

[Shri Satya Narayan Sinha]

5. General Discussion on the Railway Budget.
6. Discussion and voting of Demands on Account (Railway Budget).
7. General Discussion on the estimates for Kerala State and discussion and voting of Demands on Account.
8. Consideration and passing of the Prevention of Corruption (Amendment) Bill, as passed by Rajya Sabha.

Appropriation Bills relating to the Demands set out above will also be brought forward for introduction consideration and passing during the week.

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GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL
DISCUSSION—contd.

Mr. Chairman: The House will now proceed with the general discussion of the Budget.

Shri Anandchand (Bilaspur): Mr. Chairman, before coming to this House I was trying to refresh my memory by reading the speech I made in this august House last year during the Budget discussion and I find that the main question I raised therein related to defence expenditure. I then said that it had stood at the static figure of nearly two hundred crores of rupees for the last so many years and that with the moving international situation it was high time that our defence needs, especially the needs of the Army and the Air Force, were properly looked into.

13 Hrs.

If I might be permitted to say so, the crisis is here. The ~~Suez~~ ~~debacle~~ and the Kashmir question have shown to us during the last few months how great powers strike without warning. They struck with military might in Suez and they have struck with political might in Kashmir. But no one knows whether this political assault might suddenly turn into an armed

conflict. Therefore, I want once again to express my firm view to this House as well as to Government that there must be no slackening of the defence needs of this country. I know that an amount of about Rs. 49 crores has been put in the defence expenditure for the buying of essential materials and so on. I do not grudge that.

My hon. friend Mr. Chatterjee was worried that with Rs. 50 crores of additional defence expenditure every year, we might have to reassess the needs of the Plan or how the expenditure is to be worked out. I do not think we need worry about that. In a Plan to the extent of Rs. 4,800 crores, Rs. 50 crores is not going to matter much. It is not a question of Rs. 50 crores merely. We must see that the armed forces are kept fit, trim and in a fighting mood and that if—God forbid—eventually there is a war, we are not found wanting on that score.

My hon. friend Mr. Gidwani referred to the question of some kind of training for the youth of this country. I do not contest that. It is a good thing. But military training is not a thing which you impart generally in peacetime. Where is the incentive? The several crores of youth of this country are spread all over the States and we cannot tell them: look here, we are going to make you all soldiers. The Lok Sahayak Sena is there; the territorial army is there. If—God forbid—there is a conflict, then would be the time to test them and I am sure the youth of this country would respond. What I want to emphasise at this moment is that there should be no whittling down of essential defence expenditure and that there should be no limits placed simply on account of availability of finances. If necessary, resources from other sources must be put into our defence expenditure and the army must be kept in fighting trim. That, Sir, is all that I have to say on this matter.

Having said this, I should have liked to say something about the first year of the Second Five Year Plan. As we

very well know the First Five Year Plan is over and last year, 1956-57 was the first year of the Second Five Year Plan. But there are no figures available. I tried to make a search whether an estimate of the expenditure of the First Five Year Plan right up to the month of March 1956 was available, if there was any kind of a government publication by which we could find how far it had succeeded, or how far it had fallen short of the targets that had been put on the First Five Year Plan. I have not been able to find that. But I have been able to see so much that the