यहां भेजेते हैं। मुझे इस तरह के दो तीन प्रसंग मालूम हैं जिन में इसी तरह से जो निष्णात नहीं थे, आये हैं। हो सकता है अपना टर्म (अवधि) खत्म कर के अब वह चले गये हों, लेकिन जो इस प्रकार के लोग आये थे, उन में कोई खास बात नहीं थी। यहां बड़े बड़े खाते थे, मौज और आराम करते थे। क्या उन की तरह के आदमी हमारे यहां नहीं मिल सकते? लेकिन हम उन को नहीं लेते हैं। क्या हमारे यहां डाक्टर नहीं हैं जो काम चला सकें? लेकिन हम डाक्टर वहां से मंगाते हैं। यह ठीक नहीं है। मैं ने यह केवल एक उदाहरण दिया है। लेकिन हम को सोचना चाहिये कि क्या हमारे यहां इस तरह के लोग नहीं मिल सकते हैं। जब हम स्वतन्त्र नहीं थे उस वक्त जितनी संख्या ऐसे लोगों की हमारे यहां थी, हमें सोचना चाहिये कि आज उस से बढ़ी है या कम हुई है। हम लोगों को आप लोगों को बताना चाहिये कि क्या स्थिति है, अगर आज उन की संख्या बढ़ी है तो कितनी बढ़ी है?

मैं इस बात की ओर भी आप का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहती हूँ कि गरीबों के पास से सर्वसाधारण के पास से जो देश का प्रेमी है, उस के पास से आप स्पॉल सेविंग (लघु बचत) में पैसा लेना चाहते हैं ताकि किसी न किसी सरकारी काम में उस पैसे को लगा सकें। क्या आप को मालूम है या क्या कभी आप ने इस बात पर गौर किया है कि जितने सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं, जितने मिनिस्ट्रियों के चन्दे (Funds) हैं, उन में से कितनों के हिस्से और बीमे फारेन (विदेशी) कम्पनियों के भन्दर हैं, फारेन बैंक में रखे हैं। मैं ने एक जगह पूछा कि फारेन बैंक में रुपया क्यों रखा गया तो जवाब मिला कि फारेन बैंक में इन्टरेस्ट (ब्याज) ज्यादा मिलता है। तो क्या देश के लोगों को इन्टरेस्ट ज्यादा नहीं चाहिये? जब लोगों को आप कहते हैं कि सरकारी प्रामिसरी नोट में या स्पॉल सेविंग्स में पैसा लगाया जाय तो उन को ज्यादा ब्याज नहीं चाहिये? सरकार को इस बात को सोचना चाहिये और सब डिपार्टमेंट्स (विभागों) के कर्मचारियों को इस बात की सूचना देनी चाहिये कि वह परदेशी बैंकों या बीमा कम्पनियों में अपना पैसा न लगायें। चंदे की रकम न रखी जाय।

मैं एक बात पूछना जानना चाहती हूँ। मेसेन्जर सिस्टम की बात चली थी। उस का क्या हुआ? कोई भी नया विभाग खलता है, कोई भी नया मिनिस्टर बनता है तो पहली बात यह होती है कि चपरासी चाहिये। यहां पर एक अजीब तरीका है किसी भी चपरासी से कोई बात कही तो वह कहता है कि यह मेरा काम नहीं है। यहां तो खैर, जो चपरासी हैं उन को मालूम है कि ५०० आदमियों का काम करना है, लेकिन आम तौर से यही बात उन के सम्बन्ध में है। इस तरह से तो होते होते हमारी आधी दिल्ली चपरासियों से ही भर जायेगी। जितने भी कर्मचारी बढ़ेंगे, जितनी आप सेक्रेटरियों, ज्वायेंट सेक्रेटरियों और डिप्टी सेक्रेटरियों की संख्या बढ़ायेंगे उतना काम में विलम्ब होगा क्योंकि एक एक अफसर के टेबल पर कम से कम एक एक दिन तो फाइल पड़ी ही रहेगी। इसलिये हमारा कहना यह है कि आप आदमी भले ही कम लीजिये, लेकिन अच्छे लीजिये, और उन से पूरा काम लीजिये और उन को पूरी तनखाह दीजिये। अगर आप ज्यादा आदमी रखेंगे तो पैसा भी ज्यादा खर्च होगा और काम में विलम्ब भी होगा।

जो दफतरो में चाय और काफी मिलने का तरीका है वह बिल्कुल बन्द होना चाहिये। जब

[श्रीमती मणिबेन पटेल]

कभी किसी दफ्तर में जायें तो देखते हैं कि कहीं चाय चल रही है और कहीं काफी चल रही है। अगर सारा दिन इसी तरह से चलता रहे तो सरकार का काम किस तरह हो। मेरी विनती है कि जिस तरह से बिजिनेस कंसन्स (व्यापार संस्था) में काम होता है उसी तरह से दफ्तरों में भी होना चाहिये और यह चाय, काफी का मिलना दफ्तर में बिल्कुल बन्द कर देना चाहिये।

मेरी यह भी विनती है कि अब मंत्रियों की संख्या काफी बढ़ गई है, लेकिन उस के बाद भी यहां एक दो घंटे के बाद हाउस के अन्दर एक दो मिनिस्टर से अधिक नहीं दिखाई पड़ते हैं। जब यहां पर मिनिस्टर्स इस प्रकार से करें तो हमारे दिल में भी आता है कि हम भी यहां क्यों बैठें। पहले तो ऐसा कभी नहीं होता था कि इस तरह से गर्वमेंट बेन्चेज खाली दिखाई पड़ें। इस सम्बन्ध में भी आप लोगों को सोच कर कुछ अच्छे ट्रेडिशन (परम्परा) बनाने चाहिये। कम से कम दस पन्द्रह की संख्या में जैसा भी आप मूनासिब समझें मंत्रियों को यहां पर रहना ही चाहिये।

आप न मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया इस के लिये धन्यवाद।

Shri Ramachandra Reddi (Nellore):

This is the fifth budget during the life time of this House and probably it is the last one. This last budget has presented many points and many problems for discussion, and it may not be possible for me or for any hon. Member here to cover all the points that he wishes to cover.

At the outset I would offer a word of praise to the excellent and efficient work that has been done by the Lok Sabha Secretariat. We have seen for the last four years how sincerely and efficiently they have been functioning and how much of courtesy they have been showing to the Members of this House.

I see in the budget that there is a special provision for the expansion of the Lok Sabha Secretariat, and in that connection I would like to mention that there are a few aspects which have to be considered; and probably a committee consisting of the Speaker and the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and the Secretary might go into those aspects and do it.

I feel that there are certain lacunae in the Library management and more * staff and more books have to be supplied * * * * *

I wish to say a word about the policy of Ministermaking here. I do not mind the number of Ministers that are appointed. I think the number is coming to nearly 50 which will just be the quorum for the House. But, the policy of appointing Ministers seems to require some attention. I have recently noticed in the Press that one of the Secretaries, the Secretary in the Education Ministry, has been asked to resign and get himself elected to the Upper House with a view to be made a Minister here. I wonder why the Government or the powers that be could not find in this House or in the other House efficient educationists who would be able to tackle the subject of education and why the services of an experienced Secretary should be diverted to that of a Minister. It is, I think, a matter that deserves serious consideration by the Prime Minister. Such a diversion would lead not only to difficulties in the Secretariat, but also rivalries in the Secretariat. This policy, I think, will have to be adjusted and any attempt to bring in Secretaries indirectly into the Cabinet will have to be stopped.

We have here two Budgets every year. I would like to ask the hon. Finance Minister whether it is not possible for him to have one Budget instead of two. On two occasions I have asked the hon. Minister for Railways to re-examine the need for having two Budgets, one separately for the Railways and another for the other subjects. No reply has so far come forward. I would now ask the hon. Finance Minister whether it is not possible to think of only one Budget instead of two Budgets. At present, having two Budgets has become a matter of some dissatisfaction in certain services. There is a feeling in the services other than the Railways that the Railways are being attended to carefully and with greater consideration and that the other subjects are being neglected. There is that rivalry and jealousy growing every day with the result that the efficiency of the departments is in danger of going down. If there could be a separate budget for the Railways, I wonder why there should not be a separate budget for Communications also. It is also a very big portfolio. It has got

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

several workers in that Ministry and these workers also desire to have greater amenities and greater consideration shown to them. As it is, this quasi-commercial undertaking like the Railways is no better—it may be bigger—than the other commercial undertakings which the other Ministries handle. Therefore, it is very reasonable that the matter should be looked into with greater care. The hon. Finance Minister may be pleased to tell the House why the need still exists for having two separate budgets. In fact, some years ago, before Independence came, when the railways were run by separate companies, there was a sort of separateness and the Government was only a contributor or a receiver of contribution from those companies. The entire face has changed. The entire system of railways is being directly managed and controlled by the Government. As such, there does not seem to be any particular or peculiar reason for having two Budgets even at this stage.

There have been a number of taxation proposals in this Budget. I would like just to touch a few of them. I think already mention has been made of the enhancement of the duty on diesel oils. I do not know whether the hon. Finance Minister or his Advisers have understood what difficulties the agriculturists would be put to if there is an enhancement like this. If diesel oils are taxed at the Centre and also at the State level probably these new taxes will come to nearly 50 per cent of the existing cost of these oils. I would urge upon the hon. Finance Minister to see that the tax that is proposed to be imposed is not imposed. These diesel oils are used mainly for agricultural purposes. Where water facilities are not available, people dig big wells and have lift irrigation with pumps. For that purpose, diesel oil will be utilised. Tractors are on the increase and they require diesel oil. For the haulage of agricultural products from place to place, they require either lorries or tractors for instance, to take these products from the place of production to the place of storage or to the market. For all these purposes diesel oil is necessary. I urge upon the Finance Minister to reconsider this matter.

In regard to the tax on non-essential oils,

Shri C. D. Pande (Naini Tal Distt. cum Almora Distt.—South-West cum Bareilly Distt.—North): Really speaking, they are essential for life.

Shri Ramachandra Reddi: Thanks for the suggestion. I would request the hon. Finance Minister to see page 6 of the memorandum presented to this House. He will see the vegetable non-essential oils on which the new levy is proposed to be made. A rough survey is given at the end of the page. If he analyses the figures given, he will see that by the new levy, the production of the bigger companies, to the extent of 1,100 or 1,200 factories will be affected. That affects the production of nearly 8,84,000 tons of oils. The labour employed in these two categories who would be affected, is to the extent of 45,000 people. I just pointed out these figures for the simple reason that whenever a new taxation proposal is thought of, they must also look around and see to what extent labour is affected, production is affected and the consumer is affected. Certainly by the levy of this duty, the consumer will be affected. Apart from the cost of production, labour is affected. In this connection, I would like to invite attention to the condition of some of these vegetable oil companies that have been started in South India; a number of them have been started; a number of them have not been working at all for the simple reason that the cost of production has become bigger and they are unable to find the wherewithal to start the companies and work them. In fact, most of these factories have been given loans by the State Governments and the State Governments are not able to make good the loans that have already been given to them. If there is any idea with the Government that some of these factories should be made to function, they must come forward with a liberal offer of subventions, if necessary, and loans. When this is the case, they must see that they do not in any way increase the tax burden on these companies. In fact, in the whole of South India, I think only the Tungabhadra Industries located in Kurnool is just able to make both ends meet after six or seven years of struggle. There are several other companies that have been started and they are not able to function at all. If the policy is to burden these factories with greater and greater taxation, I think most of them will have to be very soon liquidated and even the factories that have just now come to some sort of balance in their budget will also come to grief.

I fail to see why the Government has still not decided to levy import and excise duty on salt. I have oftentimes brought it to the notice of the House

[Shri Ramachandra Reddi]

and also to the hon. Finance Minister that it is in the interests of the finances of this country to revert to the excise duty on salt. Recently a cess has been levied by an Act of this Parliament and even in that case politics and sentiments seem to have prevailed, and people who cultivate less than ten acres for manufacture of salt have been exempted from the cess. There is something always haunting the minds of the Government and the Congress Party, and that seems to be the real reason why they are not able to make up their minds to revive the salt duty. History must be forgotten in certain respects especially in the context of the present economic policy of the Government.

Shri Shree Narayan Das (Darbhanga Central): Even the Taxation Enquiry Commission did not recommend its levy again.

Shri Ramachandra Reddi: We always take shelter under one commission or other, but we do not give effect to the recommendations of certain other commissions. We know that the Backward Classes Commission has been appointed. It has reported. It is more than one year, I think, since the report has reached the Government. Till now the Government has not been able to make up its mind to publish the report, but it has made nearly Rs. 5 crores of allotment in the present budget, and we do not know for what purpose the money is going to be spent. Next to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, the backward classes require attention, and when a commission has been appointed and has reported already, its report does not see the light of day. I would like to ask the hon. Home Minister who is not here why this delay should be caused in the publication of that particular report. There must have been either a controversy there, or there must be some recommendations which will drastically demand the attention of the Finance Minister for the provision of more and more funds. The principles on which the backward classes will have to be treated both in the matter of securing financial help for education as well as in the matter of securing jobs and other amenities must have been discussed in that report, but in the absence of the report we are not able to understand what exactly is the position that the backward classes have been placed in and what exactly the Government is thinking about that. We are on the threshold of the Second Five-

Year Plan, and the Government is fighting shy of publishing this very important report.

Then, we are securing debts, but we are not able to realise loans given to others. In the Explanatory Memorandum I notice that Pakistan owes us nearly Rs. 300 crores, but within the last few years we have not been able to find out what tangible and concrete steps have been taken by the Government to realise the loan. In regard to the Burma debt, some arrangement has been made last year for securing from them some quantities of rice in repayment of the debt. No doubt, it was a good gesture, but at what cost? Fifteen to twenty crores of rupees, probably more, must be the amount due from Burma to India. Last year they exported several tons of rice, probably unwanted and unusable there, but fortunately or unfortunately it had to be used here on account of the cyclonic conditions in the South or flood conditions in the North. But at what price was it purchased? The Government of India seems to have purchased that rice from Burma at the rate of £45 per ton, subject to correction, but India's surplus rice was offered at about £30 or £32 per ton to other countries. When we are in a position to feed our own people with rice at a lesser cost, we have purchased it at a higher cost and the entire loss is borne by the Government perhaps. This transaction seems to be very peculiar and I hope that hereafter such transactions will not be entered into.

We have been given a very attractive picture regarding small savings. Sometimes I wonder whether the small savings scheme really means what it imports. I have often put the question to myself whether it is small savings of the big people or the big savings of the small people. In the districts we notice propaganda being made for small savings. We find a lot of pressure being placed by the district authorities over the people there who are moneyed and rich, and large amounts of money are collected. In fact, the amounts are not collected, and I trust the hon. Finance Minister knows it also that these amounts are taken over and if guarantees are given to the banks of a few rupees per hundred so as to cover the interest charges, the banks and insurance companies seem to be paying these monies. So, these small savings are really from the bigger concerns like the banks and insurance companies and not from the small people and much less from the

big people, because they do not actually contribute the money but they simply guarantee the interest to certain of these companies and they escape the pressure of the local Collector or the District Collector, whoever it might be. If this is the way in which small savings are being collected, I would certainly request the hon. Finance Minister to note that the time has come when the matter has to be looked into more carefully, and this sort of official pressure placed upon the local people should be avoided in future.

I come last to the policy of prohibition. At a time when we require more money we are not only pursuing the policy of prohibition, but also insisting on or directing the State Governments to come forward with a broad and a strong and bold policy of prohibition. In reply to a question that was put recently on the floor of the House, the Deputy Minister for Planning gave us the reactions of the several States in this country. Several States are anxious to adopt the policy of prohibition progressively. Some want time beyond 1958, the time-limit which has been placed by the Prohibition Enquiry Committee. Some are unable to finance their budgets, to balance their budgets without revenue from these excise duties, and some are anxious to escape from this obligation of introducing prohibition in their respective areas. Already, the State Governments are emulating the example of the Central Government in regard to the framing of deficit budgets. Almost every State in the country seems to be framing a deficit budget probably in the hope that they can escape the vigilance of the Centre with regard to prohibition policy, or in the hope that they can get more money by way of loans from the Central Government and escape paying them later on. If that is the financial condition of the Centre as also the States, then I request the Minister of Finance to convince the Cabinet to reconsider the matter at greater length and to find out ways and means of not enforcing the prohibition policy and also to wink at, if not actually encourage, the securing of all possible revenues from the States. In fact, the State revenues are not elastic and they require some sort of relief. And whenever the States are asked to raise money by taxation, they simply start demanding greater revenue from the agricultural section.

Lastly, I would like to refer once again to the Pakistan debt. I hope my hon. friend the Finance Minister would

be able to give us a complete picture with regard to Pakistan's debt position, and her capacity to pay it back. We are finding that they have become quarrelsome; I mean to say that the Pakistanis have become quarrelsome, troublesome and even meddlesome and are placing our country in an irksome position for the simple reason that we are wedded to the policy of non-violence and peace, and the principles of Panch Shila.

I had a few more points to cover, but since the time is up, I shall conclude here.

Shri Mohiuddin (Hyderabad City) : The annual budget is an important occasion for reviewing the economic conditions in the country and also for assessing the progress that has been made.

The complaint has been made that we have not got sufficient data, or that we have not got before us a thorough examination of the economic conditions in the country. I fully agree with this complaint, and I suggest that more data should be supplied to us than what is being done at the present moment, for instance, in the Explanatory Memorandum and the administrative reports of the various Ministries. Even the data supplied in regard to the community projects and the Plan are not complete and they are practically one year old.

A suggestion has been made that along with the financial budget, the economic budget of the nation should also be presented. I know there are difficulties in the way of the preparation of such an economic budget. But I hope that the statistical institutions that have been established so far will make efforts to prepare comprehensive data which could be placed before us in connection with the discussion of the budget.

We are now on the eve of the Second Five-Year Plan, and the First Five-Year Plan is almost coming to a close, giving rise to a sense of confidence that we can undertake much larger plans and go forward more quickly. The increase in the national income of about 18 per cent. is itself a remarkable achievement. But I suggest that the Finance Ministry and the statistical wings attached to the Finance Ministry may consider the possibility of providing us with a review of the economic progress in the various regions of the country. 18 per cent increase in national income is an all-India figure, and it is significant no doubt, but what we should like to know further is what the rate of progress is in different regions.

Shri N. M. Lingam (Coimbatore):
Does the hon. Member mean States?

Shri Mohiuddin: I am not using the word States, because the States themselves are in the process of reorganisation, and it may perhaps be difficult to give figures for each State; but suitable economic regions may be devised so that we could have the data in respect of those regions, and the progress made in those regions may be presented in a lucid manner.

The Finance Minister has made a number of taxation proposals, and I welcome most of them. Out of Rs. 35 crores of estimated additional income from these taxation proposals, only about Rs. 10 crores are going to be derived by direct taxation. In spite of the fact that direct taxation will yield an addition of only Rs. 10 crores, there is a good deal of criticism from particularly the capitalist section of the nation.

One ingenious criticism that has come from one quarter is that the proposal to tax dividends above 6 per cent is an attempt to keep the shares of different companies within control so that if Government propose to nationalise those industries, Government may not have to pay compensation at a higher rate. Especially in view of the fact that the industrial policy resolution is under revision, there is fear that Government may come forward with a proposal for nationalisation of certain industries, and it is with that view that an attempt is being made to keep the share value at a certain level so that the compensation may not be at a high rate. I do not know; of course, I do not expect that that is the intention. But still I suggest that the new industrial policy resolution may be announced as early as possible.

I wish to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to another very important factor, and that is, the violent fluctuations in the agricultural prices, which we have witnessed during the last four or five years.

We do not want regimentation in social life. But still we expect that in a planned economy, the price fluctuation will not be so violent as we have witnessed during the last four years. Now, the manufactured articles have not shown violent fluctuations; the index numbers of manufactured articles show a variation of not more than 5 per cent. over the last four or five years. But the variation in the prices of agricultural produce

is violent. The index number of rice in June 1956 went up by 10 per cent over that in June 1955, the index number of wheat went up by 51 per cent over the same period, that of cotton 22 per cent and that of groundnut 44 per cent. In June 1955, as compared with 1954, there was a fall in rice by 16 per cent, in wheat by 24 per cent, cotton by 14 per cent and in groundnut by 21 per cent. I need not quote further figures. If you examine the variation in the prices during the previous years, you will find that there is a similar rise and fall every year in the prices in the agricultural sector. This creates lack of confidence among cultivators. I know that Government have a very large scheme for establishment of warehouses and for provision of finance to the cultivators. But I suggest that Government may consider the question of stabilisation of prices is a matter of larger and comprehensive policy so that the price of produce in the agricultural sector should be stable. No doubt, last year the fall in the price of wheat was checked, but still a bolder policy and much bolder action is required.

The economic condition, as propounded by the Finance Minister on the eve of the Second Plan, is more or less one of balance with slight pressure which, if not kept under observation and check, might, in the context of greatly increased rate of further expenditure contemplated hereafter, prove to be inflationary. Now, the Finance Minister has assured us that in his armoury there are a number of measures which he can adopt if the prices show an uncontrollable inflationary pressure. I am sure that he will take the necessary action before the situation becomes uncontrollable.

Deficit financing has been a subject of discussion and criticism in this House and outside. Shri V. B. Gandhi yesterday equated deficit financing with indirect taxation. I do not agree with his theory. Deficit financing may become an indirect taxation only if the prices get beyond control. But I should like to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to one important factor that the public and perhaps most of us, are not aware of the mechanism of deficit financing. The Finance Minister has been kind enough from time to time to announce that he has incurred so many hundred crores of deficit financing. But a new means has come out during the last six months for the public to know

what is the tendency in deficit financing, that is, the money supply statements issued every month by the Reserve Bank of India. The Finance Minister may remember that when he was Governor of the Reserve Bank of India in the war days, 1942, 1943 and 1944, the Reserve Bank statements that were issued every week were of great interest, especially to investors and to the speculators, because they showed how much currency had been added in India against the credit of sterling given to us in London. Similarly, the monthly statement of money supply is serving the same purpose. The money supply in 1952 to 1953 was Rs. 1,784 crores and 55 lakhs. In January, it was Rs. 2,115 crores 91 lakhs, which means an addition of Rs. 331 crores 36 lakhs during the last four years, while the addition to the money supply during the last year was Rs. 265 crores 2 lakhs. Now, this addition of money supply, of course, is of more importance to the public. The Finance Minister has already referred to the fact that simply money supply is not sufficient; the rate at which the money is used is also of importance. I agree. But still these figures are now tending to give a feeling in the mind of the public that we are on the rising side of prices, and we will find that, in spite of the fact that the Food and Agriculture Ministry are releasing wheat and rice in large quantities, prices are not showing any tendency to fall. I am sure the Finance Minister will take into consideration these expectations among the public that the prices are going to rise. And when the general public expects that there will be a rise in prices, it generally happens that the prices also go up. I mention this particularly to draw the attention of the Government to one fact that the resources for the Second Five-Year Plan have got many gaps. For the financing of the schemes, there is a gap of Rs. 800 crores, and I am afraid if the prices persist in rising, we may not be able to utilise the instrument of deficit financing and there may be another gap on account of our inability to finance the schemes by way of deficit financing. The result would be that while we expect that in the next Five-Year Plan there will be a huge effort and endeavour to increase the wealth of the country, on account of these two gaps that may be created, our efforts may not come up to expectation.

1 P.M.

I wish to say a few words regarding the establishment of industries by Gov-

ernment in various States. I do not think that there is any deliberate discrimination but still it happens that some States do not have any industry established by Government. Hyderabad is one of them. The establishment of a fertiliser factory and recently the establishment of a heavy electrical equipment factory was under consideration and from the Budget papers we learn that there is no possibility of the establishment of the fertiliser factory in the Hyderabad State. But, at the same time, we hope that the heavy electrical equipment factory may come to the Hyderabad State where electricity and other amenities for the establishment of a factory are available.

On page 247 of the Explanatory Memorandum, we have got a statement showing the quantum of loans advanced to the States. The total amounts from 1952 up to the end of 1956-57, are given and the amount advanced to the States comes to Rs. 110 crores. I am very glad that large amounts of loans are given to the States for development purposes. The development purposes include, of course, large-scale irrigation, miscellaneous development, grow more food, rehabilitation, industrial housing and so on. As far as irrigation and multi-purpose river schemes are concerned, we know what is happening in the various States. As far as most of the other items are concerned, Parliament has very little information. The purpose of the loan is that the productive capacity of the area should increase and I am sure that with these investments the productive capacity of the areas is increasing. But, we have no knowledge as to what extent it has helped the area in increasing the productive capacity.

The Finance Minister has proposed the appointment of a Committee or a Commission to go into expenditure. I suggest that the Finance Minister may also find some ways and means of finding out what has been the net and effective result of the investments of these funds in the different areas and States and to what extent they have increased the productive capacity and to what extent the revenues of the States have increased so that they may be able to repay the loans and the interests on the loans advanced by the Centre.

Shri C. D. Pande : I am happy to extend my appreciation to the effort that the Finance Minister has made in giving stability to our finances, particularly to our monetary position in the world,

[Shri C. D. Pande]

and that too, particularly after putting Rs. 440 crores as deficit finance. Three years ago when the question of deficit financing was mooted, there were many people who had grave doubts and misgivings as to what would be the result of this deficit financing. But experience has shown that it has had no untoward or harmful effect on our economy. To that extent, we are grateful to the Finance Minister. But, I am sorry I cannot give the same praise to him as far as this present budget is concerned.

Seth Govind Das has paid very glowing tributes to him saying that he is an expert in these matters. He is an expert in the whole world but as far as this Budget is concerned, I do not see any imprint of his genius on it. You have to decide on the estimates on their veracity, their correctness and exactitude. Last year, there was a deficit of Rs. 17 crores and today we find that in the revised estimates it has turned out to be a surplus of Rs. 12 crores. That means there is a difference of Rs. 29 crores in a Budget of almost Rs. 480 crores. This is a wide departure and there is a lack of real budget-making skill in these figures. Anybody could have made a Budget. After all budget-making is not a difficulty. You see the receipts and the items of expenditure and—these days crores have lost their value—a few crores here and a few crores there do not mean much. In these circumstances, to frame a Budget and to say that the Budget is so well framed and that people are very happy is a view which I do not share. The real merit of the Budget lies in seeing and facing what are the problems of the country and seeing how far you have been able to tackle these problems. It is very nice that you have many river-valley projects; it is nice that you have done many good things, you have established the Chittaranjan Factory and the Sindri Fertilizer Factory. But this does not solve the real problem. To my mind, the real problem is the problem of unemployment; the question is how far you have solved that problem. No visible step, no definite step has been taken to tackle the problem of unemployment, particularly the question of the unemployment of the educated classes. It is a sad sight to see young men in their thousands going from door to door to the Members of Parliament as well as to the Minister for employment, to be turned out saying that there are no jobs. Nothing is sadder to me than to see these young men, well

qualified being turned out saying there are no jobs. It is no satisfaction for us to say that we have increased production in the textile mills, that we have increased production in the cement factories, or that we have been able to manufacture 457 miles of cable. This is no satisfaction to them. They want employment; they are well qualified to be employed. The State has a duty to see that they are employed. This is a Welfare State and a Welfare State has to provide jobs even though they are not educated, but much more so if they are educated and capable of working and capable of seeing that your plans go through. Therefore, I do not accept the proposition that this Budget is a Budget which has got all the qualities, as many friends have said.

What are the qualities of this Budget? In the last year's Budget you find that there was a difference of Rs. 29 crores. It is likely that there might be a difference of Rs. 30 crores in this year's Budget also. Therefore, there is no justification for new taxation. If your estimates had been correct there would not have been any necessity to levy new taxes. It is likely that this year also your figures are wrong and that there may be no necessity to impose a tax on non-essential oils, as you say. They may be non-essential oils for you; but they are essential oils for the poor. Can you say that in Bengal mustard oil is not necessary; or can you say that in U.P. mustard oil and rapeseed oil are not necessary? These oils are absolutely necessary because the poor people do not get fat from any other source. You may say that the tax is little; I do not think that it is so. But what is it? It is 10 per cent. Ten per cent. is not very little. Do you want to tax things of such absolute necessity to our lives and yet have a Budget which has got no definiteness, no exactitude, which may be belied by future experience, as it has been belied this year—a deficit of Rs. 17 crores being turned into a surplus of Rs. 12 crores? You have provided for a deficit this year also, but I am sure that because you have no spending capacity, there will be a surplus next year. Therefore, all these taxes, though they may be legal because the House will pass them, are not really called for and they should not have been there in the Finance Bill.

Apart from the fact that Government has failed in tackling the question of unemployment, there are other things also. How far have you solved the

problem of housing in this country? Next to employment, there is the question of housing. In this very city of Delhi, there are men who, if they get a job, do not get a house to live in. If they get a salary of Rs. 120 a month, they pay Rs. 40 or so for just a room to be sub-let by a fellow clerk. Do you know the bitterness in the minds of the people of this very city, of those clerks who are working in your offices? They are not satisfied and there is deep bitterness and resentment in them. I am sorry that being a member of the party in power I share that. I do not blame the Finance Minister alone; the entire Government is responsible for not tackling the problem of employment and housing. There is no mention in the Finance Minister's speech about this to any extent. He is in doubt that there is unemployment. There are registrations in the employment exchanges to the extent of six lakhs. But how far can these figures be relied upon? There is no attempt to say that we are taking these very definite steps to relieve unemployment or to build houses or to give relief to the people. There is no room to say that there may be some unemployment. Then the question is: what definite steps have you taken to relieve unemployment? Have you taken any steps which would hearten the people? But not a single sentence has been added after saying that there may be some unemployment.

The question is about the quantum of money that you have raised for un-called for contingencies, contingencies which may not arise at all. To what extent have you levied taxes? You have levied taxes to the extent of Rs. 35 crores. And the Railway Minister has levied taxes to the extent of Rs. 11 crores. That means a total of about Rs. 46 crores, which may be flea-bite when you consider vast sums of money like Rs. 4,800 crores. But yet in a saturated economy of this country, Rs. 50 crores every year by the Centre, and most likely a few crores by the States and more so by the municipalities and panchayats would total up to about Rs. 200 crores every year. Do you find that there is room for further taxation—after this saturation point has been reached,—room for Rs. 200 crores? Last year we felt there was no room for further taxation. Yet there has been a demand for further taxation. There are many things which you can tax. Cloth, for instance, may be taxed—fine, medium and coarse—and we have no objection to taxing

fine cloth, but we do have objection regarding taxing coarse cloth. We were perhaps apprehending excise duties on sugar, and other things, but that has not come about.

Shri Feroze Gandhi (Pratapgarh Distt.—West cum Rae Bareli Distt.—East): On cigarettes too.

Shri C. D. Pandé: My hon. friend, Shri Feroze Gandhi was afraid lest his cigarettes should be taxed. The question is about the method of realising the taxes. I am not so much concerned about the quantum of the taxation—although that in itself is a very big quantity—as the method of realising the taxes. I am sorry that the method adopted is not worthy of a democracy. The method is that in this Finance Bill you have introduced measures which should have been done by other substantive legislations, as for example, by amending the Income-tax Act. The Finance Bill is not meant for a substantive legislation. It is only meant to legislate on the increase in duty or in the schedule or bring in new taxes, but the amendment of the Income-Tax Act itself is not part of the Finance Bill. I would like the House to see that the Finance Bill does not contain anything beyond what is necessary for raising new taxes. The method of raising those taxes should be by separate legislation. It may be by an amendment of the Income-Tax Act or some other Act. After all, what happens here? The budget is discussed for about six weeks and the Finance Bill will come up for discussion for a period of three days. There will be no Select Committee. Then you will say "Look here, this Bill must go through because Government cannot afford to lose the Finance Bill." In this Finance Bill, you aim at the amendment of the Income-Tax Act *in toto*; you also aim at nullifying the judgments of the courts, and whenever you find difficulty anywhere with any judgment, you introduce suitable measures in the Finance Bill in a sneaking manner. The Finance Bill is not the place for such enactments. There should be a separate legislation. We are prepared to grant all those powers, if they are desirable, by other legislation. But for God's sake do not introduce any harsh measures in the Finance Bill itself.

There is one most harassing measure here. The Finance Minister's officers can, at their sweet will, raid any house, seize documents, without a warrant. But it is necessary to issue a warrant

[Shri C. D. Pande]
for a crime in order to arrest a man, to enter his premises, etc. But here it is not necessary to issue a warrant because the Income-Tax Officer himself is the warrant; he can go and search the most intricate corners of the house to see what jewellery has been concealed there, what books have been concealed there. It is quite possible that the people concerned are tax-evaders and it is quite possible that there is a necessity for such measures, but I say that this is not the place for introducing such measures. There must be some more civilised authority; there must be some efficiency, kindness and human considerations in working out such hard measures. As things are, the Income-Tax Authorities are not known for their consideration and courtesy. If anything, they simply seek occasions to curb the pride of the man who does not bow to them. Therefore, it is all the more necessary that the power given to them should be very mild and only to the extent necessary to make the measure effective.

In regard to the question of re-opening the accounts of past, formerly there was a limit of four years and if four years had elapsed, there was no necessity of re-opening those accounts. How many of us keep our books or accounts more than four or five years, I would like to know. I do not even keep them for a year. Even during war-time, it was only eight years and that was an exceptional measure. But now you have made this period to run to 200 or even 400 years. For instance, after 50 years, your grandson may be asked to produce pass books which you maintained in 1951 or 1952. Therefore, I say that there should be a maximum limit and it should be only four years. And if any exception is necessary, it should be only for a very high sum.

When the figure of Rs. 1,00,000 was announced in this House, it gave the impression—at least I had that impression—that it applied only to the cases of rich people who can afford to keep books for years. But I find it is not so. The language of the Finance Bill in that particular section is “in aggregate, for all the years following up to eight years.” That means nine years. If your income is, say, Rs. 11,000 a year, then nine years of your income may be added up and made into lakh of rupees and your accounts can be re-opened. This is a very harsh thing that I can think of. You must make the position

explicit in the Finance Bill. If it is at all necessary, then say that people whose annual income is more than Rs. 1,00,000 should maintain such accounts for years. After all, how many people get Rs. 1,00,000 as annual income? Very few people in this House have got any sympathy for them.

Shri Feroze Gandhi : Only two.

Shri C. D. Pande : If you include in that category people who get an annual income of about Rs. 10,000 or so, like most of us here, then it will really be a great injustice and it will open the large-scale floodgates of corruption. Much more than that, the Income-tax Authorities will have the power to teach a lesson, and there is a fine word for it in Hindi which some people here do not understand “*आन दो, रगड देंगे*”

If that is the mentality, for God's sake, be careful in these things. Then there is the question of principle. The principle of quantum is there; the method is there. The quantum may be excused but the method should be improved.

Shri Gidwani (Thana) : Since we require about Rs. 5,000 crores for the Second Plan, it is very essential that we should be vigilant about the money we spend. I would refer to the remarks of the Taxation Enquiry Commission in this regard. They say :

“Public expenditure in India has been moving increasingly towards beneficent expenditure but it could not be said with certainty that it is also moving towards economy and efficiency.”

Ours is a poor country and every pie that we collect from tax should be utilised for the good of the people and not wasted. In this connection, I wish to give some examples from the last few years' reports of the Public Accounts Committee. The Audit Report of the Defence Services for the year 1955 has been given to us recently and it is seen from that, that in one particular case a sum of nearly Rs. 7 crores was spent in buying motor vehicles which were found to be surplus. In another case a particular department was saddled with items of obsolete stores valued at over Rs. 25 lakhs on account of some failure to specify clearly what was wanted to meet the indent. This is not the first instance.

Para. 9 of the Audit Report of the Defence Services for the year 1954 shows certain things. An order for the supply of a tanker was placed with a firm in Rome at a price of 1,025,000 dollars by the Indian Mission in Rome whereas a firm offer of one million dollars for the same tanker had been received by the London Mission from a firm of brokers of very high repute, resulting in extra payment of 25,000 dollars by Government for the same tanker. This extra payment would have been avoided if the purchase had been made through the agency of India Stores Department, London. Again, in the Audit Report (Civil) for the year 1951, it is mentioned that the Government suffered a loss of Rs. 55 lakhs on the import and sale of Japanese cloth. In para. 4 of the Fifteenth Report of the Public Accounts Committee, we find a case where some of the officers stationed in an Indian Mission abroad including the head of that mission indulged in illegal currency operations over a period of years and gave false certificates on the strength of which they drew exchange compensation allowance to which they were not otherwise entitled. Para. 61 of the same Report deals with another such case. In this case the High Commissioner in UK had been authorised to negotiate the acquisition of a lease of a site for additional office accommodation near India House. The High Commissioner paid £17,000 being ten per cent. of the purchase money to a solicitor who had become a director of a property company on July 11, 1950. This money was forfeited by the lessee as the contract could not be finalised in time by the solicitor. In chapter V of their Ninth Report, they point out that in their contract for purchase of jeeps in UK and two other contracts for purchase of Defence stores in UK, Government employed intermediaries without any justification which resulted in huge financial loss to the State. Para. 24 (g) of the Audit Report (Civil) 1951 disclosed a loss of Rs. 17,64,335 to Government due to non-enforcement of the terms of the contract for the sale of US tubes of 1,70,000 tyres and 1,20,000 tubules of different sizes lying at Calcutta and Assam, entered into with Messrs. Vijay Corporation, Calcutta.

The Audit Report (Defence Services) 1955 reveals that in eleven cases payment of double claims for travelling allowance to certain Air Force Officers was made between November 1954 and

May 1955. In all these cases, the officers concerned had certified that they had not preferred claims for the same journey. Paras. 17 and 18 indicate over-provisioning and over-indenting of stores involving considerable expenditure over a period of years. This not only results in money being locked up but also entails expenditure on storage and maintenance of the surplus equipments. These also result in the stores becoming obsolete and in losses due to pilferage and wear and tear. This sort of expenditure which is infructuous could be avoided by proper planning.

I have given you all these examples. Yesterday I got the latest issue of *Vigil* which is dated the 10th March 1956. It is said there that a particular officer, Mr. P. S. Rao, Chairman of the DVC has been appointed to reduce the expenditure on the DVC. What has happened? He took a trip to Kashmir, Puri, Waltair, Mysore and Madras and got refreshed! The Chairman of the DVC toured round India while work in the DVC was on its last phase. A close scrutiny into his TA Bills would reveal an expenditure of Rs. 98,000 in one year—that is what is reported here. Another subordinate has spent Rs. 88,000 in travelling allowance in one year.

These are only a few examples of how money is being wasted in many cases. We are not taxing poor people so that the money may be wasted.

Shri C. D. Pande a few minutes ago said that we would recover only a few crores of rupees by new taxes. The tax on non-essential oils is being opposed and we are being flooded from various parts of the country with representations from soap merchants that the price of soap which is being used by the poor people will rise. I am not an expert in these figures. But why should we go on taxing poor people when crores of rupees are wasted like this?

I was a member of the Public Accounts Committee for one year. We had examined officers, Secretaries, Heads of Departments etc. We had heard all of them. All these Reports do not come from bazar. Our Auditor-General who draws a good salary is an efficient officer and he examines these accounts. After his report, the matter comes to us. You can see how money is being wasted. Therefore, I was suggesting that we should be very economical and very vigilant.

[Shri Gidwani]

After all Finance Ministry is the key Ministry; it is the mother of all ministries.

An Hon. Member: There are many children now.

Shri Gidwani: It should keep its eyes all over. I know its representative is attached to each Ministry. Even so, why should these things happen? When the representatives of the Ministries come before the PAC, we are told that the officer who was responsible for such losses had retired or had expired. So, things remain as they were. I do not want to be very critical but if you ask anybody in the House or outside whether efficiency has increased and whether we are economical in our expenditure I believe everybody in his heart of hearts knows that things are not as they should be; things are not improving. Therefore, it is very essential that the remarks of a Commission composed of such eminent persons should be given due weight and we should adopt all possible methods to see that our money is not wasted and the officers who misbehave should be punished. Every pie should be utilised for the good of the people.

We have also provided to get some money by small savings scheme. Yesterday, my friend Shri S. K. Patil was very eloquent about it. He suggested that we should create public opinion and enthusiasm for collection of this amount. He suggested the appointment of a new Minister in that connection. I am sorry to say that I do not agree with his suggestion. Things do not improve with the addition or multiplication of Ministers. We have already four persons—three Ministers and one Deputy Minister—in the Finance Ministry and we have a young man, Shri B. R. Bhagat, who is sitting here. He can deal with the problem and he can be assigned that portfolio if need be. It is not necessary to increase our expenditure on that account. One Member has said, if we have more work we need more Ministers. I am of opinion that we should not go on adding to the number of Ministers because some new work has to be done. We should give sufficient work to the Ministers so that they may be busy. I do not say anything more. Some Ministers are not able to cope with the work, some Ministers have not sufficient work. Those who do not have sufficient work may be given extra work, but it is not necessary to increase the number of Ministers.

Now, we have grown into a habit of holding conferences at hill stations. I claim to be one of the humblest workers from 1907 up to the quit India movement. Our greatest grievance or complaint against the Britishers was that they used to move to the hill stations during the summer season, and we used to say in our popular language that if those *gora* sahibs could not stay in India on plains because their faces would be blackened, owing to the heat of summer that they should go back to their own country. But what about our black sahibs now? Of course, we generally do not move to hill stations, but all our conferences are being now held on hill stations like Bangalore, Shillong or Srinagar in Kashmir. We are spending so much money on these conferences. Yesterday, I put a question to Shri Karmarkar about this matter and he replied to say that a large number of officers were not sent to Bangalore conference. I put that question because a paper like the *Times of India* had criticised that a large number of officers had gone there. Of course, Bangalore has a salubrious climate and it is probably more to enjoy the climate than to do work that conferences are held in such places. It may or may not be so.

श्री कामत : आराम हराम है ।

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Karmarkar): I found a lot of mosquitoes in Bangalore.

Shri Kamath: But Mosquito nets were also there.

Shri Gidwani: So, I request the Government to be very careful in spending money. We could hold our conferences in Delhi. After all, when today we have the air-conditioning arrangements, where is the necessity of all these conferences to be held outside our headquarters? If you continue this practice, others also will follow that example.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Gurgaon): Many of them go outside India.

Shri Gidwani: Yes; there are a number of delegations going every year out of India. People say that now that we wish to develop cultural contacts all over the world, we should have more and more of delegations visiting foreign countries. If it is necessary, some people may go, but sometimes we send a large number. That way also, much money is wasted, and it could be avoided. What I mean to say is money should

be saved. Our country is poor. We cannot afford to have all those luxuries. About a year back, I asked about the construction of a stable for the elephant which was given to the President of India as a gift. Our Prime Minister told me that Shri Gidwani knows that even in socialist countries pageantry and pomp are maintained. It may be, but socialist countries do not swear by Gandhiji. They do not go to Rajhat. They do not believe in spinning. They do not believe in prohibition. They do not believe in khadi. Their standards and their ideologies are entirely different from those of our country. I am prepared to say that some kind of pomp is necessary. But, after all, we must look to the poverty of our country. We are not able to provide the bare necessities of life to them about which many Members have spoken.

I would like to make one suggestion. We are trying to introduce many beneficent measures. We have now the National Extension Service and the Community Projects. We are also progressing in other directions. But I want to suggest one thing, and I do not know whether it will be considered perfectly relevant. I would suggest that if we cannot now provide a square meal to every citizen of India, if we cannot provide a house for every citizen of India, if we cannot provide medicine to every sick person in India, let us at least provide pure drinking water to every citizen of India. For that purpose, may I suggest to Government to appoint a small committee consisting of people who are really keen about it?

Shri Kamath : And also competent.

Shri Gidwani : Yes; those members must be competent and also very enthusiastic about it. That committee should survey the whole problem. Of course, it is a State subject. I know it. But an All-India Committee could survey the conditions in the entire country and submit a scheme wherein at least within half a mile of a village, provision for a well or a tank or some amenity for drinking water should be made. It may cost some amount, but it is a very essential need. You know there are many places in India where particularly in the summer season, only muddy water is available, and that muddy water would also be some miles away from the village. Pure drinking water is a very essential need, and if after eight years of Swaraj, we have not provided even that small

necessity, then, we will not be able to say that we have created the glow of freedom among the people of our country. Therefore, I suggest that we should do some thing in that direction immediately. It may cost us some money, and it may be an expensive scheme in places where there is difficulty in procuring water, but it is a very essential need. I would ask the Government to take in the suggestion of mine and see if it is possible to implement it as early as possible.

With these words, I congratulate the Finance Minister. Though he was an employee of the old type—an I.C.S. officer,—he has adjusted himself to the new surroundings and environments. Greater attention to the needs of the poor must be paid. We have made certain suggestions about the new taxes, and I hope he would give consideration to them and if it is possible, he would make certain changes which may prove beneficial to the people.

Shri Bansal (Jhajjar-Rewari) : There have been references in the past years, on this occasion, to the possibility of improving the presentation of the budgetary accounts. I am glad that in this year's Explanatory Memorandum, much more detailed information is supplied than in the previous year's Memorandum, and this is bound to add to our clear understanding of the various provisions in the budget. However, I have one or two small suggestions to make in regard to this matter. One suggestion is this. Wherever there appear statements giving figures in the memorandum, these should be given for the previous year, since the actuals for that year, the budgeted and revised budget figures and then the budgeted figure for the coming year. I find that there are a large number of tables where the actuals for the previous year are not given. I would, therefore, humbly suggest to the Finance Minister that from the next year, the actuals of the previous year should also be given for all items so that we may have a clearer picture as to whether the amount budgeted for has been actually used or not. The importance of this aspect becomes more pressing, because, when I make a reference to the capital budget showing the expenditure on industrial projects, I find that there is no mention of the actuals. I find that the actuals are much less than those shown in the revised estimates. Therefore, it will give us a clearer and more accurate picture if actuals are given wherever the figures for

[Shri Bansal]

the budget estimates for the previous year are given in the Explanatory Memorandum.

Again, I find that in the case of the long table where the capital disbursements are mentioned, the actual figures for the previous year also have been mentioned, but there is another table of disbursements for industrial projects— at page 77—where the actuals for the previous year are not given. I would suggest that this should be mentioned here. In the budget which appears at page 57, in making provision for development expenditure, figures are given only for the forthcoming year. I mentioned this point even last year; I do not see what difficulty there is in bringing this table also in conformity with other tables in this Explanatory Memorandum. If these changes are made, our understanding of the Budget will become more clear.

There is one small point: at page 73, the heading is "Capital Disbursements" and there is one item "New capital at Delhi". The expenditure for the current year is shown at 686 lakhs of rupees and for the coming year it will be Rs. 10 crores. I want to know what "New capital at Delhi" means. I thought the capital at Delhi has been existing for a long number of years. I would like to know if this is a hangover from the past or there is some new significance in this word.

I now come to the items of expenditure under the heading "Industrial Projects". Yesterday Shri Somani stated that in this sector Government has actually invested up to about 60 per cent. of the amount originally planned. I have gone into the figures and I find that investments by the Government over those projects which were included in the first Five Year Plan are even lower. The total expenditure envisaged in the latest estimate for the five-year period was about Rs. 84 crores. If my figures are correct, I find that investment has been made only to the extent of Rs. 37 crores. What is more, I see from the revised estimates for the current year that in most cases the expenditure even during the last year of the Plan has fallen short of what we budgeted last year. The expenditure has fallen short particularly in the case of the Hindustan Steel where the expenditure has been less by Rs. 5 crores; in the case of the Hindustan Shipyard it was less by Rs. 20 lakhs; in the case of the

National Instrument Factory it was less by about Rs. 18 lakhs, in the case of the Hindustan Cables it was less by Rs. 4 lakhs and in the case of the heavy electrical equipment project, it was less by about Rs. 13 lakhs.

I would have been very happy if the reductions in expenditure I have mentioned above were on account of economy in expenditure. Unfortunately, it is not so. These reductions are due to the fact that Government have not been able to utilise the amounts which have been budgeted. It might be said that Government are new entrants in the field of industry and therefore, they do not have much experience and that is the reason for the expenditure falling short. If that were the situation, perhaps I would not complain much. But when I refer to the expenditure on revenue account, I find that in item after item, the expenditure has been falling short of the budgeted amount. What is more, the reasons given here do not auger well for our next Five Year Plan.

I will give you the types of reason that are given. Under the Ministry of Defence, the saving this year is due mainly to certain posts remaining vacant. In the Ministry of Education, the saving is due to the non-establishment of the UNESCO Co-operation office during the year. The decrease in the revised estimates mainly due to less grants for non-university institutions for development of scientific and technical research is about Rs. 40 lakhs. Under tribal areas, the saving this year is mainly due to less expenditure on economic development programmes. Under education again, the decrease in the current year is mainly due to less grants for basic, secondary and social education. Under the State of Pondicherry, again, the saving this year has been due to the lesser expenditure on development programmes. Under the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, the decrease in revised estimates, is mainly under fisheries due to certain posts remaining vacant. I do not want to tire the House by going through this entire gamut of reasons given here, but two or three principles emerge out of it. Even though the Parliament has sanctioned certain amounts for the creation of new posts, we are not able to fill up those posts. My friend, Shri C. D. Pande, was referring to the unemployment problem. Here is a case where the Parliament asked the Government to spend money and yet we cannot spend because we cannot recruit the

personnel. It might be said that the requisite type of personnel is not available. This is a question on which perhaps there can be two opinions. I find that the machinery for recruitment is so tardy that recruitment is not being made, even though the requisite type of persons are available.

The second argument is that the machinery for the various types of works that were to be undertaken under the Plan has not been available either from the T.C.M. or some other foreign countries. Here again I want to know why we provide in our Budget for those expenditures which we know we will not be able to meet. Some unkind critic may say, that knowing well that we will not be able to achieve those particular objects, we inflate our expenditure and year after year come before Parliament with one excuse or the other for more money and yet we cannot use it.

The third argument which is given here is that in some cases, the expenditure has not been incurred because the matching grants from the State Government concerned have not been forthcoming. These are the three arguments that are given. According to me, the fourth argument—the biggest argument—is, that the machinery for financial control even now remains very cumbersome. About two years ago, we heard of the Chanda Report. I do not know what has happened to that famous report and what action has been taken on it. I have waded through this Explanatory Memorandum and I have come across only one small item under the Food Ministry where it is mentioned that the increase in the revised estimates is mainly due to the expansion of the secretariat to cope with the heavy increase in work arising from the introduction of a scheme of internal financial control. Here is a very peculiar situation. We want to have internal financial control for the various Ministries to see that there is no serious bottleneck in the handling of the finances which are sanctioned by Parliament, so that the schemes progress rapidly. But, if that recommendation is implemented, then the expenses increase. I have been feeling that these methods of better internal financial control will lead not only to efficiency and expedition, but also some economy. At least there must be an equal decrease in the expenditure in the Finance Ministry if the same officers who were working there are now transferred to the Food Ministry for carrying out the internal financial check.

About the matching grants also, I want to say something from personal experience. I was attending a meeting of the Small-scale Industries Board in Indore and a very sorry tale emerged there. Government had sanctioned about Rs. 3 crores—both the State Government and the Central Government—for giving loans and advances for the small-scale industries, during the period under review. Out of the Rs. 3 crores, only Rs. 88 lakhs were actually disbursed. It means that less than 30 per cent. was disbursed. Then in another, case a sum was allotted for setting up institutes for small-scale industries. You will be surprised to know that over two-three years period though sums were allotted the total expenditure was just 8 per cent. And this 8 per cent. was also accounted for because one State itself spent about 31 per cent. Otherwise, the figures for other States will be 0 per cent. For 3 per cent. or 5 per cent. Now this is the type of our administrative machinery. I do not know what we are to expect from the next Five Year Plan if we do not improve our financial and administrative machinery. I lay the greatest emphasis on this because when we sit in Parliament and go to the tax-payer and ask him to bear greater burden, the items which are most beneficial to him and on which we must spend are not implemented. I think this is a thing which the House cannot countenance any longer and the sooner we do something about this the better. What are we doing? What steps are we taking? We find that we cannot recruit. Then we find that the money could not be spent even on the technical training institutes. We find that whenever we want machinery it is not available. Whenever we want cement or steel for putting up various institutes or institutions they are not available.

That leads me to this question as to whether the Finance Minister has given adequate thought as to what is going to happen to these shortages which we are developing in our economy. Now steel is in short supply. I understand from a reliable source that our requirement of steel, which used to be of the order of two million tons, has already reached a colossal figure of about 9 lakh tons per quarter, which means about 3.6 million tons per year. And that figure can easily go, you can take it from me, to 5 million tons by the end of the Plan period. In fact, we may need 5 million tons even earlier. The same thing is happening with regard to cement. In these two

[Shri Bansal] things I hope the Government are doing their best to see that production is allowed to develop. These industries are however of such a nature that you cannot double the production overnight.

But more than that what worries me is the progress on the front of the small-scale industry and on the front of a number of consumer goods industries, which we can produce almost overnight. My friend, Mr. Asoka Mehta, yesterday referred to the shortages which are developing and he thought that a sort of inventory inflation is already developing in our country. Now although I do not agree with him that inventory inflation is already developing in our country, I am one of those who believe that unless we do something, unless we sit up and take the situation of the shortages by the horn so to say, we will be faced with an inflationary situation in the very near future. And what remedies are we adopting?

In my view, the inflationary impact, if at all it is going to be felt, will be on three commodities—foodstuffs, cloth and building materials. About foodstuffs I think all that can be done humanly is being done. A lot of money is being invested in river valley projects and a lot of money is also being spent on small projects. But I would like to know what are we doing about cloth. We have put a ceiling there. Now I am not against Amber Charka. I am not against charka.

Shri Karmarkar : Not at all!

Shri Bansal : Is the Commerce Minister making the remark in a sarcastic fashion?

Shri Karmarkar : Not at all.

Shri Bansal : I will give encouragement to Amber Charka. Let them produce all the yarn that Amber Charka can produce. I also want the Commerce and Industry Minister to make an unambiguous declaration here that he will see that all the yarn that is produced by the Amber Charka is sold at a reasonable price or at whatever price it can be sold. The House will be willing, I am sure, to sanction an adequate amount of subsidy. But simply because we are having Amber Charka, for God's sake let there be no stoppage of production in the sector where we can produce and where we can have some excess capacity. We are today afraid of generating excess capacity in our economy. But I

may tell you Sir, that I am making a very authoritative statement when I say that generating excess capacity in our consumer goods sector is the only way of cushioning inflation whenever it is likely to occur. I have another suggestion to make. Whenever we give new capacity for spindlage and loomage, we should make a condition that for the time being we will allow only one shift and as and when shortages develop we will, perhaps, allow a second or third shift.

Then I would like to bring to the notice of the Finance Minister another thing. The export of our cotton textiles is showing signs of going down. I am told, in the last month it has gone down considerably. The reason is that the prices within the country are so economical that the manufacturer finds that he can sell the entire product in the country without any difficulty. In fact an industrialist has told me that today he can put any cotton at one end of his mill and produce any cloth and he can sell it in the market. This is the position of the textile industry today and if our Plan is conceived in a way that we cannot meet the reasonable demand of our people in the matter of a commodity like cloth, then I think we have wasted our first Five Year Plan period and we are well on the way of wasting our second Five Year Plan period. Therefore I say unequivocally that we should give all the encouragement to Amber Charka and make any scheme whereby the handlooms or the Government on their behalf will purchase the entire quantity. Of course, it has to be of the requisite quality and I am sure the experiments which are going on will improve the charka in such a way that yarn of adequate quality will be produced.

I am one of those who believe that in our economy there is scope for production in both the fields. One word more and I will be done. One material which is required for our villagers and for which they spend next after cloth is building materials. Whenever they save any money here and there they try to build a small house. Of course, we should allow the cement capacity to increase. But there is one bottle-neck there in the case of building material and that is the transport of inferior varieties of coal for brick kilns. I think the highest priority should be given to more coal from the collieries so that our villagers, whenever they save any money, are able to invest it on their small houses.

I am not referring to the financial proposals in the budget because there will be an occasion when the Finance Bill is being discussed. But only one word more I have to say in this respect and that is: apart from what the Finance Minister has said, I find there are a large number of other proposals in the Finance Bill. I do not think it is fair to bring in the Finance Bill certain other measures without mentioning them in the House in the budget speech. I say that particularly because if you read the Finance Bill and those particular provisions you will find that they are so complicated that even I have not been able to follow as to what their implications are. I hope the Finance Minister will in the future try to see that whatever he is going to put in the Finance Bill or in the Resolution, he speaks about it in his budget speech.

Shri Dasaratha Deb (Tripura East): Mr. Chairman, I want to speak about the Part C States only. The Finance Minister has increased the amount of money for the Part C States in his budget proposals. In the case of Manipur the increase is up to about 40 per cent. and in the case of Tripura also it is about 48 per cent. I am happy about that. But, at the same time, I want to make it clear that the mere increase of money will not be much beneficial for the people of this State. We want to know how this money will be spent and through what type of machinery all the schemes will be executed. It depends largely on this fact.

2 P.M.

In regard to Tripura I want to point out that up to now not a single administrative reform has been introduced in that State in spite of the strong desire of the people to have a democratic set up of administration and in spite of the strong opposition against the retention of the Chief Commissioner and his advisers' rule, the Government of India have been retaining this sort of administration in both the States. This is opposed by the people. Nobody in either of these States wants to have this type of administrative system. In fact, they are the worst sufferers of this rule.

Now our Government is aspiring to build up a socialist pattern of society and in that society people naturally expect to improve their conditions. But without people's participation in the administration, no development scheme can be worked out successfully. Neither in

Tripura nor in Manipur is there any scope for the people to participate in the administration, because there is not a single democratic institution in either. Therefore, I would request the Finance Minister to allot money to be spent in these States. But if you want to spend this money properly, he should convince the Cabinet to introduce a change in the administration there. Through the bureaucratic machinery at present working there nothing can be done.

In regard to development programmes and also in regard to community projects, the people of Tripura have offered many times to associate in them; but the Government there are so adamant that they do not care for the people's co-operation, nor do they want to hear their suggestions.

Then again there are heaps of complaints against the income-tax officers from the Nikhel Tripura Merchants Association. Here is a complaint:

"Serious allegations are often made against some Income-Tax Officers and such allegations are generally of the following nature:—

- (1) Corruption,
- (2) collusion with pleaders who act as agents of these officers for the fixation and realisation of the amounts of illegal gratification, and
- (3) rudeness and harassment."

These were brought to the notice of the Commissioner of Income-tax, Shri V. N. Hoon, the then Commissioner of Income-tax (Central) Assam, Tripura and Manipur Circle, and the Minister-in-Charge also, but nothing has been done. There is considerable apprehension among the business community that their business would be hampered. During the first Five Year Plan period there has been no administrative council in Tripura State. In spite of people's desire not a single administrative reform has been introduced. The Home Minister has given repeated assurances, but nothing has been done.

The fundamental problem of the peasants, who naturally from the majority in the States, is the land reform; but it has not been touched. The outmoded tenancy Act of the Maharaja's days has not been amended and the most repressive forest laws continue as they were. It is a pity that two years

[Shri Dasaratha Deb]

back the only elected Agartala municipality was taken over by the Government and the committee was dissolved. Instead the administrator's rule was imposed upon it.

The civil liberties of the people are restricted and crippled. The House will be surprised to hear that without the prior sanction of the magistrate the use of mike and the use of loudspeaker are strictly prohibited. In the matter of development programmes, we can say that there is some improvement in transport and communication system, but that even is not commensurate with the money spent under this head. In fact crores of rupees were spent over the construction of the Assam-Agartala Road, but yet this is not an all-weather motorable road.

As regards irrigation, it is very essential to undertake small irrigation works. Tripura is populated mostly by the peasantry and this peasantry use very primitive agricultural instruments. The condition of the peasantry has deteriorated during the last two or three years, mainly due to the fall in the price of agricultural products. There has been a regular demand from the people of Tripura to start small irrigation works. Some amount was sanctioned to make a survey and to start these works, but up to date nothing has been done in Tripura State. For a long time the people have been demanding that minor irrigation works should be started and land reclaimed and distributed among the landless refugees and peasants. But this has not been done by the Government. Many a time Government have given us an assurance that land in Sukhsagar, Rajnagar and Hurijala and certain other places would be reclaimed, but this work also has not been undertaken yet. Every year due to floods a large part of the crops is damaged and the people suffer much. There is great necessity to undertake construction of embankments on the rivers in many places to protect the crops, but this task has not been done.

As regard the community project areas, you will be surprised that for the last two years nothing has been done there. In the beginning some tube wells were constructed, and some schools started by the community projects administration, but many of them were left undone, or half-done and almost all the tube wells were out of order. Most of them have been under con-

stant repair. In the project areas the administration did not care to have the people's co-operation. On the other hand the co-operation offered by the people was rejected. The roads are constructed by the professional contractors, instead of being given to the co-operatives. The professional contractor knows the art of pleasing the officers and obtaining contracts. Generally, there is a tendency on the part of the contractor to get more money for doing less work. And the quality of work is far inferior to the need of the situation. So all this corruption should be fought out. Otherwise, if you do not change the attitude of this administration and if you do not reform this administrative system, then whatever amount of money you may allot here, that money will not be properly spent, and actually the people will not be benefited by this increased amount.

As regards displaced persons I want to say a few words, because practically no rehabilitation was done. Most unscientifically and most inhumanly this problem has been dealt with in Tripura State, and there are heaps of corruption, nepotism and bureaucracy. You will be surprised to hear when I give you some instances of how corruption has been operating in Tripura State.

One instance is that in Kailasahar Division two persons had applied for agricultural loan, and the loan was granted for those two people. But unfortunately these two men died before the notice was served to them. But ultimately it was found in the records that the money had already been disbursed in their names. The matter was brought before the court, and it was suspected that the Supervisor of the colony and some Congress worker of the locality were involved in this. And the case is now pending.

There is another case. One Malati Das and Ganga Manik...

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Members cannot mention the facts about cases pending before a court.

Shri Dasaratha Deb: It is a corruption case.

Mr. Chairman: Whatever it is, when it is *sub judice* it is prohibited. He cannot give the facts here.

Shri Dasaratha Deb: These two persons are not the settlers of Nehal Chandra Nagar colony. Neither was any plot of land allotted to them nor did they

bring any plot of land under cultivation. But the very surprising fact was that jungle cutting loan was given to them.

There is another case, that of Ashabandhu Adhikari of Nehal Chandra Nagar colony. Last year some amount of money was granted to give aid to the refugees who had lost their houses due to the heavy storm. This Ashabandhu Adhikari was given aid to repair his damaged house, though he suffered no damages. But there are so many refugees who had actually suffered, whose houses were broken, but these people did not get any loan from Government. These things are going on.

Now I come to the question of the Tribal people. These Tribal people find it extremely difficult to get government aid. Their educational problems, land problems and all these problems were not properly attended to by the local authority. Last year about Rs. 7 lakhs were sanctioned for the rehabilitation of the Tribal people, but the amount was not spent fully. I say this because I know these people, and the authorities were so callous that they did not take any interest to rehabilitate these Tribal people. Thousands of petitions have been submitted to the Government of Tripura, but only three or four hundred families were rehabilitated up to now.

There is also another difficulty, because there is only one office at Agartala and the people cannot submit their petitions in their own locality. It is very difficult for them to come to Agartala and submit their petitions for *jhoomia* rehabilitation. I want the Government to change this position and to establish offices at various places for accepting petitions in regard to *jhoomia* rehabilitation and also to arrange for their rehabilitation in every division of Tripura State.

There is another point which I wish to point out as to how the existing administration of Tripura is callous and also disinterested towards even the problems of the lower paid employees. Because, in the Centre there was a provision to give them housing loans. I asked questions about this in this House several times, and the Minister replied to me that they did not receive any specific scheme from the Government of Tripura and so the question of giving this housing loan to the lower paid employees in Tripura State did not arise. That was the answer. If that is so, I

must say that this is not the fault of the lower paid employees, but it was due to the fault of the authority that these people have to suffer so much.

So I want to suggest the adoption of certain measures immediately. I want to make some suggestions which, I think, should be given proper consideration and proper thought. In the field of administration I want to suggest that, firstly, a democratic set-up of administration should be set up immediately in Tripura and Manipur States. Secondly, the Chief Commissioner and his Advisers' rule must be eliminated in both the States, because without eliminating this autocratic system of administration you cannot have the people's co-operation because people could not participate fully. Thirdly, both Tripura and Manipur must be kept separate without being merged in Assam. Fourthly, the management of the Agartala Municipality must be handed over to the elected body, and there should be no further imposition of the Administrator's rule over the Municipality of Agartala. Fifthly, elected panchayats with adequate capacity to function must be introduced in Tripura immediately. Sixthly, a separate Tribal Welfare Department, with adequate power, including power to provide lands to the Tribals, must be established. And if you do not separate this Tribal Welfare Department from the other portfolios, then you cannot speed up the Tribal rehabilitation work in Tripura State. Seventhly, an Advisory Committee with supervising powers must be formed to expedite the works of the Community Project and National Extension Bloc, and this body must be elected by the people. It must not be nominated by the bureaucratic officers. Then, in the field of agriculture....

Mr. Chairman : The hon. Member has already taken twenty minutes. I think he has concluded.

Shri Dasaratha Deb : I will finish within one minute. In the field of agriculture, a Branch of the Rural Credit Bank must be established in Tripura. Agricultural loan must be given to the agriculturists at a lower rate of interest, thereby gradually eliminating the exploitation of the money-lender. Secondly, to enable the peasants to get reasonable prices for agricultural products, warehouses must be established in every *Maujas* or areas, and money should be supplied in advance to the producers.

[Shri Dasaratha Deb]

against the crops deposited in the warehouse. Thirdly, multi-purpose co-operatives must be encouraged, and adequate money should be provided. Fourthly, the outmoded Tenancy Act of Tripura must be amended. Fifthly, the forest Act must be reformed.

As regards the Tribal people, area or areas of *Khas* land in Tripura predominantly inhabited by the Tribal people should be reserved for the rehabilitation of the Tribal people. No non-tribal people, either refugees or non-refugees, should be rehabilitated in such reserved area or areas. Secondly, for *jhoomia* rehabilitation Rs. 500 grant-in-aid per family is a very insignificant amount to cover the preliminary necessary expenditure such as reclamation of jungle land, purchase of agricultural implements, better housing and purchase of food for at least six months in the first year. Thirdly, in government services, seats must be reserved for Tribals. The number of reserved seats must not be less than the percentage of the Tribal population. Fourthly, in view of the fact that the Tribals are living in the forest infested by wild animals like tigers, elephants, etc., they must be given licence to bear arms for the protection and security of life and property. Fifthly, in dealing with the problem of the Tribal people, and before finalising any plan for the development works for the Tribal areas, prior consultation with the different Tribal groups must be made. As regards refugee rehabilitation, I want to suggest that loans should be increased at least up to the West Bengal level. Agricultural loans should be given in time in the ploughing season. Land must be allotted properly to each agricultural family. Refugees should not be settled in any disputed land so that they may not get into trouble in future. To speed up rehabilitation works, it is advisable, I think it is proper, that the Government should take the co-operation of all the refugee organisations. I request the Government to consider all these suggestions which have been made by me here.

Shri Ramananda Das : Important discussions are going on here. Neither the Ministers nor the Deputy Ministers are represented here to note down the trend of discussions and the important points of different Ministries.

Mr. Chairman : Some of the Deputy Ministers are here.

Shri Ramananda Das : Most of them are not present.

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shri Anil K. Chanda) : We are taking down necessary notes.

The Deputy Minister of Finance (Shri B. R. Bhagat) : I have taken notes.

Shri Ramananda Das : What about the other departments ?

I am glad that the Government has nationalised the Imperial Bank and insurance business in this country. But, I feel that the Government should do something more for the improvement of the general masses. Nationalisation of banks and insurance is not enough. We should nationalise all the big key and basic industries in the country.

I am sorry that the Minister for Finance has come forward with some taxation proposals which directly affect the general public : the taxes on cloth, soap and vegetable oils. These taxes hit the poor people in particular. I appeal to the Minister to abolish these taxes. Of course, Government needs money, and so taxes are levied. But, the Government can raise more money by tapping the untapped resources of the country. I find that 50 per cent. of the businessmen throughout the country evade the income-tax. Some of them do not pay the tax at all. In Calcutta we find that there are more than 1,000 Chinese businessmen doing a very lucrative business. They do not pay any tax. There are Muslims from Pakistan doing good business in leather, hides, etc. They do not pay any tax. The Muslims keep their accounts in Urdu and the Chinese keep their accounts in the Chinese language. No officers could read them and so they are not taxed. The marwari businessmen keep accounts in their own dialect which the officers cannot read. They are evading payment of tax. If you enforce the taxation laws strictly, you can raise Rs. 200 crores more as income-tax and there will be no need for further taxation. Government should raise money by enforcing the Income-tax law and abolish the taxes on cloth, soap and vegetable oils, which are highly objectionable.

Government have done nothing to solve the unemployment problem. We find so many crores of rupees spent in so many departments, but the unemployment is rising day by day. Under the First Five Year Plan, we solved the unemployment problem to a small extent. Population is increasing and so unemployment is also increasing day by

day. There has been an appeal for family planning. That has been a failure due to the inefficiency of the Health Ministry. Because the Health Ministers are themselves unhealthy, and they are not able to see to the health and efficiency of the whole country. I appeal to the Government to solve the unemployment problem. This problem cannot be solved unless and until you revive cottage industries and village industries. These cottage industries and village industries are on the verge of extinction, because they are not able to compete with the big industries in the country. Of course, Government have done something to revive khadi and handloom industries, by giving them protection by taxing the mills and subsidising these industries, with that money. So far as other cottage industries are concerned, Government have done practically nothing. The sums allotted to these village industries have lapsed. There are so many cottage industries, leather industry, shoe making, durree making, basket making, etc. They are practically dying as they are not able to stand competition in the market with the mill products. I appeal to the Government to revive these industries by granting subsidies and loans and marketing facilities.

The next point to which I wish to draw the attention of the Government is that the general masses of the people are very poor. We have abolished the zamindari system, but the land has not gone to the tiller of the soil. The land has gone to big agriculturists. The poor people, who are landless labourers, who work in agriculture on a sharing basis, have been ousted and they have practically become slaves of the agriculturists. I appeal to the Government to bring forward legislation to nationalise land and distribute it to the tillers of the soil. Unless you do this, you cannot solve the unemployment of the villagers. Villages are becoming depopulated and people are coming to the towns. Towns are being over-populated. They are not able to find employment. Some time back Shri C. D. Pande gave a vivid picture of the unemployment problem. It is the duty of the Government to solve the unemployment problem, which is the acute problem of the day.

Rural housing in this country is in a very bad condition. Government have set apart huge sums of money for advance to the State Governments for housing. But, the State Governments have not come forward to utilise this

money. So, most of the money lapses. In Delhi you raise six-storeyed buildings in the Queensway for hotels, restaurants and big offices. What about houses of the general masses in the suburbs of the capital? You see 4 lakhs of workers, who work in buildings in Delhi, they have no houses to live in; they live in the foot-path. I demand that the Government should build 50,000 one-room tenements for these people and make Delhi an ideal city in the country. So many delegations are coming. You are only showing New Delhi and the fine few big buildings. What about the suburbs of the capital? If this is the condition in the capital, you can imagine the conditions in the countryside. I appeal to the Government to set apart more money and take more initiative and do something constructive for the rural and poor people's housing improvement.

Now, I come to the disparity in the wage structure. We are wedded to a socialist pattern of society. Still there is a great disparity in the wage structure. Before Independence, Ministers used to get Rs. 6,600 as pay a month. Now, they get Rs. 2,250 per month. They have reduced their salary by Rs. 4,000. But, what about the Secretaries working with the Ministers? There are so many big officials drawing more than Rs. 2,000 up to Rs. 4,000, 4,500 and 5,000. These Secretaries and officials do not care for the Ministers. They do not sincerely carry out the wishes and policy of the Ministers.

Shri Anil K. Chanda : Where did the hon. Member collect this information?

Shri Ramananda Das : It is a true information. The Secretary under you gets more salary than you and so he does not obey you fully.

Shri Anil K. Chanda : That I cannot question.

Shri Ramananda Das : He cares little for you. What about other government employees? Take the class IV employees. They get Rs. 60 to 80 a month. How can they manage with their big families? They have to maintain so many children, educate them, etc. What about other big officers getting Rs. 4,000. This is not a socialist pattern of society or a welfare State. You must cut down at the top and raise the standard of the people at the lowest level. There should be no employee

[Shri Ramananda Das]

in the country getting less than Rs. 100 and nobody should get more than Rs. 2,000. At least nobody should get more than what a Minister is getting. This sort of disparity should not be there. There is a great deal of heart burning among government employees nowadays. A graduate clerk is getting Rs. 120 a month and an undergraduate officer is getting Rs. 1,500 or 3,000. These clerks do not work satisfactorily. I appeal to the Government to consider this aspect. The same is the case in the private sector also. A worker who works hard, does manual labour for 8 or 9 hours a day, gets Rs. 60 a month, while in the same establishment, the managers, the directors and other supervisory staff get something like Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 10,000 a month. There is thus an abnormal disparity between the high-grade pay and the low-grade pay. We should do something immediately to reduce this disparity. Otherwise, there can be no socialistic pattern of society, and there can be no welfare State. I would appeal to Government to set up a pay commission to fix the pay and remuneration of Government officers as well as those in the private sector. Unless Government do so, they cannot please the people, the discontented masses of the country. And there will always be strikes and demonstrations against Government, and the people will be justified in resorting to them, unless some beginning at least is made in this regard to remove the big disparity in wages.

Another point that I would like to impress upon Government is in regard to the solution of the refugee problem in the country. After Partition, more than 30 lakhs of refugees have come to West Bengal from East Pakistan. No doubt, Government have done something to settle them, but they have practically failed, for only not more than 50 per cent. of the refugees have been settled so far. The others are still rotting in the footpaths of Calcutta and its suburbs, and their condition is very miserable. I would request Government to do something for them, and allot more money for their rehabilitation. After all, the refugee problem is a problem of the whole country, and not that of West Bengal only. The economy of West Bengal is on the verge of collapse now. So, it is very necessary that the Central Government should come forward with allotments of more money for the proper and speedy rehabilitation of the refugees

in West Bengal.

Daily, about a thousand refugees are coming to West Bengal from East Pakistan, and more than 80 lakhs of people who are still on the other side of the country are also on the point of coming here either today or tomorrow. So, we shall have to take that aspect also into consideration.

Our Government are worshipping the Pakistan Government day and night. But what are the Pakistan Government doing? They are raiding us either on the eastern border of India or on the western border. And yet our Government are not taking any action against them. The result is that Pakistan is bold enough to uproot all the minorities from East Pakistan. I would appeal to Government to see that at least six border districts of East Pakistan are ceded to India, so that the 30 lakhs of refugees who are here could be properly rehabilitated. If the Pakistan Government do not do that, then I would request the Government of India to take up this case to the United Nations. If that is not possible, then I would appeal to Government to cut off all connections with Pakistan; the import and export connections with Pakistan should be immediately put an end to.

Pakistan still owes us a debt of more than Rs. 300 crores but nothing is being done to realise that amount. On the other hand, we are spending more than hundreds of crores of rupees on the rehabilitation of refugees from East Pakistan. I would appeal to Government to take strong measures against Pakistan. Unless they do that, they cannot solve the problem of the rehabilitation of the 30 lakhs of refugees who are in India at the moment, and of the 80 lakhs of persons who are still remaining in East Pakistan but who are bound to come to India sometime or other; and India will find herself in a precarious condition to maintain these people, unless she could get some additional amount and land from Pakistan for their rehabilitation. After all, when the country was partitioned, we did not dream even that over 30 lakhs of refugees will come over to India from Pakistan. So in proportion, we should demand land from Pakistan. It is the duty of Government to do so.

Another point that I would like to mention is in regard to corruption. There is wholesale corruption in most of the departments, and especially the police department. In the police department, I have found that in most of the *thanas*

if a common man comes to write a diary or file a complaint, the police officer does not attend to him unless he pays him some three or five rupees. This is an open secret. The police department is a horrible department. Other departments are also more or less corrupt, but the police department is corrupt in the extreme. I would request Government to take steps to see that this sort of thing does not prevail in future.

Two years back, I had made a report about the corruption on the part of an officer in Calcutta. He is a Government of India officer, and he is Mr. A. Talib the Regional Labour Commissioner. He is the nephew of Mr. Suhrawardy. He had committed some serious offences. He had brought some Pakistanis from Pakistan and given them employment in the Calcutta Dock Labour Board and did many scandals and amassed huge sum illegally. I made this report to the Home Minister, but I was told that as the officer belonged to the Labour Ministry, the Home Minister expressed his inability to take any action unless asked by Labour Minister and he requested me to forward this complaint to the Labour Minister. I forwarded this complaint to the former Labour Minister Shri V. V. Giri and also to the present Labour Minister Shri Khandubhai Desai but up till now no action has been taken against that officer. On the contrary, that officer instigated one person by advancing a large sum of money to him to lodge a false case against me. In the long run, I was honourably acquitted in that case. That officer is still in office, because India is a secular state. I am sorry to mention all this, but this is what has happened. If that officer had been a Hindu, he would have been dismissed or discharged forthwith. But since ours is a secular state, and the big officer is a Muslim, he is still allowed to be in service. I hope Government will come to their senses still now and do the needful to bring the culprit to book.

Lastly, I would like to say a word about the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. The Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in the country number more than eight or nine crores. Under the Constitution, the Government of India are bound to do something for their uplift. But sufficient money has not been provided for that purpose in this budget. I would appeal to Government to set up a separate Ministry for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and to allot a sum

of Rs. 50 crores for their all-round economic and social uplift. Unless that is done, we shall not be able to uplift the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes who are in the backward strata of society. I hope Government would do something constructive for these people.

Shri Seshagiri Rao (Nandyal): This budget is a very significant one in that it marks the finishing touches of the First Five Year Plan and the first step towards the implementation of the Second Five Year Plan.

We have been informed that there is a general improvement in the economic condition of our country, that the production of foodstuffs, raw materials and also industrial products has increased. The national income has increased by 18 per cent. The per capita income has also increased by 10 per cent. These are the achievement of our First Five-Year Plan. The President was also pleased to mention in his Address these things and the outline of the Second Five Year Plan also clearly enumerates all those achievements.

But one important point which I would like Government to consider is whether we have got a proper check to see that the money that we allot to the different sectors has been utilised for the purpose for which it has been allotted. The Finance Minister, in para. 51 of his speech says :

“With the large and growing outlay in the context of the Plan, both on revenue and on capital account, the question of securing the maximum possible economy and avoiding wastage owing to delays and inefficiency assumes added importance.”

That means that we have to see whether the amounts that have been allotted for particular works have been properly utilised or not, and whether there are any leakages or any loopholes in that regard.

The Finance Minister has said that he has got an economy unit, and he is going to appoint a high-powered committee also to go into the matter. But the question is whether the economy unit or the high-powered committee at the Centre will be able to get complete information about the leakages and loopholes in all parts of the country; and whether they will be able to find out whether the money has been properly and adequately spent is quite another matter. If such units are there in the local areas, that

[Shri Seshagiri Rao]

is to say, starting from the village level onwards, and those units are asked to give us a report about whether the development plans have been properly executed or not, then we shall be able to have a complete picture for the whole country. Otherwise, the economy unit or the high-powered committee at the Centre will be able to go only to the headquarters of the different States and get information from the States, and they will not be able to find out what has really happened in the interior parts. It is the people for whose benefit the moneys have been allotted. So, the people should be able to report on whether the amount has been properly spent or not. A high-powered committee that is appointed at the Centre will not be able to get reliable and adequate information on this point.

It is true that our finances are sound, and our balance of payments position is favourable. But we have also to see that we develop at least under the Second Five-Year Plan those parts of the country which are very backward, and which are really in want of assistance.

So far as rural housing is concerned, there are 54 million houses in our villages, but only Rs. 5 crores have been allotted for new houses and repairs to existing houses. This is certainly an inadequate amount so far as rural housing is concerned. At least 90 per cent. of the houses in villages require remodelling and repair. If a proper amount is not set apart for this purpose, the poor people will be suffering. No doubt, the remaining Rs. 115 crores or so will be spent for the urban areas. Those who live in urban areas are much better off than poor people in the rural areas. So the allocation has to be modified so that the benefit given to the villages may be much more.

An Hon. Member: It is to be given to the Ministry only.

Shri Seshagiri Rao: Then there is the question of the implementation of the Rural Credit Survey Report. Last time when the State Bank of India Bill was discussed here, we saw that the existing personnel dealing with the co-operative department were not people who were technically qualified. The whole system there is going on statistics. If they say that some of the co-operative institutions are successful, they follow a certain amount of statistics. Statistics are only a jumbling and gambling with figures and they do not actually give anything. I

will give an instance. There was cholera in a town and in a village. The district health officer was going to the village, leaving the town. I asked him why he was doing so. He said: 'There is cent per cent. death in the village and only 50 per cent. death in the town'. I asked him what the matter was. He said—100 cases and 50 deaths in the town and two cases and two deaths in the village. That is the way they go on the basis of statistics. These statistics sometimes mislead us. Instead of being misled this way, we should have technical personnel who should be adequately trained so that the implementation of schemes is taken up much more effectively.

So far as unemployment is concerned, this is a distressing feature and we have not been able to afford adequate relief. I am surprised to see in the speech of the Finance Minister that he was not able to get at the magnitude of this problem. He says:

"Notwithstanding the progress achieved in different sectors of the economy, the employment situation in the country remains a matter of concern. Several *ad hoc* employments surveys in different parts of the country have been carried out, but they cannot easily be used to assess the overall situation or assist in formulating policies and plans for meeting it."

So, at the end of five years, if we are not able to know the magnitude of this problem, how are we going to tackle it? This is a very serious matter. The number of persons registered in the Employment Exchanges is 6.9 lakhs. Every year we are getting a fresh flood of youths who come out of Universities. What is the answer that we have got to give them? We have to change the very system of education so that youths coming out of Universities are not in search of these jobs but are able to make their own living in some other way. Of course, in the olden days, the saying was *Vidya Vittawari*, but in the last days of the British Government, it became *Vidya Nirudyogakari*, meaning that *Vidya* produces unemployment. If the same state of affairs is going to continue, what is going to happen to the youths? The Draft Outline of the Second Five-Year Plan says:

"Economic growth means not only more production, but also more and increasingly more capacity to produce. In this process of

development, human faculty and skill is no less important than the marshalling of material resources."

If young people from our colleges are faced with this problem, how is it that we can marshal the resources of human skill? They are going to be the future citizens of India and we ought to see that that problem is solved here and forthwith.

We have been faced with the so-called flood situation and flood havoc here and there. Flood is after all only one of the elements. The human being is master of all the five elements, and when the youth here are without employment, when the whole country is flooded with unemployed people, surely our country is going so suffer quite a lot. The Finance Minister must take definite steps to see that our youth are properly educated so that they may get jobs in the private or public sector or are otherwise properly employed.

One other point is about education. I see that at present only 12·1 per cent. of the people in the villages are educated. We find that Rs. 3 lakhs is the shortfall of our allotment in this Budget. We see that our literacy is very poor and yet we are not providing sufficient funds. It may be said that education is not a Central subject but a State subject. But if proper help is not given to see that the people are educated, the country will suffer.

There is another distressing factor. Under public health, an additional sum of Rs. 14 crores has been sanctioned, but Rs. 14 lakhs only have been set apart for indigenous medicines, like Ayurveda and Unani. If such a small sum is allotted for the development of big institutions like Ayurveda and Unani, I am at a loss to understand how we can improve our traditional and honoured medicinal sciences. So I request the Finance Minister to see that some more provision is made for that.

In the first two or three years, we used to see in the Budget a reference to the fact that backward States and districts must be helped. That was one of the objects of the First Five-Year Plan. But I see that nothing tangible has been done to help Rayalaseema. If we are going to set up any heavy industry, it should be located in Rayalaseema so that the people there get some benefit out of it.

Shri Rishang Keishing (Outer Manipur-Reserved-Sch. Tribes): Sir, I thank

3—23 Lok Sabha

you for giving me this opportunity to participate in this debate.

India, I think, is making a rapid progress towards the goal of socialism in terms of words and not in terms of deeds. Some years back, when I first came to this Parliament, I used to hear of 'Welfare State', never 'socialistic pattern of society' or 'socialism'. In 1954 the Government used the term 'socialistic pattern of society' and in the President's Address to members of both Houses the word 'socialism' was clearly used and the slogan of Government now is socialism. So we are making rapid progress in this respect.

Whether really Government's aim is to establish socialism in this country or not can be best judged from the conditions of the down-trodden, forsaken rural masses and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes living in different parts of the country. From that standpoint, I have not seen any progress or any change. Their conditions remain as before even when we are on the last lap of the First Five-Year Plan.

Shri Tek Chand (Ambala-Simla): Something wrong with his sight.

Shri Rishang Keishing: It is not my side that is making and executing the plans but the other side.

Hon. Congress Members and the Government, looking at the statistical figures, may feel happy because there have been some rises in the figures. Coming as I do from the farthest corner of the country crossing 1,600 miles to come to this place, I come across many things, many small villages, many tribal villages and many slum areas, and I find no change whatsoever in these areas. Today, in our country, we have about 250 million of agricultural population and the greatest and urgent need of these population is land reform. They, being the tillers of the soil, must become masters of the soil. Land reform, fixing of ceilings, maximum and minimum holdings is till a matter of wishful thinking. The worst sufferer are the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and members belonging to the backward classes. A few people which constitute about 5 per cent of the land holders are holding almost 33 per cent of the total land of the country. On the basis of each family consisting of 5 members, we have got to provide land to 90,00,000 families. What has the Government done in this matter? Are we really going towards

[Shri Rishang Keisting]

socialism and bringing about equality between the rich people and the down-trodden masses? When I see the action of the Government, I feel so much disheartened. In the hill areas Government have taken away lands from the tribals in the name of protecting the forests under the Indian Forest Acts. The poor tribal people have been deprived of their lands and they are forced to face starvation. I may be permitted to bring to your notice that several hundreds of people in the tribal areas of Tamenglong, Manipur are facing starvation and a vast areas of their lands have been taken away in the name of protecting forests. When the starving people asked for some foodstuffs to be dropped from the air, they were asked by Government officers 'Who give you this idea of dropping food from the air'. The officers speak in this manner. Is it not the duty of Government and more so for the Government which aims at establishing socialism to help these people and economically strengthen them?

[SHRIMATI SUSHAMA SEN *in the Chair*]

The condition of the workers in factories are also the same. They have got no share in the huge profits that are being made in every industry, nor have they got any hand in the management of the industry. The workers are still getting the lowest pay in the country.

Government claim that they have done many good things like the river valley projects, community projects and the National Extension Blocks. I may also say that some of these are pretty good schemes. But, see how you are implementing them. The wrong execution of these schemes have made only a few people rich. The poor people and the rural population have never been able to feel that Government is doing something good for them. The Government want to execute everything through the bureaucratic machinery that we have today. Unless Government takes the people into confidence, unless elected village panchayat and District Council are established everywhere and the development plans are implemented through them, Government will always fail. Contractors Engineers and some of the people who have decided to enrol some members for the ruling party have got all the opportunities. I can quote several instances from my area where these things have happened. 'You enrol 50 members, you will get a school; you enrol 50 members we shall dig a well

for your village.' This sort of things are going on on a large-scale. Unless Government decentralises the power and takes away some of the powers from these bureaucrats and transfers them to the village panchayats and the district councils and have the plans executed through these people's institutions, it will never be successful. If Government continues the present method there will be serious friction between the people and the bureaucrats and the Government on the other side. I will therefore request the Government to establish elected village panchayats and district councils every where and the plans shall be executed through them. I can tell you that in the tribal areas there are still indigenous democratic institutions. Even during British rule they honoured these district councils and village panchayats. The district councils and village panchayats tried cases and managed their lands. But today, in Republican India all these institutions have been abolished and the Commissioners the District Magistrates and S.D.O.'s sitting at their office are running the whole show now.

I further want to suggest that the salaries of the officers and the ordinary workers should be in the proportion of 1 to 10. At present the ICS and the IAS officers are getting 100 to 150 times than the ordinary workers. I think, in a real socialist and republican country this surely is a crime. Should this be done in India?

I would now hurriedly touch upon the tribal affairs. Government has, in the first Five-Year Plan, sanctioned Rs. 39 crores. Here also they have followed a wrong policy as a result of which money has been misused. If Government wants, I can give many instances. Manipur is the best place where the correctness of the policy of the Central Government can be tested because of the fact that it is a centrally administered area. Officers sitting tight in their office chairs try to implement the plans; they do not go to the hilly areas and they do not know what is going on there and what the likes and the dislikes of the tribal people are. If you take the tribes into confidence and spend the money through the institutions viz., village Panchayat, District Council, then in the tribal areas there would be big and rapid progress. Otherwise, there would be no progress the people will never have any confidence in Government and the result will be harmful both to the Government and the people.

For the war affected people of Manipur, Rs. 60 lakhs have been sanctioned by Government of India. How Government have distributed this money, People who lost their everything, both movable and immovable are getting Rs. 20 to Rs. 100 while those who did not lose anything are getting the maximum amount of Rs. 500. Not only by one; but in one family 6, 7, or 8 members are getting this amount. Thus the war compensation which the Government of India has kindly sanctioned has been misused and misappropriated. I would like the Finance Minister to take note of it and make a proper enquiry and try to disburse the money so that those people who really suffered get the money and those who are trying to get money by false means should be punished and also officers who are responsible for these things should be punished.

3 P.M.

In Manipur a number of fields were taken over for aerodromes during the war. These people have not been paid compensation and this should be expedited. Recently the Indian Forest Act has been extended to a large parts of the tribal areas of Manipur and as a result many tribals have been deprived of their lands. I wrote to the Prime Minister about it. My complaint was against the Manipur Government. But the Prime Minister made enquiries from the State Government and on the basis of the reply he received, he has replied my letter justifying the action of the local Government. The Prime Minister, in 1952, in one of his speeches stated :

"The other way of forcible assimilation and even allowing sometimes normal factors to operate would be wrong. This is what I mean by normal factors. Suppose you do not protect their lands. I have no doubt unscrupulous people from outside will go and take possession of those lands. They will take possession of the forest and interfere with the lives of the tribal people if normal factors are allowed to have a free play. Therefore, we must give them a measure of protection in their areas so that no outsider can interfere with them except with their consent and goodwill."

This was what the Prime Minister stated when he addressed a tribal conference and I would like him to stick to his word and safeguard our land forests and other interests.

I would like to draw the attention of the Government to the fact that in Manipur, one bag of cement costs Rs. 14 and one bundle of C.I. sheets costs Rs. 95, at controlled rate which in black-market costs Rs. 120. How can the tribal people afford to cover their sheds with C.I. sheets when one bundle costs Rs. 120? Also how can they buy cement at Rs. 14 per bag? They are therefore unable to build and recondition their houses. I would like the Government to take note of these things and see that the poor people particularly the tribal people are enabled to get these things, which are so very essential for improving their housing conditions, at a lower and concessional rate.

Exchange of Burma currency is another difficulty of the people, Manipur, as you know is close to Burma and we get Burmese currency, for which there is no exchange office uptill now. The Finance Minister may arrange to open an office there so that the people may exchange the Burma currency with Indian currency at Imphal.

I would like, in a few minutes, to touch upon the Naga problem. It has often appeared in the newspapers, and I also know, that the Naga friends in the Naga Hills District have demanded something absolutely absurd. Complete independence is quite impossible, and nobody in this country will support that movement. Among the Nagas, outside the Naga Hills District, nobody support that movement. I am convinced now that the Nagas in Naga Hills District are determined and are prepared to come to a settlement with the Government of India. The Government of India are not, however, willing to negotiate with the Nagas or to have any talks with them because there is one man called Phizo, whom the Government or some of the Ministers of the Government dislike. To say that so long as Phizo is the President of the Naga Council Government will have nothing to do with the Nagas is rather unfair. Police operation is already going on and hundreds of people in Naga Hills are undergoing sufferings as a result of it. I want Government to see that this matter is settled immediately. Let the Government of India have a talk with the Naga National Council and tell them of the impossibility of their demands and then offer to them whatever is reasonable and possible to bring about a settlement as soon as possible. Such settlement will save from

[Shri Rishang Keisting]

the difficulties and hardships of many of our Naga friends in the Naga Hills and in the other areas.

श्री श्रीनारायण दास : सभानेत्री महोदया, सब से पहले मैं वित्त मंत्री जी ने अपने भाषण के अन्त में जो हम लोगों से अनुरोध किया है उस के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह अनुरोध मुझे तो स्वीकार्य है ही लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि इस सदन के सभी सदस्यों को भी स्वीकार्य होगा। वह अनुरोध है कि जनता के प्रतिनिधियों के रूप में हम जनता को सर्वोत्तम परामर्श दे, उस का सच्चा पथ प्रदर्शन करें और बुद्धिमानी के साथ उस का नेतृत्व करें।

जब हम यहां इस सदन में बैठे हैं तो हमारे ऊपर दोहरी जवाबदेही होती है। एक जवाबदेही तो इस रूप में होती है कि हम हिन्दुस्तान की आर्थिक स्थिति का ठीक ठीक अन्दाज लगावें और हमारी सरकार क्या क्या काम करने जा रही है, उस को पूरा करने के लिये उस को कितनी रकम की आवश्यकता है, इस की जानकारी हासिल कर जो बोझ कर के रूप में सरकार जनता के ऊपर आगे जारी करना चाहती है, उस की समीक्षा करें, और देखें कि दरअसल में वह न्याय संगत है या नहीं। दूसरी जवाबदेही हमारे ऊपर यह होती है कि हम जनता के प्रतिनिधि हैं, और प्रतिनिधि होने के नाते यह देखना भी हमारा कर्तव्य है कि जनता की अवस्था को मद्देनजर रखते हुए हम यह देखें कि जनता उस बोझ को सभालने के लायक है या नहीं। इन दोनों चीजों को जब हम सामने रखते हैं तो हमारा ध्यान संविधान की उस धारा की ओर जाता है जिस में कहा गया है कि हम अपने देश के अन्दर राजनीतिक, सामाजिक और आर्थिक न्याय की स्थापना करेंगे। डायरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल्स आफ स्टेट पालिसी में (राज्य नीति के निर्देशात्मक सिद्धांत कहे गये इन सिद्धांतों को देखते हुए हमें यह जान कर भी प्रसन्नता होती है कि वित्त मंत्री जी ने भी अपने भाषण में इस बात को स्वीकार किया है और उन्होंने हमेशा इस बात को अपने सामने रखने का आश्वासन दिया है और इस आदर्श तक पहुँचने का प्रयत्न भी वह कर रहे हैं। अब मैं वित्त मंत्री जी के शब्दों को ही दोहराना चाहता हूँ जो कि उन्होंने अपने बजट भाषण में कहा है। उन्होंने कहा है कि "प्रत्येक आधुनिक सरकार का सर्व प्रथम और अनिवार्य कर्तव्य यह है कि वह जनता के जीवन-यापन के स्तरों को ऊँचा उठाये और इस प्रकार प्रगतिशील और न्यायपूर्ण आर्थिक

और सामाजिक व्यवस्था की स्थापना करे और यही उद्देश्य हम ने अपने सामने रखा है। इस उद्देश्य को हमें लोकतन्त्रीय साधनों से प्राप्त करना है। योजना के पीछे शासन-शक्ति नहीं है, जन-शक्ति है।" यह वाक्य यह स्पष्ट बतलाता है कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी जब बजट का निर्माण करने लगते हैं तो संविधान में दिये हुए जो ये निर्देशक सिद्धांत हैं और संविधान के आरम्भ में जो हम ने संकल्प किया है कि हम न्याय की स्थापना अपने मुल्क में करेंगे, उन को वे अपने सामने रखते हैं।

देश की आर्थिक अवस्था का जो विवरण उन्होंने हमारे सामने प्रस्तुत किया है। वह अवश्य ही संतोषप्रद है। वह बताते हैं कि धीरे धीरे ही सही लेकिन हम देश की आर्थिक अवस्था को दृढ़ करने की दिशा में अग्रसर हो रहे हैं। विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में उत्पादन बढ़ रहा है, इसमेंसे भी एक आशा की झलक नजर आती है। दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के दौरान में हम बहुत बड़ी राशि खर्च करने जा रहे हैं। यह भी एक आशाप्रद बात है। लेकिन सभानेत्री महोदया, मैं यह बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि मैंने पिछले साल भी वित्त मंत्री जी का ध्यान इस तरफ खींचा था और आज फिर खींचता हूँ कि देश की वर्तमान आर्थिक व्यवस्था बतलाने के साथ ही साथ उन्हें यह भी बतलाना चाहिये था कि इस देश के अन्दर जिस प्रकार से उत्पादन में वृद्धि हुई है वह समाज के किस अंग में किस रूप में उपयोग की गई है। आज हिन्दुस्तान की सब से बड़ी समस्याएँ जो हल करने को बाकी हैं वह हैं गरीबी और बेकारी का खत्म होना। ये दोनों बीमारियाँ हमारे समाज के अन्दर कैंसर की बीमारी की तरह से हैं। जैसे कि आज-तक डाक्टर यह नहीं सोच पाये हैं कि कैंसर की बीमारी के लिये कौन सी दवाई उपयुक्त है, उसी तरह से मुझे यह कहना पड़ता है कि वित्त मंत्रीजी एक विशेषज्ञ होते हुए भी, बड़े ज्ञानी होते हुए भी, आर्थिक अवस्था की समीक्षा बहुत अच्छे ढंग से करते हुए भी इस बीमारी की दवाई जो असली दवाई है, वह हमें बतलाने में असमर्थ रहे हैं और इस का कोई प्रभावकारी इलाज उन्होंने बतलाया हो ऐसा हमें नजर नहीं आता है। बेकारी की समस्या को वह महसूस करते हैं लेकिन जैसे जैसे हमारी योजना का काम आगे बढ़ता जाता है वैसे वैसे यह कहा जाता है कि सर्वेक्षण करने से यह पता लगता है कि बेकारी का सवाल हल नहीं हुआ, बेकारी कुछ बढ़ रही है। इस बेकारी का इलाज हमारे प्रधान मंत्री भी अभी तक नहीं निकाल सके हैं और

जो गरीबी का सवाल है वह भी इस से जुड़ा हुआ ही सवाल है, वह भी आज हमारे सामने है ही। इसलिये मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से यह प्रार्थना करूंगा कि जब वह इस सदन को देश की आर्थिक स्थिति का ज्ञान कराते हैं तो उन को इस बात को भी बतलाना चाहिये कि समाज के किस अंग में और किस रूप में देश में जो उत्पादन बढ़ा है, उस का उपयोग किया गया है। यह अगर हम को बता दिया जाया करेगा तो हम को कुछ तो पता चल सकता है कि जो गरीब हैं, जो भूखे हैं उन के पेट में कितना अन्न पहुंचा है, जो बेकार हैं उन को कहां तक काम मिला है और ऐसा करने से उन्होंने जो आदर्श अपने सामने रखा है उस में उन को कितनी सफलता प्राप्त हुई है, यह जानने की सुविधा भी उन को हो जाएगी। उन को यह भी मालूम हो सकता है कि जिस आदर्श को और वह बढ़ रहे हैं दरअसल में उस में गति है या नहीं, और अगर गति कुछ घीमी है तो उस घीमी गति को कैसे तीव्र किया जा सकता है। इसलिये मैं कहूंगा कि देश में जो उत्पादन बढ़ा है, खेती की फसल बढ़ गई है, कारखानों में बनने वाली चीजों में वृद्धि हो गई है और देश की राष्ट्रीय आय में भी १८ प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हो गई है, इस वृद्धि का उपयोग किस हद तक जनता के किस वर्ग ने किया है। मैं चाहूंगा कि वित्त मंत्री जी देखें कि समाज का जो उपेक्षित और रोगग्रस्त अंग है उस में जो यह नया रुधिर पैदा हुआ है वह पहुंचा है या नहीं। क्योंकि यदि उस अंग में यह रुधिर नहीं पहुंचा है तो वह अपेक्षित समाज का अंग दुखद अवस्था में ही रह जाता है। इसलिये मैं उन से कहना चाहूंगा कि वे देखें कि यह जो धन का उत्पादन हुआ है वह किस हद तक किस अंग में गया है।

दूसरी बात यह कही गई है कि विकास शील समाज में यह आवश्यक है कि नागरिक त्याग करें। मैं भी इस बात को बहुत अच्छी तरह से महसूस करता हूँ और हमारे देश की जनता भी इस को अच्छी तरह से महसूस करती है कि बिना कठिनाई उठाये पूंजी नहीं होती और बिना पूंजी के विकास नहीं हो सकता और धन नहीं बढ़ सकता। यह बात तो हमारे यहां गांव का एक एक आदमी जानता है। वह जानता है कि बांसमती के चावल को बचाकर यदि रोटी खाई जायेगी तो धन इकट्ठा हो सकेगा। इस लिये देश की जनता अधिक से अधिक टैक्स देने के लिये तैयार है। लेकिन साथ ही सरकार को यह समझना चाहिये कि यह विषमता का देश है जिस में विभिन्न वर्ग हैं और विभिन्न श्रेणियां हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि

यदि इन सब श्रेणियों को बराबर त्याग करने के लिये कहा जायेगा तो यह उचित नहीं होगा। जो ज्यादा त्याग करने की अवस्था में है उस को ज्यादा त्याग करने को कहा जाय और जो कम त्याग करने की अवस्था में है उस से कम त्याग करने की अपेक्षा की जाय तो मैं समझता हूँ कि वह अधिक युक्तियुक्त होगा।

इस अवस्था में जो कर लगाया गया है मैं उसका समर्थन तो करता हूँ किन्तु मैं यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि कर लगाने में वित्त मंत्री ने ओवर काशन (आवश्यकता से अधिक सावधानी) से काम लिया है। ज्यादातर अखबार पूंजी-पतियोंके हैं। उन में यह लिखा जाता है कि अगर यह कर लगायेंगे तो कैपिटल फारमेशन नहीं होगा, अगर वह कर लगायेंगे तो जिन के पास पूंजी है उन में रुपया लगाने का इंसेंटिव (उत्साह) नहीं रहेगा। वे ऐसा कह कर सरकार को डराना चाहते हैं। उस का परिणाम यह हुआ कि वित्त मंत्री जी ने उन सिफारिशों की तरफ इशारा तक नहीं किया है जो कि टैक्सेशन इन्क्वायरी कमीशन (कर जांच आयोग) ने की है। मैं बताना चाहता हूँ वित्त मंत्री को इस प्रश्न पर गम्भीरता से विचार करना चाहिये कि कर देने के बाद लोगों के पास कितनी आय रहनी चाहिये। उस की उच्चतम सीमा तय होनी चाहिये। यह चीज जल्दी से जल्दी निर्धारित हो जानी चाहिये। ऐसा करने से देश में एक मनो-वैज्ञानिक वातावरण तैयार हो जायेगा और लोग योजना के यज्ञ में अपने-अपने हिस्से आहुति देने के लिये तैयार हो जायेंगे। लेकिन अगर आप आय की सीमा निर्धारित नहीं करेंगे तो यह वातावरण पैदा नहीं होगा। टैक्सेशन इन्क्वायरी कमीशन (कर जांच आयोग) ने कहा है कि साल-साल में धन पर टैक्स लगाया जाये और जो एस्टेट इयूटी है उस को ज्यादा किया जाये। अगर हम ऐसा नहीं करते हैं तो देश में अनुकूल मनोवैज्ञानिक वातावरण पैदा नहीं हो सकता। इसलिये मैं कहूंगा कि आगे के लिये इस बात का ध्यान रखें कि जिन जिन बातों की तरफ टैक्सेशन इन्क्वायरी कमीशन ने इशारा किया है उन पर ध्यान दिया जाये और कर निर्धारण में आर्थिक विषमता दूर करने के उद्देश्य को हमेशा सामने रखा जाय।

हमने समाजवादी समाज रचना करने की एक बहुत बड़ी जिम्मेदारी अपने ऊपर ली है। और हमारा ख्याल है कि जो उत्पादन के साधन हैं वे व्यक्तिविशेष के हाथ में न रह कर समाज के

[श्री श्रीनारायण दास]

हाथ में आ जायें। लेकिन उस जिम्मेवारी को लेने में कुछ हिचक होती है। यह मैं बांछनीय समझता हूँ कि हम सारे मुख्य निर्जीव व्यवसाय को अपने हाथ में ले लें लेकिन याद हम उसको ठीक से चला नहीं सके तो इस से देश को हानि-ही होगी यद्यपि इस विषय में वित्त मंत्री ने अपने भाषण में कुछ नहीं कहा है, पर मैं यह कहना चाहूँगा कि वे इस बात की भी जांच-पड़ताल करें कि जो सरकारी कर्मचारी गण इस प्रकार के कामों में लगाये जाते हैं उन में से किन-किन में इस तरह के उद्योग धंधों को चलाने की क्षमता है। अंग्रेजों के जमाने में जो सरविसेज का ढाँचा बनाया गया था वह तो पुलिस राज्य चलाने के लिये बनाया गया था। आज हमारा लोक-कल्याणकारी राज्य है। इसलिये आज जब हम इन सब कामों को अपने हाथ में लेना चाहते हैं तो हम को यह छान-बीन करनी चाहिये कि इन सरकारी कर्मचारियों में जिन को यह काम सौंपा जाता है किताबी योग्यता के अतिरिक्त उत्पादन बढ़ाने की और जनता के हृदय को जानने की क्षमता है या नहीं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि अब जो सरकारी कर्मचारी नियुक्त किये जायें उन को यह दो प्रकारकी शिक्षा दी जानी चाहिये कि वे जनता के सेवक हैं और उन को जनता के साथ तादात्म्य स्थापित करना चाहिये, जनता के हृदय को समझने की चेष्टा करनी चाहिये। आज सरकारी अफसरों में यह भावना नहीं है। आज अफसर और जनता का मेल नहीं खाता। जनता समझती है कि अफसर जनता को दबाने के लिये है। जनता सोचती है कि अगर हम उन के पास जाकर अपनी बात कहेंगे तो न जाने वे हमारी बात सुनेंगे या नहीं। जनता की आज हिम्मत नहीं होती कि सरकारी अफसरों के सामने दिल खोलकर अपनी बात रख सकें। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने भी इस बात को कहा है। लेकिन अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि जो हमारे कर्मचारीगण हैं वे इस बात को महसूस नहीं करते कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री किस तरफ इशारा करते हैं। प्रधान मंत्री ने अपने भाषण में हाल ही कहा था कि हमारे अफसरान जब देहात में जाते हैं तो वे जनता के साथ नहीं बैठ सकते। जो अफसर जनता के साथ नहीं बैठ सकते वे कैसे जनता के हृदय की बात को समझ सकेंगे और कैसे देश की जनता की भलाई कर सकेंगे। इस स्थाल से मैं कहना चाहूँगा कि जो एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव अफसर हो उन को दो-चार महीने आचार्य विनोबा जी के आश्रम में रख कर ट्रेनिंग दी जाय। उन की शिक्षा के लिये दिल्ली में स्कूल खोला गया है

उस में उन के हृदय में वह भावना पैदा नहीं हो सकती। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि जो सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं वे देशभक्त नहीं हैं। वे देशभक्त हैं यह मैं मानता हूँ लेकिन जिस वातावरण में वे पले हैं उसने उन के मन में यह भावना पैदा कर दी है कि वे जनता के मालिक हैं और उन का काम जनता पर शासन करना है। यह भावना अभी उन के दिल से हटी नहीं है। इसलिये मैं चाहूँगा कि सरकारी कर्मचारी गण कुछ समय के लिये विनोबाजीके साथ देहातों का भ्रमण करें और उन के भाषण सुनें ताकि उन के हृदय में जनता के प्रति अपने कर्तव्य की सच्ची भावना पैदा हो।

तो मैं थोड़े से समय में ये बातें सदन के सामने रखी हैं। धन पर टैक्स लगाया जाय, आमदनी की उच्चतम सीमा तय कर दी जाय, एस्टेट ड्यूटी में वृद्धि की जाय, कपीटल गेन्स टैक्स लगाया जाय और चीनी, तम्बाकू आदि के उत्पादन की मानोपली सरकार अपने हाथ में ले। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस मनोपली से भी हम को कुछ आँय हो सकती है।

अन्तमें मैं यह कहना चाहूँगा कि खेती के लिये कर्ज देने की जो व्यवस्था की गई है उस के कोआपरेटिव डिपार्टमेंट (सहकारी विभाग) के आडिट डिपार्टमेंट (लेखा परिक्षा विभाग) को कंट्रोलर एंड आडीटर जनरल (नियंत्रक तथा महा-लेखा परीक्षक) के मातहत रखा जाय ताकि जो रुपया हम दे उस का दुरुपयोग न हो।

मैं एक बात की तरफ और ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। इस बात की परीक्षा की जाय कि देहात में खेती की उपज का बीमा करने का प्रबन्ध करना कहां तक सम्भव है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह आसान काम नहीं है लेकिन इस बात की जांच होना जरूरी है कि इस काम को हम कहां तक कर सकते हैं।

औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में मजदूरों के लिये सामाजिक सुरक्षा का बहुत सा प्रबन्ध हो रहा है और होने वाला है। लेकिन जो देहात में खेतियार मजदूर काम करते हैं उन के लिये किसी तरह की व्यवस्था नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि उन के लिये भी सामाजिक सुरक्षा की कुछ व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये जैसा कि बुढ़ापे की पेंशन है, दवा का इन्तजाम या शिक्षा आदि का प्रबन्ध होना चाहिये।

अन्तमें मैं यह कहूँगा कि जो लोग उपाजन करने वाले हैं उन के लिये अनिवार्य बीमा योजना होनी चाहिये। इस से हमारे खजाने में भी कुछ

रूपया आवेगा और जो उत्पादन करने वाले लोग हैं उन के पास भी वर्षा के दिनों के लिये कुछ रकम हो जायेगी ।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस बजट का स्वागत करता हूँ और मुझे खुशी है कि चाहे धीरे-धीरे ही सही हम अपने आदर्श की ओर बढ़ रहे हैं । मैं आशा करता हूँ कि जो आदर्श हमारे वित्त मंत्रीजी ने अपने सामने रखा है वे उस पर बार बार गौर करेंगे और हिन्दुस्तान के गांवों में रहने वाली उपेक्षित गरीब और बेरोजगार जनता की ओर विशेष रूप से ध्यान देंगे । यदि वे ऐसा करेंगे तो देश की समृद्धि बढ़ेगी । केवल राष्ट्रीय आय बढ़ जाने से यह सारा काम चलने वाला नहीं है।

Shri Velayudhan (Quilon *cum* Mavelikkara—Reserved—Sch. Castes) : I was very happy to read the Budget speech of the Finance Minister especially when it was based on the speech of the President.

When I read the President's Address to the Members of Parliament, I could find in it—or behind it—an expression of panic in the mind of the Government. When I read the budget speech also, I could see nothing new in it except that it is a budget which has been produced in the old pattern without any changes and except the fact that the Government is very anxious to get as much money as possible from the people, from all classes of people, whether it is the common man or the poor man or the rich man or the middle class. From this point of view we will have to view this budget. I am very sorry to state that even though we have launched the Second Five-Year Plan, we have not yet solved the problems facing the people of this country. It was observed by the Chair itself that when we speak about the budget, it is about the general principles of the budget that we have to speak. I am here referring only to the general principles.

Where are we standing today, at the beginning of the second Five-Year Plan? It is about eight years since we have achieved Independence. But the speeches made from the Treasury Benches as well as by the Prime Minister, in this House as well as outside, and the speeches of the various leaders of the Congress Party outside show that they could not only solve the problem of the country but they have led the country to confusion, to chaos as well as conflict. What is the position, the situation in the country today? I am not referring here to the economic situation as it is today.

I am referring here to the psychological situation and the general atmosphere in which the people of this country are functioning today. Of course, the Prime Minister, when he addressed a meeting in the Ramlila grounds on the occasion of the death anniversary of the Father of the Nation, mentioned that the country has not achieved solidarity, that the nation has not achieved solidarity, and if it is fighting like this, certainly military rule is coming. It is a significant word which has come from the Prime Minister himself. When he says that military rule is coming, there is great meaning in it. But who is responsible for this military rule? Are the people of India responsible for it, in this country? Are the people of India responsible for the chaos and confusion and for the various corrupt practices happening in this country? No. We are not prepared to accept that thesis, that analysis. But we want to warn the Government and the ruling party today that if the country is going to be—and it is in—confusion and chaos, the responsibility is entirely on the Treasury Benches and the Congress Party, the party in power, and not on the people of this country. What has happened in Bombay? What has happened in many other parts of the country? Who is responsible for it?

An Hon. Member : You.

Shri Velayudhan : Of course, I am not prepared or in any way trying to answer that Member who does not know the ABC of politics. If he has understood anything about the political situation in the country, if he had understood anything about the politics of a country or a nation, he would not have uttered this kind of nonsensical word, meaning that I am responsible for this situation. He is not thinking that his party, the party in power, is responsible for it. Now, what is the Opposition in this country? It is insignificant. I am saying it about this Parliament. I am not saying about the opposition to the Congress Party in the provincial legislatures. I am saying that in the country as a whole, it is an insignificant Opposition. It is said that the country as a whole, the people of the country, are behind the Prime Minister. I do not want to dispute his leadership in the country for a moment. I do not even dispute for a moment his capacity to control the country and to solve the problems. But the situation is different, because it is the system that we have to fight. It is not a party that we have to fight; it is not the people that we have to fight. It is the system, the diseased system of India, that we have to fight today. For this, the Congress Party

[Shri Velayudhan]

does not come forth. It is sticking to its own position. That is why the whole trouble has started, and India is facing that trouble. I do not think that we can control people by military rule. It is a foolish idea. Wherever military rule has come, who has been weakened? It is only the ruling party that has been weakened. The moment you ask the military support, certainly you are weakened. It is not the people of this country who are weakened. Do not threaten the people by saying that civil war is coming. There is no civil war coming to India. I have travelled through some parts of the world. I have seen some people building up their nation. I must say with great pride that the people of India are perhaps the best and the most capable people in the world to build up their own way of living. There is no other country, excepting perhaps China, where so much national activity is going on as in India.

Shrimati Ila Palchoudhury (Nabadiwip): Russia.

Shri Velayudhan: You have not gone there. How can you understand? We have got a future. I am not in any way pessimistic about it. Why I am so emotional and why I am saying all this is because we are now wasting precious opportunities in the country. I am very sorry to say it. I am not criticising anybody, but the people in the Congress Party—more and more of them and a large number of them—are reactionaries. They do not want to move forth. What have they done about socialism themselves? For the last four years, you have been speaking about socialism. Is it not just slogan—mongering of the Congress Party? Is it not only a kind of phrase or epithet which the Congress Party speaks of? Do any of them ideologically believe in it? Does anybody want to practise and build it up? Socialism cannot be practised from the top. It cannot come from the top. It will have to be built up from the bottom as it is done in China. It must come from the people. You cannot build socialism by nationalising a few agencies or industries as it is happening now in the country, namely, the insurance companies or anything like that. Why do I say like this? Well, you are nationalising. I am not against nationalisation or anything like that. But I want nationalisation not for wasting our funds and making economic imperialism which will lead to political imperialism and which will ultimately lead to political dictatorship. I do not want that

kind of nationalisation. But that is the kind of approach, the kind of political or economic approach which the Congress Party is following today.

I shall say why these difficulties have come in. We say we are wedded to parliamentary democracy. I must say—it is my humble opinion—that parliamentary democracy is not suited for India. It will be a failure and we will have to say good-bye to parliamentary democracy. This is my firm opinion. I am only giving my opinion (*Interruption*). You have got a big majority. You are now laughing and jeering. I am only one single individual. You have got 90 per cent majority. That shows you are not prepared and you have not educated yourselves for parliamentary democracy. Why should we adopt a system which has been built up in the West? It is unsuited to Asia and to the spirit of India. It is unsuited to the caste Hindus and to the caste-minded Indians. That is why I say that we will have to bid good-bye to parliamentary democracy, if you are now earnest about socialist pattern of society.

I shall say a few words in regard to the State of Travancore-Cochin from where I come. I represent the Travancore-Cochin State. You know what has happened and what is happening in that State. Now there is a rumour everywhere that President's rule is coming in my State. Who has brought this calamity or this condition to my State? It is not the Opposition in the State that is responsible for it. It is not the people who have been responsible for it. It is the Congress Party alone that is responsible for bringing this chaotic condition into my State. You want President's rule there. Did you allow the majority in the legislature—the people of the Opposition—to run the Government? You never allowed it. (*Interruptions*). You are now harping on President's rule; are you going to say that all the legislatures will be suspended if there is no majority for the Congress and build up dictatorship in the country?

Shri Matthen (Thiruvellah): Which is the other majority party in that State?

Shri Velayudhan: You do not know anything about Travancore. You come from the upper class and I am sorry for that; I have nothing more to say about it. We represent the poor people.

You say that there is no other majority party coming to take up the responsibility of running the Government. I

must tell you that the people of Travancore are perhaps the best suited people for a socialistic pattern of society in India. They are not given an opportunity from the very beginning. Why it is because the ruling party never wanted to introduce socialism in my State. That is why the difficulty has come.

I will say one or two words about the community which I represent and on behalf of whom I am speaking here in the Parliament. I am referring to the untouchables. People are saying a lot about untouchables. Whenever we do anything, Gandhiji's name is brought in. That is the pity of it; that is the tragedy of it. We are now disguising all our sins under the name of Gandhiji or someone else. I must say that with all the so-called progress made in the country the condition of the Harijans in the village is more depressing than it was before 1945 before Gandhiji's death. A lot of representations have come to me from my own State about the oppression of the Harijans. All that is happening in the country.

Dr. Suresh Chandra (Aurangabad): What about your rents?

Shri Velayudhan: I do not see what that responsible man from the other side is saying; he is not in the Treasury Bench.

If you want to introduce socialism, certainly there cannot be these castes and untouchability. You have got the Constitution saying that there is no untouchability, in the country. Is it not white-washing? How can you say that there is no untouchability in the country? The only solution for India is this. Let us come forward courageously. If you want to introduce socialism, let us build it from the bottom and not from the top, as is being done today. By the present economic policy which we are following, we are not going to introduce socialism; we are only building up political-economic imperialism, which in my humble opinion, will lead to political dictatorship and nothing more than that.

श्रीमती शिवराजबती नेहरू (जिला लखनऊ मध्य): सभानेत्री महोदया इस वर्ष का बजट जो माननीय वित्तमंत्री ने सदन के सामने रखा है, बड़ा ही आशाप्रद है। उस में उन्होंने देश के हर क्षेत्र की उन्नति, चत्र हमारे सामने रखा है जिस को देखकर मुझे बड़ा हर्ष हो रहा है और गर्व भी। हर्ष इसलिये है कि अब हम सोशलिस्टिक

पेटन (समाजवादी ढंग) का समाज बनाने की ओर तेजी से कदम बढ़ा रहे हैं। आज से छः वर्ष पूर्व जब हमारे देश में प्रजातन्त्र राज्य स्थापित हुआ था उस समय हमारी सरकार ने अपने लक्ष्य अपने देश की जनता की सामाजिक आर्थिक और औद्योगिक उन्नति को जल्द से पूरा करने का रखा था। मुझे आज यह कहते हुए गर्व होता है कि इन छः वर्षों के अल्प काल में हमारे देश में कृषि, रेल, तार, वायुयान, विद्युत कारखानों, प्रयोगशालाओं, विज्ञानशालाओं, शिक्षा स्वास्थ्य और दूसरे अमी क्षेत्रों में जितनी उन्नति हुई है उस की तुलना किसी भी उन्नतिशील देश से की जा सकती है। हमारी पिछली पंच वर्षीय योजना सफल हुई और वास्तव में जो कुछ हम ने अपना ध्येय या लक्ष्य रखा था, या कई बातों में हम उस से भी आगे बढ़ गये। हमारी पिछली पंच-वर्षीय योजना का ध्येय अपने देश की अनाज की कमी को पूरा करना, इस वास्ते कि हमारे देश की जनता को अपना पेट भरने के लिये दूसरे देशों का मुह न ताकना पड़े। मुझे आज यह कहते हुए हर्ष होता है कि हमारी सरकार की विशाल योजनाओं के कारण हमारा देश आज अनाज के सम्बन्ध में सेल्फ-सफिशिएंट (आत्मनिर्भर) हो गया है और बाबजूद सीलाबों की इतनी बरबादी के भी आज हमारे देश में पहले से २० प्रतिशत अनाज अधिक उत्पन्न हो रहा है।

परन्तु इस सम्बन्ध में मैं यह पूछना चाहती हूँ कि जब आज हमारे देश में अनाज की कमी नहीं है तो क्या कारण है कि देश में अनाज सस्ता नहीं हो रहा है? मैं यह जानती हूँ कि आज भी बाजारों में एक रुपये का सवा दो सेर और दो सेर गहुँ मिलता है जब कि कन्ट्रोल और कमी के समयमें पौने तीन सेर और तीन सेर तक वह हमें मिला है। मेरी सरकार से प्रार्थना है कि वह बाजार में सस्ते अनाज बचन की दूकानें खोलें और बनियों पर यह नियंत्रण लगायें कि वह महंगा अनाज न बेचें। क्योंकि यह जो दुनिया की कहावत है कि :

“बाम्हन जीमे तब पतियाय ।”

यदि अनाज सस्ता होगा तो जनता के ऊपर भी इस का अधिक प्रभाव पड़ेगा और तभी वास्तव में देश की जनता मुखी और संतुष्ट होगी।

फिर केवल अनाज और कृषि से ही देश की सारी समस्या हल होने वाली नहीं है। आज सब से बड़ी समस्या हमारे देश की बेरोजगारी है। इस को मिटाने के लिये हमारी सरकार आज

[श्रीमती शिवराजवती नेहरू]

बड़े बड़े कल कारखाने खोलने जा रही है और औद्योगिक विकास करने जा रही है जिस में लगभग ६०० करोड़ रुपया व्यय होगा और ३५० करोड़ रुपया लगा कर आज समस्त देश में स्माल स्केल, काटेज और विलेज इन्डस्ट्रीज (छोटे पमाने, कुटीर और ग्रामाद्योग) चालू करने जा रही है इतने भारी प्रयत्न के बाद भी पांच वर्षों में केवल १ करोड़ मनुष्यों को रोजगार मिलेगा। अपने देश की बढ़ती हुई आबादी को देखते हुए और बेरोजगारी की अधिकता को देखते हुए मुझे यह संख्या बहुत कम मालूम होती है। फिर, इस में यह नहीं बताया गया है कि जो यह बेरोजगारी की संख्या है उस में स्त्रियों का कितना भाग है। आज सरकार को यह नहीं भूलना चाहिये कि हमारे देश में स्त्रियों में भी बहुत अधिक बेरोजगारी है और स्त्रियाँ भी स्वयं कमा कर के बहुत अधिक संख्या में अपना जीवन निर्वाह कर रही हैं। इसलिये सरकार का कर्तव्य है कि वह स्त्रियों को भी इस प्रकार का संरक्षण दे और हर प्रकार के कार्य सिखलाये तथा उन को रोजगार दे।

सरकार अपनी पंच-वर्षीय योजना को चलाने के लिये, अपनी महान योजनाओं को पूर्ण करने के लिये जो धन की कमी है उस के लिये आज नये कर देश में लगाने जा रही है। ठीक है। अपने देश की आर्थिक उन्नति और उत्थान के लिये सब को यह भार उठाना ही पड़ेगा, परन्तु जब यह कहा जाता है, माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने अपने भाषण में कहा है, कि इस बजट में देश के गरीब और मध्य श्रेणी के लोगों पर कर का कोई और अधिक भार नहीं डाला गया है, तो मुझे यह बात ठीक नहीं लगती है क्योंकि जब चश्मे के फ्रेम के ऊपर, सूत और रेशमी कपड़े के ऊपर, साबून के ऊपर और तरल सोने इत्यादि के ऊपर कर लगाया, और यह कर तो केन्द्रीय सरकार लगा रही है राज्य सरकारों ने अपने कर अलग लगाये हैं, तो उन का पूरा-पूरा भार मिडिल क्लास (मध्य वर्ग) के लोगों के ऊपर और गरीब लोगों के ऊपर ही पड़ेगा। ग्रामीर आदमियों के ऊपर तो उस के भार का आभास भी नहीं होगा। मैं इस बात को मानती हूँ कि आज समाजवादी ढाँचे को उठाने के लिये हर एक व्यक्ति को उचित रूप में देश के लिये त्याग और परिश्रम करना होगा।

परन्तु सभानेत्री महोदया, यह जो मिडिल क्लास के लोग हैं उन पर पहले से ही करों का बहुत ज्यादा बोझ पड़ा हुआ है। यदि कर लगाये जाने हैं तो मैं चाहती हूँ कि ऐसे लोगों पर लगाये

जायें जो इन को अदा करने की क्षमता रखते हैं। अगर आप को टैक्स लगाने ही हैं तो उन लोगों पर लगाइये जो बड़ी बड़ी तनख्वाहें पाते हैं, बड़े बड़े व्यापारी हैं, मिल मालिक हैं। इन का भार मिडिल क्लास के लोगों पर, गरीब जनता पर नहीं डाला जाना चाहिये था। आज आप देश में सभी चीजों पर सीलिंग लगा रहे हैं, बड़ी बड़ी आय पर सीलिंग लगा रहे हैं, जमीन पर सीलिंग लगा रहे हैं, दूसरी आमदनियों पर सीलिंग लगा रहे हैं, परन्तु मैं तो यह कहती हूँ कि आपको पहले फ्लोर (आधार) को देखना चाहिये। यदि फ्लोर (आधार) हमारा ठीक नहीं हुआ तो सीलिंग कहाँ जायेगी। इस वास्ते पहले फ्लोर को आप मजबूत करें। मैं इस बात को मानती हूँ कि द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के लिये और देश में समाजवादी समाज की रचना करने के लिये सरकार को पैसे की जरूरत है। मैं यह भी मानती हूँ कि सरकार की जो आवश्यक सेवायें हैं उन पर खर्च बढ़ रहा है। मुझे इस सम्बन्ध में कोई आपत्ति नहीं है। परन्तु मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी से यह प्रार्थना करती हूँ कि आज देश की जनता को इस बात की बड़ी शिकायत है कि धन का बहुत ज्यादा अपव्यय हो रहा है और इस को खर्च करने में कोई देखभाल नहीं की जा रही है। एक तरह से धन को लुटाया जाता है। इस वास्ते मेरी सरकार से और वित्त मंत्री जी से यह प्रार्थना है कि वह ऐसे उपाय करें, ऐसे तरीके निकालें जिस से कि आगे से अष्टा-आधार की संभावना न रहे और धन का सदुपयोग हो। यदि ऐसा हुआ तो मैं आश्वासन देती हूँ कि देश की जनता खुशी-खुशी और शान्ति से करों को अदा करेगी और इन का भार उठायेगी और जितना धन सरकार मांगेगी देगी।

शिक्षा के बारे में मुझे यह कहना है कि हमारी सरकार इस बात का विचार तो अवश्य करती है कि समस्त देश के अन्दर १४ बरस तक के बालकों को शिक्षा अनिवार्य और निशुल्क दी जाए यानी एज्यूकेशन (शिक्षा) को फ्री और कम्पलसरी (मुफ्त और अनिवार्य) कर दिया जाय। परन्तु अभी तो वह यह कहती है कि इस में १२ बरस लग जायेंगे। स्वतन्त्रता के पूर्व हम इस बात का स्वप्न देखा करते थे कि जब हमारा राज होगा तो सारे देश में शिक्षा मुफ्त और अनिवार्य कर दी जाएगी। परन्तु मुझे यह कहते हुए दुःख होता है कि बजाय ऐसा करने के आज शिक्षा इस कदर ज्यादा महंगी हो गई है कि जो बेचारा मिडिल क्लास (मध्यम वर्ग) का आदमी है या जो गरीब आदमी है, या जो थोड़ी तनख्वाह

पानेवाले आदमी हैं, उस के लिये अपने बच्चों-को शिक्षित बनाना भी कठिन हो रहा है। यही हालत दवा व इलाज की है। किसी बीमारी का यदि इलाज करवाना हो तो वह भी बहुत महंगा पड़ता है। मेरी सरकार से प्रार्थना है कि आप अगली पंच-वर्षीय योजना में ३०० करोड़ रुपया शिक्षा विभाग पर खर्च करने जा रहे हैं लेकिन देश की आवश्यकताओं को देखते हुए यह रकम बहुत थोड़ी है और मेरा सरकार से यह निवेदन है कि शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में वह और ज्यादा धन की व्यवस्था करे। कोई ऐसा प्रबन्ध करना चाहिये जिस से कि पांच वर्षों के अन्दर अन्दर समस्त देश में फ्री और कम्पलसरी ऐजुकेशन (मुफ्त और अनिवार्य) लागू हो जाय।

अब मुझे केन्द्रीय समाज सेवा संघ यानी सैन्ट्रल सोशल वेलफेयर बोर्ड के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना है। इस की जितनी भी प्रशंसा की जाय वह कम है। यह हमारे देश की और हमारे समाज की अकथनीय सेवा कर रहा है। इस के द्वारा चिल्डरेंस होम, अपंगों और अपाहिजों के लिये इन्स्टीट्यूशंस ग्रामीण स्त्रियों के लिये शिक्षा केन्द्र इत्यादि अनेकों सेवा कार्य हो रहे हैं। आज यह समस्त देश की सेवा में संलग्न है। जो काम यह बोर्ड कर रहा है वह बहुत ही प्रशंसनीय है। लेकिन एक कमी है जिसकी ओर मैं आप का ध्यान दिलाना चाहती हूँ। अभी तक इस ने कोई बैगर्ज होम (भिक्षुक-गृह) नहीं खोला है। आज हमारे देश में भिखमंगों की बहुत भारी संख्या है। आज सरकार इस बोर्ड को करोड़ों रुपये दे रही है। मैं चाहती हूँ कि सरकार और यह बोर्ड दो-चार बैगर्ज होम (भिक्षुक-गृह) खोलने का यत्न भी करे जिस से कि गरीबों मोहताजों को रोटी कपड़ा मिलने के साथ ही साथ उन को कोई धन्धा करने की भी शिक्षा दी जाय। यदि ऐसा किया गया तो वे लोग कार्य भी करेंगे और रोटी-कपड़ा भी आसानी से प्राप्त कर सकेंगे। यदि ऐसा किया गया तो देश की एक बहुत बड़ी समस्या हल हो जायेगी।

आखिरी बात जो मुझे कहनी है वह यह है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार ने उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार को जो धन उस के विकास के लिये देना स्वीकार किया है वह उस की आवश्यकताओं से बहुत कम है। हमारा जो प्रदेश है वह इंडस्ट्रियालाइजेशन (औद्योगीकरण) के फील्ड (क्षेत्र) में पिछड़ा हुआ एक प्रदेश है। उस का क्षेत्र बहुत बड़ा है और उस की आबादी भी बहुत ज्यादा है।

इसलिये उस को अपना औद्योगिक विकास करने में बहुत ज्यादा धन की आवश्यकता होगी। इसलिये मेरी वित्त मंत्री जी से प्रार्थना है कि उत्तर प्रदेश की जो आवश्यकताएँ हैं उन की पूर्ति वह उदारता से करें और उस के लिये सहायक बनें।

इन चन्द शब्दों के साथ मैं इस बजट का समर्थन करती हूँ।

Shri Anandchand (Bilaspur): It is with some diffidence that I rise to speak a few words on the budget proposals especially when the Finance Minister is an expert and has had considerable experience for it was he who presented to this House the first budget under the First Five-Year Plan in 1951-52. Moreover, from the newspaper comments, periodicals as well as from the lobby comments and so on, what I have been able to gather, is that there is general approval for the budget he has presented and, as such, I think I must join with the rest of the people to congratulate him for his performance.

This budget is not only the first budget in the second Five-Year Plan but it is, I might also say, an election year budget because the Finance Minister here has stated that as at present scheduled, the next general elections are to take place early in 1957.

Coming to the estimates, the revenue estimates for the year have been put at Rs. 527 crores and the expenditure at Rs. 545 crores, leaving a deficit of Rs. 17.68 crores. On the capital expenditure side I find that the total over all expenditure of Rs. 703 crores is distributed between the Centre and States as: Rs. 316 crores in the Centre and Rs. 386 crores in the States. Now, as compared to this capital expenditure of Rs. 703 crores, the receipts, as far as I have been able to see, are placed at about Rs. 365 crores out of which loans are Rs. 100 crores, small saving scheme Rs. 70 crores, foreign aid Rs. 85 crores and debt remittance transactions Rs. 110 crores. This leaves a deficit of Rs. 338 crores which has to be met by treasury bills which, in other words, is deficit financing.

If we go to the previous that is, the current year, I think I am correct in saying that deficit financing for the current year has been placed by the Finance Minister at about Rs. 240 crores. But in the next year, that is, 1956-57, this figure would be raised to Rs. 360

[Shri Anandchand]

crores. But in the Planning Commission, I believe, when the discussions were held even recently the overall ceiling recommended for deficit financing during the second Five-Year Plan is to the tune of Rs. 1,200 crores. If we are going to launch on deficit financing to the tune of Rs. 360 crores in the very first year of the Plan period, I think there is something here which should be taken note of because deficit financing, as everyone knows, has an inflationary tendency. It is quite true that up till now that inflationary tendency has not come to the surface. Probably the reason for this has been the slump in agricultural prices generally. But these are now showing an upward trend. We have seen that time and again there is a rise in agricultural prices in some State or the other and the Centre has to rush with supplies of food so that prices may be kept down. It might be, and I leave it to the Finance Minister to say whether it is not, a kind of reaction of the inflationary or deficit financing which, by putting more money into circulation in the country is raising the prices of agricultural produce and thereby marking a beginning in inflationary tendencies which are to a certain extent the direct result of deficit financing.

Regarding the expenditure on the Plan for the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan, I believe the expenditure in the current year would be to the tune of about Rs. 650 crores, and the amount of Rs. 700 crores which has been provided for the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan, that is the financial year. 1956-57, appears to me to be fair and equitable.

With your permission, Madam, I would like to say a few things on the tax revenue. The total tax revenue, as I have been able to see from the Explanatory Memorandum, is placed at Rs. 425 crores out of which the revenue from Customs is Rs. 150 crores, that from Union Excise Duties Rs. 145 crores, from Taxes on Income Rs. 127 crores and that from other sources Rs. 3 crores. It is interesting to see that the total revenue from Customs and Taxes on Income has fallen from Rs. 367 crores in 1951-52 which was the first year of the First Five-Year Plan to Rs. 277 crores in the year for which we are budgeting. On the other hand, the Union Excise Duties which in 1951-52 were at Rs. 85.7 crores have risen to Rs. 145 crores, that is by Rs. 60 crores during the last five years.

The point I am trying to make out is this, that whereas there seems to be little scope for increase in the revenue from Customs as well as Taxes on Income—or probably the short-fall in the Taxes on Income is due to evasion of Income-tax—we are considerably augmenting the Union Excise duties which directly hit the common man. It might be, as the Finance Minister put it, that the new duties proposed were of such a nature that they would not travel down to the man in the street, let us say. But still a large increase in the Excise revenue, be it in the case of duties on soap or on diesel oil or something else, eventually travels down to the man in the street. For instance, the diesel oil duty might travel to the agricultural producer, whether in regard to tractors or in regard to the small-scale industry that he runs; in other words, somehow or other some of this taxation is bound to travel down to the common man. Any inordinate increase in Union Excise Duties is therefore bound to hit him in the long run. This is an aspect which, I think, the Minister should take notice of, and when there are other sources of revenue open to us—I mean a tax as the Planning Commission had recommended, a tax on property or on the income of the individual from year to year on the gross income—that was something which could have been taken note of but which is completely missing. For instance, capital levy. Instead of all that we have come to Union Excise. That is all that I wish to say in this matter as I am no expert in the subject.

On the expenditure side I would only say this that our defence expenditure for the last several years that I have had occasion to see in the budgets in this House, has stood more or less at the same figure of Rs. 200 crores. It may be that we are, of course, wedded to peace in the world, we are wedded to the noble ideals of the U.N.O. and so on. But when we are gradually increasing our expenditure on other subjects, it might be a good thing to examine the quantum of our expenditure so far as the Armed Forces concerned. I think this expenditure includes all the wings of the Armed Forces, be they ground forces or the Air Force or the Navy. And here I think, especially in the present international situation where we find there are so many groups about which we talk here and so many treaties like the Baghdad Pact or the SEATO, it is time that we paid a little more attention to the defence expenditure. If

we are quite satisfied that our Army or our Armed Forces are at the maximum limit of their efficiency at the present moment. then nothing more need be spent. But I think there is some ground that taking into view the general overall international situation an effort should be made to see that whatever forces we have in this country are adequate, and if they are not, whether some increase of expenditure under this head does not need looking into.

Then I want to draw your attention to the expenditure on the civil administration in the Centre. I find that it stands at present at Rs. 136 crores as compared to Rs. 54 crores in 1951-52. While some of the increases are welcome—for example the increase under the head Industries in 1956-57, as compared to 1951-52, is Rs. 12 crores; in the same way Agriculture has increased by Rs. 10 crores, Education by Rs. 17 crores and so on—but the expenditure on general administration also, shows a large increase. It might well be, and there is a lot of ground to say, that with increasing work in the Central Government here in all its various Departments and so on there is every justification for an increase in the expenditure on general administration. But I find, or at least I have been hearing that Government has been appointing several committees to go into the question of what staff is required in the Centre here, whether in the Secretariat or elsewhere. We have been hearing that certain experts from foreign countries had been invited to go into the structure and working of the Secretariat, whether to see if there was any need for improvement or if it was over staffed and so on. So I think there is a valid ground to go into the question a little more. And the House would be interested to know a little more as to what has happened about those reports and about the question of overhauling of the administrative structure in the Secretariat, in the general administration here.

Having said that I would like to add two things, with your permission. Firstly, about the Part C States which receive grants from the Centre. It is a welcome thing that the Government of India have, on the recommendations of the S.R.C. now more or less decided—I believe they have decided—to abolish the Part C States. But in the mean time, for the last five years that they have been in existence, they maintained separate Consolidated Funds. Large sums of

money had been advanced by the Centre to these States, evidently as grants-in-aid, but also to fill in the ordinary revenue gap. Take for instance the State from which I come, namely Himachal Pradesh. This year, I believe, the subsidy given for covering the revenue gap was Rs. 188 lakhs. Last year I think it was Rs. 173 lakhs. In the five year period I think it has received a sum of Rs. 7 crores. Added to it is the expenditure under the First Five-Year Plan of Rs. 3,50,00,000, which they have actually spent. I am not grumbling it. If there is a backward area which needs Central aid, it is very necessary that Parliament should give funds for the development of that area. But I find that in the Audit Report submitted to the Himachal Pradesh Vidhan Sabha, there were audit errors—to the tune of lakhs of rupees; hundreds of audit errors had been pointed out in the Audit Report for one single year's transactions in the affairs of that Government. When the Centre is spending all that money, when we are granting all those doles, I think it is necessary that something should be done—something is done and they are becoming Territories probably. But in respect of those acts of commission or omission—I would say commission rather than omission—which had been seen from those reports that had been laid on the Table there, probably I think this House, as the authority which sanctions those grants-in-aid which cover the gap between revenue and expenditure, has a right to know as to what is the picture; how do they spend these amounts which we give them; whether they are properly spent or mis-spent. So I would urge the Finance Minister to look into this question and, if it is possible, some kind of enquiry might be made into the position of these financial transactions in these States. Because, probably they are disappearing now, and if these Audit Reports are confined to some place nobody will take notice of them hereafter.

4 P.M.

One word about Bhakra and I will resume my seat. In the Bhakra dam which is being built, in the Himachal Pradesh in Bilaspur district itself we have had a large question of rehabilitation of the people dispossessed of their lands. As I put it to the House, 17,000 people are being dispossessed. The problem of their rehabilitation is two-fold. One is that they want land for land. About 30,000 acres of land will be going under water,

[Shri Anandchand]

out of which 10,000 acres are cultivated. The other is, they also want a new township for the one which will be submerged by the Bhakra reservoir. The present township where about 6,000 people live now, would be about 100 feet under water once Bhakra is completed. These are the two problems. I am very happy to state in this House that with the kind help of the Ministry of Irrigation and Power in the Central Government, I believe, the rehabilitation problem so far as the land question is concerned is very near solution now. The people have selected certain areas in Hissar where they are going to get lands. The only thing is that they are not getting land in one block. They want land in one block. They also want a minimum economic area. They cannot move for the sake of 2 acres a distance of 240 miles. As I said, except for this the land question is near solution. So far as the township is concerned, it is still hanging fire. I know that Government cannot invest large sums of money in building new townships. But, 6,000 people are being rendered homeless. This is an urban population. They look up to Central aid. Himachal Pradesh is a poor State, to give aid and they could not go ahead with the building of the new township. We do not want a large township. We want a township for 6,000 or 7,000 people. Some of the people who will get compensation might be in a position to build their houses. But, the majority of the people will be getting compensation according to the schedule rates which are very low. Not that I am grumbling that they are low. The compensation is low because the houses were built 40 or 50 years ago and with all the depreciation that the C.P.W.D. or the evaluation staff put upon it, the amount would be only Rs. 300 or 400 for building in most cases. With this they cannot possibly build new houses. So, they want Central subsidy. On their behalf, I request the Finance Minister to do something in the matter.

Shri Kamath : Since the Budget was the last presented to this Parliament, there have been three concrete, may I say, striking, gains for the common man of this country? The first place I would assign to the economy that has been effected by the Government in the articulation of its policy. From the 'socialistic' pattern of Avadi, the letters 'i' and 'e' have been abandoned or economised and we have got a 'socialist' structure of the ruling party. That has been a measure of economy. Two letters have been

saved for the articulation of the common man. The second gain for the common man has been that more Ministers are watching over his welfare today than twelve months ago. Owing to lack of family planning in the Cabinet or by the Prime Minister, today, I believe there are 50 Ministers. There were 48, when I referred to this matter two or three months ago. There are now 50, just two short for a complete pack, a pack of cards. When I last referred to this matter, my hon. friend Shri Asoka Mehta, who is not here just now, asked, who is the joker. I had then occasion to say that the question of joker will arise when 52 is complete. The 53rd will be the joker. I am sure that by the time the Second Five-Year Plan gets under way we will have a complete pack plus a joker as well : I hope by the end of this year.

The third concrete gain has been that the common man has been able to participate in heart-warming ceremonies in this country, pageants of political and other pilgrims who have come to this country. In the old Roman Empire, they provided bread and circus for the common man. There has been plenty of circus here in the sense of various ceremonies, though without a much bread. We have provided various ceremonies during the last nine months. A subsidiary gain has been also that the Finance Minister has blossomed into a Hindi poet, not merely a Sanskrit poet. In the Rajya Sabha he concluded with a sweet couplet; addressing a kavi there,—there is no kavi here.

Shri B. D. Pande (Almora Distt.—North East) : You are a kavi.

Shri Kamath : I am not. I give the palm to you: a Himalayan poet. He said :

यही पारणा, यही धारणा,
यही साधना कवि मत भाग ।
नया तराना गुंज उठावो
नया देश का गावो राम ॥

Of course, in this House, he was content with a fine peroration in English prose. There, he blossomed into a Hindi poet and he had the touches which are characteristic of him. Here, he said :

अग्नेन प्रसविष्यच्चमेष वो स्विष्टकामघृक्.

that is, yagna. But has he forgotten what

Shri Krishna also said in the same chapter, I believe :

तदैतानपदायैभ्या

यौ भुङ्क्ते स्तेन एव सः

If the Government eats without feeding the poor people, they are no better than thieves as Shri Krishna said : not that I say that.

But, all these gains for the common man cannot hide the ugly realities. They are, in brief, extravagant governmental expenditure, growing corruption, lopsided economic and fiscal policies, unbalanced economic policies. In spite of these handicaps or these hurdles, the Finance Minister is seeing a rosy dream of a great state whose destiny is in our hands. He says:

“Our destiny is now in our hands.

Our people have throughout history been known for their almost infinite patience and perseverance.”

This is the bare truth : our people are infinitely patient. The Government would not budge at all. That is because of this contributory factor. Yet he says that a great country is rising. This is what he has referred to in his Budget speech. He has poetically described that in the other House. May I submit that, with all these wrong policies which I have referred to briefly,—there is hardly any time to elaborate, I shall try to develop only a few points—this paradise, this great land that is going to be, unless he changes his policies, is as much an illusion as the classic instance of illusion described by the poet :

एषः वन्ध्याञ्जुती याति स्व पुष्प कृत शोखरः

मृगः तृष्णाभसि स्नातः शशशृंगघनतुर्धरः

Every line of it refers to an illusion. I won't waste the time of the House in translating it.

I shall now briefly turn to his fiscal policy. The Finance Minister has given us a great spending budget. He is going to spend crores of rupees. But, I am constrained to say that he has not indicated to us that he is going to broaden the tax base. Without broadening the tax base, if he spends crores of rupees, if he spends money on the large scale, his spending can be compared only to Madame Dubarry's profligate spending. I need not here refer to who or what she was ; she was a well-known figure in French history. I will not further elaborate this. My hon. friend. Dr. Krishnaswami referred to this matter. If the Finance Minister accepts our invitation, we are prepared to discuss this mat-

ter with him and try to find ways and means of broadening the tax base for raising finances in a proper manner. I will again say that our co-operation is there for finding out ways and means to achieve this end.

Having said this, I would like to say that the picture of our foreign policy as well as domestic policy and domestic situation is not so encouraging at all. As regards home policy or domestic policy, I would like to point out that the policies of Government are leading to a marked accretion and accumulation of power in the hands of the State, and the growing identification of the party and the State is becoming clearer day by day. The emergence of authoritarian tendencies circumscribes the liberties of the individual and jeopardises the democratic foundations of the State. The increasing participation of the State in economic activities in a democratic society should normally be accompanied by the fostering of countervailing forces, namely of trade unions, co-operatives, professional and trade associations of a voluntary nature, farmers' organisations, and discriminating public and political opinion. But here in our country, Government are deliberately striving to frustrate the emergence and organisation of the countervailing forces. Free trade unions are discriminated against, and workers are dragooned into unions intimately associated with the Government and the ruling party. Political opposition is systematically pulverised, and the nation is led to work in terms of one big party and one big leader. The media of public opinion such as the press and the radio are being used to boost the achievements of Government, and to gloss over the shortfalls and failures, thereby rendering very difficult improvements in policies and elaboration of alternatives.

Government seem to take pride in ignoring public and parliamentary opinion and criticism, as we have seen during the Goa debacle, during the Goa struggle: it has sought to create an impression in the country that the most complicated national problems can only be solved by discussions within the ruling party and not by taking other parties into confidence or inviting them for consultations.

On account of this, today there is unrest in the country, discontent in the country among vast sections of people. There is now not one problem-State, but there are two problem-States, one in the extreme north, and another in the extreme south to which my hon.

friend has already referred. As regards the extreme southern State, namely the State of Travancore-Cochin, I would only suggest in one sentence that the President, that is to say, the Government, should give a free hand to the Rajpramukh and not fetter his hands in any manner to explore the best avenues of having a stable government; no *fat* or *firman* should be issued from the Centre to fetter his discretion and his freedom.

As regards Kashmir, my hon. friend Th. Lakshman Singh Charak referred to it yesterday. I would only briefly state that while I am glad that we are giving money, crores of rupees, to Kashmir, and rightly too, I want—and I had anxiously stressed this point last time also—to say that though Th. Lakshman Singh Charak said that it is an integral part of India, yet there is no integration of Kashmir with India. There is no complete integration of Kashmir with India. The provisions of the Constitution of India have not been applied in full to the Jammu and Kashmir Government, that is to say, with regard to the Supreme Court, the Comptroller and Auditor-General, the U.P.S.C. and things of that sort. Without this complete integration of Kashmir with India, Kashmir cannot be regarded as an integral part of India.

Coming to the other points, I shall briefly sum up the position. Bombay, Orissa and Bengal have also been added to the foci of the centres of unrest. And due to what? I would only say, due to the myopic folly of Government in dealing with this problem of States reorganisation, the tortuous policy followed by Government in the matter of States reorganisation. From the first day to the latest day, there is no consistency. The last pattern evolved was, if I may describe it very briefly, the old Coupland pant with a Jawahar jacket. That sums up the position very well. Prof. Coupland had a similar plan, a regional plan; and now we have got a Jawahar jacket on it, and that is our latest plan.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan): Pant or plan?

Shri Kamath: Pant or pants—I do not mind whether it is singular or plural.

Shri Sadath Ali Khan: Striped or unstriped?

Shri Kamath: We shall discuss it outside. There are various fashions and

styles, and we shall examine the various pants.

With regard to our foreign policy, in which my hon. friend Shri Sadath Ali Khan is interested, I would only say that the hopes held out by the Geneva summit conference have receded, and international tensions are assuming a new dimension. Today, newer alignments are being made by the Great Powers on the twin problems of colonialism and development of the world's retarded economies. The hopes and aspirations of subject-peoples and the needs of the under-developed areas are becoming pawns in the ambitions of these Great Powers. The signing of the Warsaw and the Baghdad Pacts—the Prime Minister always harps on the Baghdad Pact, and I do not know why he is ignoring the Warsaw Pact in Eastern Europe, that is never being referred to at all—and the extension of the cold war—it is obvious now that there is an extension of the cold war to West Asia and South-East Asia—are acts against the interests of world peace.

In West Asia, why have we not yet established diplomatic relations with Israel? To recognise Israel, we took three years even after that State had become an established State. Now, even after a lapse of five or six years, we have not established diplomatic relations with Israel. I understand that many overtures were made to Government by the authorities concerned, but Government has still not made up their mind, and perhaps they refuse to, in the interests of other West Asian powers. This is a wrong policy, because of the Baghdad Pact to which many of the West Asian nations are a party, and also because of the extension of the cold war to South-East Asia. I shall not dilate on this point because there is no time. I would only say that some of our actions also have been contributory to the extension of the cold war to South-East Asia.

There is democracy on our soil, but when Mr. Khrushchev was here, when he was speaking from a public platform in India, he gave the news to the world about the explosion of the biggest hydrogen bomb in Russia; when he was on Indian soil he gave out this piece news. Knowing very well our Prime Minister's reaction thereto and how he had condemned the American experiment last year or the year before that—I think it was about eighteen months ago—he went out of his way to proclaim

on Indian soil, the news of this particular exploit, though it had been exploded before he landed on Indian soil.

I would just refer now to the economic policy, where shortfalls have occurred in various stages in regard to minor irrigation works. I would not quote figures. In fact, a question was answered here a few days ago. While we are having big outlays running into crores of rupees on big projects, so far as these minor irrigation works are concerned, though money has been allotted, yet it is not being spent. That is also the case with regard to village and cottage industries in our country.

Lastly, I would make a brief reference to the coming centenary celebration of 1857 next year. Money is being spent on that, but I want that the money should be spent well and wisely. It is a big celebration of the centenary of the first war of independence, the war which Bahadur Shah began, and which Netaji brought to a happy and glorious consummation after about 90 years; that great day or that great year we will be celebrating next year.

I would say first that the memorial to our brave soldiers of the INA, a monument to that saga of dedicated heroism, of heroic dedication to the cause of Indian liberty, the monument which was blasted by Lord Mountbatten in 1945 soon after the British got back to Singapore, that monument should be reconstructed and another memorial should also be built here in the Red Fort. The man who dynamited that monument on Singapore soil dynamited the unity of India two years later here. To that man, Lord Mountbatten of Burma, and Lady Mountbatten of India—because I see that she is fonder of India than of Burma—to them, we are according a very grand reception here, though he dynamited that I. N. A. monument in Singapore and the unity of India. The Prime Minister was so proud of that monument that he brought a piece of the destroyed monument to India.

The last suggestion I would make is this. The mausoleum, rather the remains of Bahadur Shah, who commenced the war of independence, which are lying in Rangoon today, should be brought back to India for national homage. If that is done, I would be happy, I would be satisfied that the centenary of 1857 is being celebrated on a 4—23 Lok Sabha.

truly national scale, in a really worthy manner. They have appointed a committee recently with regard to this. There was also a committee to write the history of the freedom movement; I do not know what they are doing. But let the Government at least do this much; otherwise, all their protestations, all their programmes for these various matters, I venture to suggest, will be only sounding brass and tinkling cymbal, an empty show.

पंडित सी० अ०० मालवीय (रायसेन)
सभामंत्री महोदया, कामत साहब से मैं उम्मीद करता था कि वह बजट के कुछ बहुत बारीक नुक्ते बतलायेंगे लेकिन मुझे इस चीज को उन से न सुन कर ना-उम्मीदी हुई। उन्होंने काश्मीर के सवाल और कुछ अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय सवाल यहाँ पर उठाये। उन के भाषण से तो कभी कभी ऐसा मालूम होता था कि वह सिर्फ अपने नारे ही लगा रहे हैं। उन्होंने जनता की जो हालत है उस पर हमदर्दी का इजहार किया लेकिन सरकार ने जनता के लिये क्या नहीं किया यह नहीं बतलाया। उन्होंने यह भी नहीं बतलाया कि जैसी परिस्थितियाँ हैं उन को देखते हुए जो बजट बनाया गया है वह किस तरह का है और उस में क्या कमियाँ रह गई हैं। इस के बारे में उन्होंने जो बात कही है उस को दलीलें देकर साबित करने की कोशिश नहीं की। काश्मीर के सवाल पर उन्होंने जो दृष्टिकोण अपनाया शायद वह भी वही दृष्टिकोण था जो कि अमरीका के सैक्रेटरी आफ स्टेट श्री डलेस साहब ने अपनाया है और पाकिस्तान का भी यही दृष्टिकोण है। वह भी यही कहता है कि काश्मीर हिन्दुस्तान का हिस्सा नहीं है। लेकिन हमारी सरकार ने इस बारे में जो तर्कमय आघार रखे हैं और जो रुख अस्तियार किया है उस को आज दुनिया में किसी ने भी चैलेंज नहीं किया है। आज काश्मीर की जनता यह कहती है कि हम हिन्दुस्तान के साथ हैं और हम को कोई उस से जुदा नहीं कर सकता। जब कामत साहब बोल रहे थे तो ऐसा मालूम होता था कि या तो वह पाकिस्तान का समर्थन कर रहे हैं या अमरीका का समर्थन कर रहे हैं।

महाराजा विलासपुर और दूसरे जो साहिबान हैं जिन्होंने कि इस बजट को इलेक्शन बजट बताया है, मैं उन से भी मुत्तफिक नहीं हूँ। एक सब से बड़ी वजह जो इस सम्बन्ध में बताई गई है वह यह है कि अपनी पंचवर्षीय योजना में १२०० करोड़ रुपये का डिफिसिट फर्निशिंग

(पंडीत सी० एन० मालविय)
 (घाटे की अर्थव्यवस्था) हम कर रहे हैं, इसलिये हमें चाहिये था कि हम पहले साल में २०० या २५० करोड़ रुपये का डिफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग करते। चूंकि हम ने इतने का डिफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग न कर के ३३८ करोड़ का डिफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग कर रहे हैं, इसलिये उनकी दलील है, जो कि नोट करने के काबिल है, कि यह इलेक्शन बजट है। एक होशियार म्ब्र की तरह से उन को यह देखना चाहिये था कि प्रथम पंच-वर्षीय योजना को समाप्त करने के बाद जो अग्रणी योजना हम बनाने वाले हैं उस में हमें किन-किन चीजों की जरूरत है। अगर वह इन चीजों को देखते और उन का एक नक्शा सामने रखते तो शायद वह ऐसी दलील न देते। इस वक्त हमें सब से ज्यादा जिस चीज की जरूरत है वह इस बात की है कि हम अपने मुल्क को इंडस्ट्रियलाइज (औद्योगीकरण) करें। हमें आज कैपिटल गुड्स (पूजी वस्तुयें) चाहियें। हमें स्टील की आवश्यकता है, हमें सीमेंट की आवश्यकता है और इन के लिये हम कारखाने खोलने हैं और इन तथा दूसरी चीजों के बारे में अपने देश को आत्मनिर्भर बनाना है। इन चीजों के लिये आज हमें मजबूर होकर बाहर के मुल्कों पर डिपेंड करना पड़ रहा है। हम चाहते हैं कि दूसरी योजना के दौरान में हम इन चीजों को यहीं बनायें और अपने कदम मजबूत करें और कदम-ब-कदम आगे बढ़ते चले जायें ताकि हमारा जो फारेन एक्सचेंज (विदेशी विनिमय) है वह बच सके। ३३८ करोड़ रुपये का डिफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग करने की इसी वास्ते आवश्यकता पड़ी है न कि इस वास्ते कि इलेक्शन आ रहे हैं और हम को जीतना है। हम ने अपने पिछले इतिहास से और पंच-वर्षीय योजना की सफलता से यह साबित कर दिया है कि भारत की जनता के दिल में हमारे लिये कितना आदर है और हम ने उस के दिल में हमारे लिये कितना स्थान प्राप्त किया है। अगले चुनावों में भी जनता आप को यह दिखा देगी कि वह किस पार्टी को पसन्द करती है।

प्राइवेट सैक्टर (गैर सरकारी क्षेत्र) के सम्बन्ध में भी बहुत सी बातें कही गई हैं। कुछ दलीलें दी गई हैं कि जो टैक्स लगाये गये हैं वह बहुत लगाये गये हैं और जितनी भी दलीलें दी गई हैं उन सब का यही मतलब निकलता है। यह कहा गया है कि बोनस शेयर्स पर जो टैक्स लगाया गया है वह ज्यादा लगाया गया है। ६ परसेंट का जो डिविडेंड (लाभांश) है उस से ज्यादा पर टैक्स लगाया गया है और यह ठीक नहीं है। हमारे पांडे साहब ने बजट के आंकड़े

पेश कर के यह कहा है कि जो पहले बजट बनाया गया था उस में तो डिफिसिट (घाटा) दिखाया गया था लेकिन बाद में वह सरप्लस में तबदील हो गया। इस आधार पर उन्होंने यह कहा कि जो आप के अन्दाजे थे वह गलत निकले। इसी को लेकर उन्होंने कहा कि ६ परसेंट डिविडेंड के ऊपर जो टैक्स लगाया गया है वह नहीं लगाया जाना चाहिये था। अगर वह डिफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग के शास्त्री हैं तो क्या वे इस बात से इन्कार करेंगे कि वह कदम जो कि डिफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग करने के बाद इनफ्लेशन (मुद्रा-स्फीति) को रोकने के लिये जरूरी होता है वह कदम भी उस के साथ उठाना चाहिये था या नहीं। इस लिये ६ परसेंट के ऊपर अगर टैक्स लगता है तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह कोई गलत बात नहीं है।

इसी तरह से प्राइवेट सैक्टर के सिलसिले में कुछ गलत फहमी है। इस गलत फहमी को मैं साफ करना चाहता हूँ। मुझे अफसोस है कि इस सिलसिले में जब कभी भी मैं कुछ कहता हूँ तो हमारे बहुत से दोस्त जो प्राइवेट सैक्टर के हामी हैं वह उस पर कुछ गुस्से और नाराज हो जाते हैं। प्राइवेट सैक्टर की जरूरत को मैं महसूस करता हूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि प्राइवेट सैक्टर का इस्तेमाल किया जाय। लेकिन यह जो बजट लीकेंज करने वाले हैं यह कौन लोग हैं? यह जो टैक्स को इवेड करने वाले (टैक्स न देने वाले) हैं यह कौन लोग हैं? यह कहा जाता है कि प्राइवेट सैक्टर के लोग ऐसा नहीं करते हैं। अगर ऐसी बात है तो क्या प्राइवेट सैक्टर के लोगों का यह फर्ज नहीं है कि वह इन चीजों को कंडेम करें। बजट लीकेंज के बारे में अगर मैं यह कहूँ कि इस के लिये खुद नफा कमाने वाले लोग रिसर्पोसिबल (उत्तरदायी) थे, यह उन की रची हुई एक साजिश थी, तो इस में कोई प्रतिशयोक्ति नहीं होगी। हम ने पहले इम्पीरियल बैंक को नेशनलाइज (राष्ट्रीयकृत) किया इस के बाद हम ने इन्वयोरंस को नेशनलाइज किया यह हम किस लिये कर रहे हैं कि देश में समाजवादी ढंग का समाज कायम हो और इस की ओर हम धीरे धीरे बढ़ रहे हैं। उन लोगों की साजिश यह थी कि किसी तरह से फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर का इस्तीफा दिलवाया जाय। पहले तो वह यह समझते थे कि फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब उन के हक में हैं। अब वह यह समझने लग गये हैं कि यह कैसे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब हैं कि उन्होंने हमारा समर्थन करना बन्द कर दिया है। एक ट्रेडिशन (परम्परा) चली आती है कि

अगर बजट लीक हो जाये तो फाइनंस मिनिस्टर जो होता है वह इस्तीफा दे देता है और उन का ख्याल था कि इस लीकेज से जो वर्तमान फाइनंस मिनिस्टर हैं वह भी इस्तीफा दे देंगे। मैं अपने नेताओं को उन की दूरदर्शिता के लिये धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने इस मौके पर कोई गलत कदम नहीं उठाया है और कौमी नुकसान होने से हमें बचाया। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बहुत अच्छा हुआ कि इस ट्रेडीशन को फोलो (अनुसरण) नहीं किया गया है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जांच कर के उन लोगों को अच्छे तरीके से सजा देनी चाहिये जिन्होंने इस लीकेज में हिस्सा लिया है और इस से फायदा उठाया है। इस से फायदा उठाने वालों को वही सजा मिलनी चाहिये जो कि रिस्वत लेने वाले को मिलती है।

आज हमको अपने बजट के सिलसिले में डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग की जरूरत हुई है। इस पर यह ऐतराज किया जाता है कि इससे इन्फ्लेशन होगा। लेकिन इसके लिये हमारा पिछले पांच साल का तजर्बा है। मैं ने तो बजट को खास तौर से इस दृष्टि से देखा है कि इन वर्षों में हमारी जनता की परचेजिंग पावर (क्रय शक्ति) बढ़ी है या नहीं। उनका स्टैंडर्ड आफ लिविंग (जीवन स्तर) बढ़ा है या नहीं। जब से हमें आजादी मिली है आजतक हमें वह तजर्बा नहीं हुआ बावजूद इसके कि साइक्लोन आये, बावजूद इसके कि ज्यादा बारिश की वजह से नुकसान हुआ, कि बंगाल की तरह ३० या ४० लाख आदमी भूखों मर जाते जब कि गल्ले के ढेर लगे हुए थे, जैसा कि ब्रिटिश शासन के समय में हुआ था। आजतक हमको कोई ऐसी रिपोर्ट नहीं मिली कि लोग भूख की मारे मर गये हों। हमने कम्युनिटी प्राजेक्ट्स के जरिये से, नेशनल एक्सटेंशन सर्विसेज के जरिये से, फर्टिलाइजर बांट कर, अच्छा सीड (बीज) बांट कर, ट्रैक्टरों द्वारा जमीन को आबाद करके देहात वालों की मदद करने की पूरी कोशिश की है। मैं मानता हूँ कि अभी बेरोजगारी का अन्त नहीं हो गया है। मैं मानता हूँ कि इस दिशा में हम उतनी सफलता हासिल नहीं कर सके जितनी करनी चाहिये थी। एक पुरुषार्थी के लिये असंतोष होना बुरी बात नहीं है। हमको इस बात पर असंतोष है कि हमने जो कुछ किया है वह पूरा नहीं है। यह एक बात है। लेकिन यह दूसरी बात है कि यह कहा जाये कि हमने कुछ भी नहीं किया है। जो लोग ऐसा कहते हैं कि हमने कुछ नहीं किया वे अपने दिल पर हाथ रख कर देखें और देहातों

में जाकर देखें कि कम्युनिटी प्राजेक्ट्स के जरिये कितना काम हुआ है, कितनी जमीन ट्रैक्टरों से तोड़ कर खेती के योग्य बनायी गयी है, कितने स्कूल और अस्पताल खोले गये हैं। यह ठीक है कि ये चीजें अभी हम सब गावों में नहीं कर सके हैं। तो मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है जनता की परचेजिंग पावर बढ़ी है और उसकी स्टैंडर्ड आफ लिविंग ऊंचा हुआ है।

अब जो हमारी सैंकिड फाइव इअर प्लान है उसमें हम इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन (औद्योगीकरण) पर जोर देना चाहते हैं, और इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन के साथ साथ हम एम्प्लायमेंट को भी काफी बढ़ाना चाहते हैं। इस बारे में पिछले पांच वर्षों में हम पूरी तरह से निश्चित नहीं थे। लेकिन दूसरी पंच-वर्षीय योजना का जो ड्राफ्ट प्रकाशित किया गया है उसके २३वें सफे पर आप देखेंगे कि आठ मिलियन लोगों को पूरी तरह से रोजगार देने की हमारी स्कीम है। इस तरीके से जो एम्प्लायमेंट हम देना चाहते हैं वह भी हमारी स्कीम में है और साथ ही साथ हम अन-एम्प्लाय-मेंट के फिगर्स (बेकारी के आंकड़े) भी इकट्ठे कर रहे हैं। यहां मुझे यह बात दुःख के साथ कहनी पड़ रही है कि हमने पहले भी कहा था कि हम बेरोजगारी के आंकड़े तैयार कर रहे हैं लेकिन हम अभी तक उस काम को पूरा नहीं कर पाये हैं। मैं मानता हूँ कि यह एक बहुत उलझी हुई बात है लेकिन फिर हमको इसे पूरा करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये ताकि हम इस समस्या को पूरे तरीके से अपने हाथ में ले सकें।

डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग का मैं पूरे तरीके से समर्थन करता हूँ। पहली पंच-वर्षीय योजना का जो बड़ा बाल्यूम है उसके सफे ५६, ६०, और ६१ पर डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग के सिलसिले में जो पालिसी निर्धारित की गयी है गवर्नमेंट ने उस पालिसी का हर्फ ब हर्फ पालन किया है। सरकार निश्चित होकर नहीं बैठी जहां भी उसे इन्फ्लेशन मालम हुआ वहां ही उसने उसको रोकने की कोशिश की। फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर ने होलसेल प्राइस और रिटेल प्राइस और कैंपिटल ऐक्स्पेंडीचर (पूंजी खर्च) को जिस तरीके से बतलाया है उससे यह साबित होता है कि इन्फ्लेशन को हमने रोका है, बढ़ने नहीं दिया है। साथ ही साथ हमने एक अन्दाज लगाया है यह जरूरी नहीं है कि हम ३३८ करोड़ का डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग करें। लेकिन एक दूरदर्शी आदमी का यह काम है कि वह जब भी कोई योजना बनावे तो उसमें इस बात की गुंजाइश रखे कि अगर किसी वक्त

(पंडीत सी० ए० मालवीय)

किसी तरह की गड़बड़ हो तो वह उसका सामना कर सके। हो सकता है कि रेवेन्यू (राजस्व) में तरक्की हो जाये या खर्चों में कमी हो जाये और इस वजह से जितना डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग करना चाहते हैं उतना न करना पड़े। लेकिन हम उन्नति के कामों में पूरे तरीके से आगे बढ़ना चाहते हैं, इसलिये हम अपने पास पूरी गुंजाइश रखना चाहते हैं। हमारे गांधी साहब ने कहा कि डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग एक तरह का टैक्स है। लेकिन मैं इसको टैक्स नहीं मानता। यह तो कुछ ऐसा है कि अगर मुझे टैक्स देना है पर मेरे पास रूपया नहीं है तो मेरा मित्र वह टैक्स मेरी तरफ से दे देता है। यह तो कौम का क्रेडिट है। इसके पीछे हमारा बैंकिंग है। उसके पीछे जो हमारा ७३१ करोड़ का स्ट्रालिंग बँलेस (पौंड पावना) है उसका बैंकिंग है। इसमें हमको कोई कमजोरी नहीं होने वाली है। इनफ्लेशन को रोकने के लिए यह जरूरी है कि जो हमारा रूपया फिजूल जाता है उसको रोकें। फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने अपनी स्पीच में यह भी साफ कर दिया है कि हम इस नीति का भी अनुसरण कर रहे हैं। हम यह नहीं चाहते कि आंकड़े इकट्ठे करके जनता को जाल में फंसाकर यह साबित कर दें कि हमने जनता का जीवनस्तर बढ़ा दिया है बल्कि हम हकीकत में चाहते हैं कि जनता के जीवनस्तर को ऊंचा उठायें।

मैं फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब के इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ कि इनकम-टैक्स के मामलों को चाहे जब खोला जा सकता है। इसके लिये बहुत आंसू बहाये गये हैं। लेकिन मुझे टैक्स इवेडर्स से किसी तरह की भी हमदर्दी नहीं है। फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर ने जो आठ साल की मियाद को हटाकर यह प्रौवीजन (उपबन्ध) रखा है कि इनकम-टैक्स के मामलों को खोलने की कोई मुद्दत न हो। मैं इसका पूरी तरह से समर्थन करता हूँ और मैं उनको विश्वास दिलाता हूँ कि इस मामले में जनता पूरी तरह से उनके पीछे है। ऐसे चोरों के साथ कोई हमदर्दी नहीं होनी चाहिये।

एक बात मैं और कह देना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि हमको फारिन एड (विदेशी सहायता) मिली है। उसके सिलसिले में इकानामिक डिपार्टमेंट ने रिपोर्ट दी है जिससे मालूम होता है कि उसका जैसा यूटीलाइजेशन (उपयोग) होना चाहिये था वैसा नहीं हो पाया। यद्यपि किसी हद तक यह मामला दूसरों के हाथ में है लेकिन हमको कोशिश करना चाहिये कि इस प्रकार का भेद

न पड़े। हमको अपने यहां भी इस बात का ध्यान रखना चाहिये कि इस प्रकार का भेद न होने पावे। कभी कभी ऐसा होता है कि जो रकम दी जाने वाली है वह इतनी देर से दी जाती है कि ठीक वक्त पर इस्तेमाल नहीं हो सकती। सैकिंड फाइव इयर प्लान में हमें चाहिये कि हम इस चीज का ध्यान रखें।

आखिर मैं मैं एग्रीकल्चरल क्रेडिट के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। आजकल यह होता है कि जब किसान अपना गल्ला बेचता है तो उसको कम दाम मिलते हैं और उसी गल्ले को मिडिल मैन, सवाये, ड्यूडे और दूने दाम पर बेचता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमको कोई ऐसा कदम उठाना चाहिये कि यह जो मिडिल मैन का नफा होता है उसका कुछ हिस्सा किसान को भी मिलना चाहिये। अगर और कोई तरीका न हो तो गवर्नमेंट इस काम को अपने हाथ में ले ले ताकि अगर उसके पास इस काम के सिलसिले में कुछ रकम बचे तो उसे हम कौम के फायदे के लिये इस्तेमाल कर सकें।

श्री नन्द लाल शर्मा (सीकर) :

नमोस्तु रामाय सलक्ष्मणाय
देव्यै च तस्यै जनकात्मजायै ।
नमोस्तु रुद्रेन्द्र यमानिलेभ्यो
नमोस्तु चन्द्रार्कमरुद्गणेश्यः ॥

माननीया सभानेत्री महोदया,

सुवृत्यनोड्कारपूर्वं पुरस्ताच्चविशीर्यती

मनु महाराज ने लिखा है कि जिस कार्य के पहले मंगलाचरण नहीं होता, भगवदनाम नहीं होता वह जरूर आदि और अन्त दोनों में लीक कर जाता है। हमारे श्री देशमुख महाराज पहले ही से लीक कर गये। और वह लीक करने का कारण भी यह है कि वे देश के मुख हैं और देशमुख की समस्त इन्द्रियां

परांचिखानि व्यतृणत्स्वयम्भू

तस्मात्परं पश्यति नान्तरात्मा ॥

उनकी दृष्टि लगी हुई है बाहर के देशों पर। अमरीका पर इंग्लैंड पर और दूसरी ओर से रुस पर उनकी दृष्टि लगी हुयी है। उनकी अन्तर-मुख वृत्ति नहीं होती। घर में जो वस्तु है वह भी लीक करती है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : यह बातें उन नास्तिकों से कहिये।

श्री नंद लाल शर्मा: नास्तिक तो वैसे ही गये बीते हैं। यह एक आबजेक्शन (आपत्ति) है और देश-मुख साहब को इस बात को नोट कर लेना चाहिये यह संतोष का विषय है कि नास्तिकों के हाथ में आज हमारे देश के शासन की बागडोर नहीं है और भगवान न करे कि देश की बागडोर जिनके हाथों में है अगर वे कहीं अपने पथ से विचलित हो गये और बिगड़ गये तो जरूर देश को मिटा देंगे। नास्तिक मरेगा तो स्वयं आप ही मरेगा और किसी को तो नहीं मारेगा लेकिन अगर बिगड़ गये तो देश ही मलियामेट हो जायेगा। हम इस बात को देख रहे हैं कि देश में चारों ओर पंच-वर्षीय योजना के गुण गाये जा रहे हैं। और जनता में सर्वत्र प्रचार किया जा रहा है कि अमुक-अमुक बड़ी बड़ी योजनायें उन के लाभ के लिये बनाई जा रही हैं और जनता बड़ी सुखी है। स्वयं श्री देशमुख इस बात को स्वीकार करते हैं और अपनी बजट स्पीच के अन्त में वे इस प्रकार कहते हैं :—

“It has to work hard and it has to abstain from asking for immediate returns. A plan verily is a yagna.

अनेन प्रसविष्यध्वमेष वोऽस्त्विष्टकामधुक्

स्वयं उन्होंने स्वीकार किया है कि यह एक प्रकार का Eldorado (एलडोरेडो) क्षितिज है जो कहीं मिलने वाला नहीं है। फर्टिलिटी इयर प्लान की कामयाबी को सेकेंड फाइव इयर प्लान में देखना चाहिये। सेकेंड फाइव इयर प्लान के दौरान जनता को हार्ड वर्क करना है और उस की फल की आशा नहीं करनी है। “माफलेषु कदाचन”। फल की कभी आशा न रखो। मुझे इस बात की भी चिन्ता नहीं अगर जनता के कल्याण के लिये कुछ एक व्यक्तियों का २, ४, १०, २० या ५० व्यक्तियों का भी बलिदान हो जाय परन्तु उस के साथ ही जनता का भी बलिदान हो जाय, राष्ट्र का भी बलिदान हो जाय, यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। मुझे तो स्पष्ट रूप से दिखाई देता है कि अगर इस बजट के कर प्रस्तावों को देखा जाय तो उस में पूर्ण रूप से बँग, बीरो, स्टील, और रौब (beg, borrow, Steal and rob) यह चारों अंश दिखाई देते हैं। पहले अगर हमें कहीं से भिक्षा मिल सके तो हम भिक्षा मांगें। जनता से हमने कहा है कि वे स्मॉल सेविंग (अल्प-बचत) करे

और बाहर के देशों से हम ने कहा है कि भाई तुम कुछ हमारी सहायता करो और यह समय की बलिहारी है कि जो व्यक्ति हमारा मुंह ताका करते थे, हम ने उन से २, २ और ४, ४ लाख रुपये की सहायता की भीख मांग रहे हैं और उस पर भी हम यह दावा करते हैं कि हम एक स्वतन्त्र देश हैं और अपने को एक स्वाभिमानी देश कहलाते हैं। हमारे बजट के कर प्रस्तावों में चारों चीजें मौजूद हैं, अर्थात् बँग भी है, बीरो भी है, और स्टील भी है और रौब भी है और हम देख रहे हैं कि देश की जनता को एक्साइज ड्यूटी (उत्पादन शुल्क) में वृद्धि करके चूसा जा रहा है और मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर धनवान लोगों को ही चूसा जाता और रौब किया जाता तो कोई विशेष बात नहीं थी क्योंकि धनवानों के पास जिन के पास अतुल सम्पत्ति थी अगर उन से हम ने इस तरह १०, २० या ५० करोड़ रुपया छीन भी लिया तो क्या हुआ। आप यह विचार कर देखें कि आप के उत्पादन शुल्क की वृद्धि का प्रभाव किस पर पड़ेगा। यह सारा भार जनता को ही बहन करना पड़ेगा क्योंकि कोई भी ऐसा व्यापारी बच्चा पैदा नहीं हुआ जो अपनी जेब से इस कर की ओर एक कौड़ी भी दे और अन्त में जा कर उस को जनता के मत्थे ही यह अतिरिक्त ड्यूटी मढ़नी है। जनता कर भार से पिसती चली जाती है और कोई उस की ओर देखने वाला नहीं है। हमारे देशमुख साहब ने स्वयं इस तथ्य को स्वीकार किया है कि एक बार यदि इनफ्लेशन (मुद्रा स्फीती) के फ्लडगेट्स खुल गये तो उस को रोकना असम्भव हो जायेगा। इस बात को उन्होंने स्वीकार किया है और उस के बाद भी वह यह कहते हैं :

“अनेन प्रसविष्यध्वमेष वोऽस्त्विष्टकामधुक्”

मैं यह स्पष्ट रूप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह दैवी यज्ञ नहीं है जो श्रीमद्भगवत गीता का कहा हुआ है। ‘यज्ञार्थात्कर्मणोऽप्यत्रलोकोऽयम् कर्मबन्धनः। कांग्रेस के भाई मुझे इस स्पष्ट-वादिता के लिये क्षमा करेंगे और मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि कांग्रेस एक पार्टी बन चुकी है और कांग्रेस के बाहर जितने भी अन्य लोग हैं वे सब शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट (अनुसूचित जातियाँ) के हैं, योग्य सं. योग्य व्यक्ति भी जो कांग्रेस के बाहर हैं वे उन को किसी काम के नहीं दिखाई देते हैं और उस का परिणाम हम यह देख रहे हैं कि जो काम आप उठाते हैं वह चौपट हो जाता है.....

[Mr. SPEAKER in the Chair]

एक माननीय सदस्य : क्या आप भी शोड्यूल्ड कास्ट हैं ?

श्री नन्द लाल शर्मा : आप के लिये मैं भी शोड्यूल्ड कास्ट हूँ। दूसरे देशों में हम देखते हैं कि हमारे यहां की मां और बहनें कलचरल शोज में वहां के लोगों के सामने नाचती हैं और यह आप अपना कलचर संसार के सामने रख रहे हैं। इस से मेरा सिर तो शर्म के मारे झुक जाता है कि कलचर के नाम पर किस तरह हम अपने देश के गौरव और प्रतिष्ठा को बट्टा लगा रहे हैं...

Mr. Speaker : Order, order, The hon. Member will kindly address the Chair.

Shri Nand Lal Sharma : I am not addressing anybody else.

Mr. Speaker : 'Aap' means myself so far as I know.

Shri Nand Lal Sharma : 'Aap' means Government.

Mr. Speaker : The hon. Member knows that 'Aap' means myself.

Shri Nand Lal Sharma : All right, Sir, I stand corrected.

Shrimati Jayashri (Bombay-Suburban): The hon. Member is saying that all women are being sent out and they are dancing. That is a very wrong statement to make.

Shri Nand Lal Sharma : I am sorry that is a fact. Parties are being sent out, including ladies, and they are dancing. Here also in your own country, guests are coming and dances are performed. I strongly object to this, and it is simply on account of my strong feelings against that that I say so.

एक माननीय सदस्य : वह तो अपनी कला के प्रदर्शन के लिये है।

संचार मंत्रालय में मंत्री (श्री राज बहादुर) : दूसरे देशों से भी यहां बहनें आ रही हैं और अपनी कला का प्रदर्शन हम लोगों के सामने कर रही हैं।

श्री नंद लाल शर्मा : यह कला का प्रदर्शन नहीं हुआ बल्कि.....

Mr. Speaker : The hon. Member may be a puritan and may not want anybody to be sent out. Let him have his say, but let him not say that all women are going out for dancing.

Shri Nand Lal Sharma : I never said 'all women'.

The Minister of Industries (Shri Kanungo) : We do not object to what he says but to the way in which he says and the language he uses.

Mr. Speaker : The hon. Member will kindly address the Chair.

श्री नन्द लाल शर्मा : मैंने यह निवेदन किया था कि हमारी सरकार ऐसे विषयों पर रुपया खर्च करती है और उस के लिये जनता के ऊपर टैक्स लगाती है और उन से कहती है कि अभी और पैसा चाहिये 'यः का किणीमप्यपथप्रपन्नां समुद्धरेन्नृषकसहस्रतुल्याम्, मैं अपने वित्त मंत्री महोदय से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आखिर इस प्रकार की डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग (घाटे की अर्थव्यवस्था) दीवाले का बजट कब तक चलता जायेगा ? हम यह भी देखते हैं कि वर्ष के आरम्भ में तो डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग होती है और साल के अन्त में कुछ न कुछ सरप्लस रह जाता है। ताजुब्ब तो यह है कि जिसके लिये वह पुष्पं पुष्पं विचिन्नवीते कहते थे, उन्हीं देशमुख साहब ने स्वयं इवांगाकारकः की तरह जनता को चूसना शुरू कर दिया है और मैं समझता हूँ कि इस तरह एक दिन जनता की कमर टूट जायेगी और अभी से उन की कमर टूटनी आरम्भ हो गई है और मेरे पास छोटे छोटे दुकानदारों और साधारण से साधारण व्यक्तियों ने आकर बतलाया कि चीजें महंगी हो गई हैं और उन के पास कोई खरीदने को नहीं आता और वे लोग दुकान पर मखी मारते रहते हैं। जब इस तरह की परिस्थिति इस बजट के आरम्भ से ही होना शुरू हो गई है तो आप समझ सकते हैं कि आगे चल कर हमारी कंसी शोचनीय स्थिति हो जायेगी। इसलिये इस ओर विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिये। और मैं समझता हूँ कि आप को जीवन की आवश्यक वस्तुओं पर जैसे कि वस्त्र और साबुन इत्यादि पर और अधिक उत्पादन शुल्क नहीं लगाना चाहिये था।

आप निरन्तर मद्य-निषेध और प्राहिबिशन की आवाज लगाते हैं लेकिन आप उस को जहाँ तक सम्भव हो सके कम करने और खत्म करने के लिये आवश्यक कदम नहीं उठाते हैं। आप मद्यपान के ऊपर इतना ज्यादा टैक्स क्यों नहीं लगा देते कि जिस से साधारण व्यक्ति के लिये

उस को खरीदना और प्राप्त करना दुर्लभ हो जाय और अगर आप इस तरह अपनी एक्साइज ड्यूटी को बढ़ायें तो मुझे उस में कोई आपत्ति नहीं है क्योंकि रुपये की आमदनी करने के अलावा आप मद्य निषेध को कामयाब बनाने के लिये भी काम करेंगे। इसी तरह आप तम्बाकू पर भी टैक्स में वृद्धि कर सकते थे और इस तरह इस बुरी चीज को किसी हद तक कम करने की दिशा में आगे बढ़ सकते थे। आप कॉस्मेटिक्स (cosmetics) पर श्रृंगार आदि सामग्री पर जिनकी कि कोई विशेष आवश्यकता जनता को नहीं होती, ऐसी अनावश्यक वस्तुओं पर यदि आप टैक्स लगाते तो हम भी समझते कि आप कुछ उपयोगी काम कर रहे हैं और हम उन का उस के लिये स्वागत करते किन्तु वह सब न करके आप ने जीवन की आवश्यक वस्तुओं पर अतिरिक्त टैक्स लगाना शुरू कर दिया है और वह कष्टप्रद है। इस के साथ साथ मैं एक बार फिर यह कहूंगा कि इस बात को आप अच्छी तरह से समझ लें कि आप की जो यह योजनाएं चल रही हैं, उन योजनाओं के सहायताार्थ जो आप को विदेशों से सहायता मिलती है वह रुपये के रूप में नहीं मिलती है और वह सहायता आपको उन देशों के एक्सपोर्ट्स (विशेषज्ञों) की सेवा के रूप में मिलती है। हम यह देख रहे हैं कि सोशल वेल्फेयर (समाज कल्याण) के कार्यों के लिये बाहर के देशों से एक्सपोर्ट्स बुला रहे हैं।

आपके देश के अन्दर डा० राधाकृष्णन एक्सपोर्ट नहीं रहे समाज कल्याण के, हमारे स्पीकर महोदय एक्सपोर्ट नहीं रहे, राजर्षि टंडन नहीं रहे और कोई महात्मा नहीं रहे आप के अपने समाज को सुधारने के लिये, जो कि यहां की परिस्थिति को जानते हैं। आप अमरीका, स्विडेन और दूसरे देशों से एक्सपोर्ट्स बुलाते हैं और उन के ऊपर खर्च करते हैं। इस का फल यह होता है कि आप की गुप्त से गुप्त बात, मैं यह संकेत बजट की ओर नहीं कर रहा हूँ, परन्तु गुप्त से गुप्त बात अपनी युद्ध-विद्या के सम्बन्ध में आप विदेशियों के हाथ में दे देते हैं। उस की सारी बातें उन को पता रहती हैं। जिस मकान के अन्दर तिजोरी ही चोर ने बनाई हो उस के अन्दर छिपाया हुआ धन कैसे सुरक्षित रह सकता है, इस को आप समझ सकते हैं। सीटो और नेटो आप के चारों ओर घूम रहे हैं, सैतान आप के चारों ओर घूम रहा है, और मैं जानता हूँ कि उस से बचने की कितनी शक्ति आप के अन्दर है।

“मन्त्रो योद्ध इवाधीर : सर्वांगैः सवृत्तरपि ।

चिरं न शक्यते स्थातुं परेभ्यो भेदशंक्या ॥”

वह तत्व ही यहां पर विद्यमान नहीं दिखाई देता। जरा सी कीमत पर कई लोग आप के अन्दर पड़े हुए हैं जो आप के कर्मचारियों को मोल लेकर आप की सामग्री ले जा सकते हैं। अगर ऐसा हो जाय तो आप की परिस्थिति क्या होगी ? मैं कहता हूँ कि आप इतने भयंकर वेग से, ब्रेक नेक स्पीड से बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं जिसका कोई ठिकाना नहीं है। आपने अपनी फाइव ड्यर प्लान को इसी तरह से बनाया है। मैं यह नहीं चाहता कि देश की उन्नति न हो परन्तु आप की शक्ति के अन्दर वह उन्नति होनी चाहिये। अगर आप के घरके अन्दर दाने हैं तो आप अपनी बुद्धियां मांको भुनान के लिये दें, अगर नहीं है तो दूसरे से भीख मांग कर, कर्जा मांग कर अथवा जनता को दुखित कर के ऐसा न करें। यह “अनेन प्रसविष्य-ध्वमेध वोस्त्विष्टकामधुक्” नहीं है। यह है “अनेन मा ह्यसिष्यध्वं मैषवो स्त्विष्टकामधुक्”। इसके द्वारा कहीं ऐसा न हो कि आप का सर्वनाश हो जाय और आप की समस्त कामनायें सदा के लिये जल जायें। इस भावना से इस आसुरी यज्ञ को केवल कांग्रेसी बहुमत के बल पर चलाना बन्द कर दें। आप निश्चित रूप से जनता को जनता समझिये। आप के विरोधी पक्ष में एक भी व्यक्ति ऐसा न होगा, जब तक कि उस का जन्म ही विदेशी आशावाद के द्वारा न हुआ हो, कम से कम मुझे प्रतीत नहीं होता जो हमारे राष्ट्र को अथवा हमारे देश को किसी प्रकार से हानि नहीं पहुंचाना चाहता हो अथवा जो यह चाहता हो कि यह सरकार उलट जाय। हम सब समझते हैं कि देश चारों ओर शत्रुओं से घिरा हुआ है। किन्तु हमें आप अपने विचार व्यक्त करने देने के स्थान पर बाबू रामनारायण सिंह जैसे व्यक्तियों को १२४ ए में दंडित करना चाहते हैं जिस को हाईकोर्ट मना करती है, निषिद्ध करता है। यहां पर प्रिविलेज (विशेषाधिकार) का प्रश्न भी उठाया गया था परन्तु अभी तक आप उन का मुख बन्द करने की चेष्टा कर रहे हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप विरोधी लोगों को रोकने की चेष्टा न करें तथा साथ में यदि आप समस्त कार्यों में उन की सहायता लेंगे तो आप को लाभ होगा।

Shri Matthen : I rise to express my appreciation for the realistic Budget presented by the hon. Finance Minister. This, I think, is the fifth Budget he is

[Shri Matthen]

presenting. One common factor of all his Budgets is the straightforwardness and cleanliness.

I was surprised,—in fact I was a bit pained,—to hear from one of the leading Members of the House—I think, Shri Asoka Mehta—that it is a political weapon. I know Opposition Members are expected to say something nasty and that they themselves do not believe in what they say. I do not attempt to oppose it except to express my regret and sorrow at an expression like that. I think a similar expression was used by Shri H. N. Mukherjee—political bread buttering. The same remarks apply to this remark as well.

An Hon. Member: These are Moscow words.

Shri Matthen: I heard several Members condemning or feeling anxious about deficit financing. In the growing economy of our country when we are spending thousands of crores, I for one feel that it will be a default on the part of the hon. Finance Minister if he does not take the advantage which deficit financing has to offer to our planning needs. Not to take advantage of it when we need it is a default. I am not going into the details of the Budget because I have given an all-round appreciation of it. But certain factors arise out of the Budget and I would like to refer to them.

I want particularly to refer to the private sector. It is true that we have adopted a socialist pattern of society deliberately. It may be a vague philosophy. As the Prime Minister more than once said—he said so at a recent meeting of the FICCI—it is a flexible philosophy the main idea being to work for the betterment of our country and our people and to avoid the acquisitive philosophy. When I start saying a word about this, I do not want to be mis-understood. I am a believer in the socialist pattern; more than that, I am a practiser of that. To me it is something which makes myself dedicate to the service of the country. I have no desire of becoming a capitalist or acquiring more and more money. At the same time, I am brought up in an atmosphere which has prompted me to play the game and to be decent even to one's opponents. Social ownership of the means of production such as atomic energy, steel, aircrafts, telephones and telegraphs, banking, life insurance—we are working on that philosophy. In fact we are pursuing the policy enunciated in the Resolution of 1948

which is definitely against *laissez fair* capitalism.

This should not be a doctrinaire approach, as I find it sometimes in this House. Not only the Prime Minister but the hon. Finance Minister and several other important Ministers have explained that it must be a realistic approach. Nevertheless, some promising young Members of Parliament—I am not referring to the Treasury Benches even though sometimes some Deputy Ministers have made some statements which have given rise to some alarm but I am mostly thinking of the young and enthusiastic and promising future Ministers who are present in this House—some of them forget it. My address is to them. We have accepted the mixed economy as a deliberate and well-thought out policy of the Union Government. Unfortunately, I hear inside and outside this House condemnation of the capitalists as if they are untouchables and outcastes, and condemnation of the foreigners however expert they may be, however well-versed they may be in the know-how which we need very badly. I do admit that a good number of the capitalists are there and they have given room for a lot of criticism which they deserve. I have never spared them. But there are several honest and decent people also who have contributed to the economy of the country and it is up to us to give credit to them. In our First Plan they have played their part well and we expect them to play their part in the Second as well. Is it desirable, then, for us to condemn them as a class? I can tell you that even in some of the Committees—Committees which do not know much, for instance about shipping production in a particular field, etc.—if we invite a capitalist—a man who knows something about the subject and who is running the show—to give us some idea of the subject, it has been resented by several Members. Sometimes, I had to smuggle in some of the experts in the line just to give some idea about the subject to the member. I hold no brief for the capitalists. As I have said on several occasions. I was one, but I am no more one.

5 P.M.

Shri Nambiar (Mayuram): Doubtful.

Shri Matthen: It is due to the notorious administrator of my State. At one time, I was sorry for it, but today, I am not. I do not want to be a hated man like the capitalists. I am not a capitalist. I am a practiser of the socialist

pattern of society. Therefore, I am thankful to the man who deprived me of my capitalism! I was a capitalist before, but not now. What I say is, that you must play the game. I appeal to you and to my colleagues not only on moral grounds but on economic grounds, not to hate the so-called capitalists. They are today deeply disturbed by the socialist pattern. I think what disturbs them most or provokes them most in recent days is the life insurance business which has been nationalised. I have been asked by several people, capitalists no doubt, "What next"? Some ask, "Matthen, is it shipping, is it banking or, is it even textiles?"

Shri A. M. Thomas (Ernakulam): In the course of his speech on the budget last year, my hon. friend, I think, pleaded for nationalisation of insurance.

Shri Matthen: I did; I am confirming it. I did so not only last year but for the last three years, I have been asking for it and I still confirm it. What I am saying is, it is undesirable, in the interests of the industrial undertakings that the State is taking over, to make them monopolies. I suggested in the party and here also last time that there must be left decent private sector, of course, only the deserving among them, lest the Government undertaking should lose the incentive. Unless there is competition, no industrial undertaking can thrive. It may be all right, when, with the enthusiasm of the hon. Finance Minister, it may go on well and show progress for one year, two years or three years, but I am perfectly certain that after five years you will see the difference. Let the hon. Finance Minister accept the challenge of my friend Shri Tulsidas that the State cannot run an industrial undertaking unless it is a monopoly. Shri Tulsidas challenged him. I say that the hon. Finance Minister should accept the challenge and show that they could run it better than it is done by the private sector. I believe that the public sector can very efficiently manage things than the private sector. My friends may ask me, "Is there not any malpractice and corruption in the public sector?" I am not denying it. But the difference is, malpractices in the private sector start from the top, while in the public sector, the top is anxious to stop all malpractices. There it comes from below or in between. That is the great difference between the two kinds of malpractices. But for the malpractices, from evidence here and outside, I do not think the hon.

Finance Minister would have been in a hurry to nationalise life insurance business, even in spite of the fact that I and some others have been asking for it. But my only request is, retain at least a dozen companies. I do not mind if you give them less freedom. You can take away the capitalists out of them and make them Mutual companies, but they must be independent companies with strict controls, so that the scheme of nationalisation may prosper and may serve the purpose for which it is introduced.

In spite of the honest attempt of the hon. Minister of Communications, I believe most of my friends who had occasion to travel by air will testify that the service has gone down. Why? Because there is no competition. The State keeps the business. If there is one section—say Tatas—to compete, it would work better. You may leave the Tatas behind to compete with the public sector. I think some of us asked for such a thing in the Select Committee, and if this suggestion is adopted, things would have improved much, and we would be much better off today. For every industry that the Government takes over, there must be something left for the private sector, with greater control or whatever that may be, so that the competitive spirit may be there. I even think that once you lose the incentive, the initiative goes.

The Minister in the Ministry of Communications (Shri Raj Bahadur): I may just interrupt the Member for a clarification. I would like to know from him whether he has ever pointed out any defects or shortcomings or any deterioration or any suggestions for the improvement of the air service. I shall be grateful if he can give any suggestion.

Shri Matthen: I thank the hon. Minister for it. In the first place, I have seen the aeroplanes dirty and sometimes filthy. I have seen luggages being loaded on one side so that one cannot sit well.

Shri Raj Bahadur: My question was, whether, having noticed all these things, he has ever noted down the points and written to the authorities of the Air Lines Corporation or to us.

Shri Nambiar: He is doing it now.

Shri Matthen: I am saying these things more on the report of my friends than from my own experience, because I am travelling by train now-a-days. My point is, in every sector, a private sector

[Shri Matthen]

must be left, for the sake of competition. As I said the other day, the country that has gone up topmost in the matter of industrial production is the U.S.A. I know that in one corporation, a soap manufacturing corporation, two sectors are allowed to compete *e.g.* in matter of washing soaps, they are having so much of competition as to drive one out of the market completely. It would be adding a feather to the cap of the other man in the same company, perhaps, where profit may be affected, but the point is, they value and they appreciate the necessity for competition.

Mr. Speaker : Hon. Member's time is up.

Shri Matthen : Part of my time was taken by the hon. Minister. I will finish soon. Similarly, in road transport, ship-building, and even in machine-tool industry, do not have a monopoly for anybody.

An. Hon. Member : Railways ?

Shri Matthen : I am not referring to the railways and the posts and telegraphs because they are doing a very good job, and when they do a good job in any industry, I shall withdraw my claim. When I am satisfied that the public sector is doing a good job, I will not emphasise on a section of the private sector handling it. But I am really afraid whether the nationalisation of life insurance is not too much, when the whole of it is swallowed as a State enterprise.

Another important aspect, in this connection, is foreign business. It is an important, invisible export. It is a source with tremendous possibilities. To miss it will be a great loss. I have no time to develop it, but if I get chance in connection with the Insurance Corporation Bill, I shall refer to it.

India is a sub-continent, an advantage which we have got, like the United States. If our production increases, as it is bound to improve and as it has increased—it is steadily increasing—no other country by any shutting up policy, can stop our progress. You know about 95 per cent. of the automobiles manufactured in America are consumed by America itself. We have a sub-continent, and so, if every one adds one shirt, so more textile Mills will have to come up and the same should be the case with, say, car, etc. The advantage is, even if others shut us out, we can develop ourselves. That possibility is there. After thus developing our economy, it will

be our duty to extend the benefit of our knowhow to the neighbouring countries which are very, very low in their standards of living.

I want that the rules and regulations and the laws passed by the Government in regard to the public sector as against the private sector must be made uniform and the differences must be narrowed down to the minimum, so that in the matter of profit and administrative working, and a time may come when there will not be much difference between the one and the other even though there is competition.

I shall say a few words about my State before I conclude. There has been a tendency on the part of the Finance Minister, the Planning Commission and everybody on the Treasury Benches to treat my State just like any other State. My State deserves special treatment, not on account of partiality, but on account of the potentialities of the State. We are the most educated in the whole of India and unemployment is the greatest problem. Our educated young women and men can help the development of India, but they can also be the source of danger where national unity and integrity of India are concerned. Therefore, my State should be treated with due consideration. Whether in the matter of development or re-organisation or any other matter, it ought to be given a special treatment. As has been remarked by my friend, Mr. Sharma, we have had five Ministries and I hope we will not have any Ministry for some time to come. We want to have a stable, efficient and honest administration for a change. My people are longing for a stable and efficient administration. Then stability can be assured.

An. Hon. Member : Will you have a bilingual State ?

Shri Matthen : Bilingual or multi-lingual, the whole of India knows what our State wants. I say that in the interest of the integrity of India that my State should be given special treatment.

Shri Nambiar : Does my hon. friend who spoke just now want to have President's rule ?

Mr. Speaker : I have called Mr. Bogawat.

Shri Bogawat (Ahmednagar South) : I welcome the Budget proposals presented by the Finance Minister. He is really

a man of outstanding ability and I can say that the present Budget, the Budget of the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan, is not presented in the traditional method which used to be the case formerly; there is a little difference in it. We find that the richer people are taxed to a certain extent. There is increase in the corporation tax, super-tax and also income-tax. Before the presentation of the Budget, we expected higher taxation and we thought that there would be a very great psychological effect on the people of the country, because our object is to have a socialistic pattern of society. The gaping gulf between the rich and poor must be bridged; at least there should be an equal proportion of taxation on the richer classes as on the poor classes. It is not so.

We find from the taxation proposals that there is an increase in posts and telegraph rates and there is also tax on vegetable and non-essential oils. This is a burden on the common people mostly. If we go to the richer classes, we find that even though there is increase in income-tax, super-tax and corporation tax, there is still more margin in respect of some taxes. As regards the corporation tax payable by the companies, the Finance Minister has said:

“I think there is adequate justification for imposing a small tax on the registered firms as such. I propose a tax of nine pies per rupee upto Rs. 75,000, one anna upto Rs. 1,50,000 . . .”

My proposal is that the tax should be one anna upto Rs. 1 lakh, one anna and six pies for amounts from Rs. 1 lakh to Rs. 1,50,000 and some more tax on amounts exceeding Rs. 1,50,000. While announcing the tax proposals on dividends, the Finance Minister said that 2 annas in the rupee would be levied on the amount distributed in excess of 6 per cent. but upto 10 per cent. of the paid-up capital. I say that it can be raised to 3 annas in the rupee and after 10 per cent. it can be 4 annas. Similarly he could have raised the percentage of estate duty and he could have also proposed some tax on the high expenditure that is incurred by the richer people. They unnecessarily spend their money. Why should not there be a tax on that expenditure? I propose that there should be a tax on expenditure and an increase in the estate duty as well as the property tax on rich people. Unless these things are done and the

taxation is balanced between the common man and the rich people, I think there would not be any great effect and we would not be proceeding very rapidly towards our goal of the socialistic pattern of society.

As regards the income tax, I am very glad that the Finance Minister would be giving powers for searching old accounts. I had proposed this when the Income-tax Bill was before this House, but he was not prepared to do it then. But now when he has found that there is too much of evasion of income-tax—not only that, they even go to the length of bribing some of the income-tax officers—he has thought it necessary to do this, because the business people are in the habit of hiding their income and keeping different sets of accounts. Therefore, the Finance Minister has thought it better to order a search and seizure of the account books. This is a very important thing that has been done this year. But here also, he is very reluctant and says “special care would be taken” and all that. The income-tax officers were not unnecessarily attaching the books of any person, because if they did so, they would be liable to action being taken against them. Therefore, it is not necessary to be very cautious; the tax-evaders must be brought to book at all costs.

I want to say something about nationalisation. I do not object to the nationalisation of life insurance. The Imperial Bank has been nationalised and some other banks are going to be nationalised. But before nationalising banks and institutions doing profitable transactions, the Finance Minister must proceed to nationalise the industries which are not running at a profit, but which are necessary for the advancement of the country. Just as he has nationalised insurance companies, he must nationalise other industries also. But, he must also allow a margin in any industry and upto Rs. 15 lakhs or Rs. 20 lakhs, the industry should be in the hands of the private sector. He must plan in this way so that private sector also will function properly and there may not be any suspicion or doubt whether they should invest or not.

I now come to the very important problem of unemployment. Our country is very poor. Poverty, hunger and exploitation are still there; even our educated common people do not find employment. There is not only physical or mental deterioration, but there is moral

[Shri Bogawat]

degradation also. A number of people roam here and there in search of some job or other; but they do not get any job. Therefore, the Finance Minister must have taken special care of this problem. Otherwise, there will be more harm; some become communists, some sit idle and there is a very great tension. Therefore, this is a very important problem and it must be solved very carefully. If we do not give our special attention to this very important problem, I think our younger generation is likely to deteriorate.

Then I want to say something about defence. We cannot be blind to what is going on in our neighbouring country. We are for peace. We want to be neutral. But how can we shut our eyes to what is happening in our neighbourhood? There is some conference, then they raise a question about Kashmir. Military aid was given. We showed our grave concern. Now, again, increased military aid is promised, 65 per cent. of the budget in the neighbouring country is reserved for defence expenditure. In spite of that what are we doing? We are not increasing in any way our expenditure on defence. It is the same amount as it were in our previous budget—though less amount is spent. We must be properly armed. We must have proper weapons. If we do not care in this direction, then it is probable that some day these persons who want to play mischief may take undue advantage of our position. From the papers I find today that the Tribal people are instigated, they want to enter into Kashmir. These things are happening in the neighbourhood. So it is quite necessary for the security of the country that our defences must be very solid and strong. I would like to tell the Defence Minister that nobody will take objection to spending any amount on the defences and the security of the country, because this is a very important matter.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Hoshiarpur): What about Mr. Kamath?

Shri Bogawat: What is it?

Shri D. C. Sharma: Go on.

Shri Bogawat: Similarly about Education, he ought to have reserved more amount for education. According to our Constitution there ought to be within fifteen years free and compulsory education up to the age of fourteen years. If we do not spend more on this or give help to the States, how can there be free and compulsory education? This is,

again, a very important matter on which we must give more special attention and we must try to see that there is free and compulsory education soon.

After saying these things I want to say something about the scarcity areas and my constituency. When there is a scarcity area or a famine area in our country, we must give it such attention as we give to the flooded area. I am very glad the Government has given its full attention to the areas where there are floods. But what about the areas where there is scarcity, where every third and fourth year there is scarcity and people become very poor? They lose everything. They are in a very difficult position. Even though there are recommendations made by the Ramamurthi Committee and other committees, not much attention is given to them. The Ramamurthi Committee had suggested Rs. 12 crores for the Kukdi project. Even in spite of that suggestion, nothing has been done up till now, except a grant of Rs. 1:50 lakhs to be spent for the God project; and even though there is a financial provision I do not think it will come about.

If the scarcity area is not taken care of, there would always be poverty in such areas. It is not a question of scarcity area of my constituency or my district, but the neighbouring districts, Sholapur or even part of Poona and similarly in other parts of the country. In my district in some taluks there is scarcity thrice in four years; that is to say, only in one year there was some good crop. If attention is not paid to these important problems, the poor people who have suffered for years and years will be suffering still very heavily.

Now, there is the Mula project. The Central Government had assigned for it Rs. 6 crores. But unfortunately the State Government has allowed only Rs. 3 crores out of Rs. 839 lakhs.

There are many other good projects in my district, for instance the Randhram-Bandardara project which would produce electricity sufficient for the district. But that is also not added in the Second Five-Year Plan. I have made a contention to the Deputy Planning Minister, and he was kind enough to give a reply, giving some reasons here and there. But giving these reasons will not suffice. These backward and undeveloped areas, areas where there is scarcity and famine must be looked to. If they

are not properly looked to, then there would always be agitation. You find in my district people are going communist. There have been so many taluks where the Communists, taking advantage of the poverty of the people, have been agitating and instigating the people.

Dr. Suresh Chandra : They always do like that.

Shri Bogawat : Of course it is their duty, they are for that. But I request our Government to take special care so far as the scarcity areas are concerned.

After saying this I would like to say something as regards Health. As far as the question of expenditure on health is concerned, I think we ought to allow more expenditure on this. So many people are affected with T.B., leprosy and

so many diseases are there. People who are affected by T.B. are not able to get necessary help. It is the duty of the Government to help the people. If no timely help is given, then these poor people succumb to the disease. This disease of T.B. is increasing on such a large scale that hundreds and hundreds of people succumb to it. So special care should be taken so far as diseases like T.B. and leprosy are concerned.

In conclusion I request Government that in future more expenditure should be allowed so far as Education and Health are concerned.

5-30 P.M.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Half Past Ten of the Clock on Thursday, the 15th March, 1956.
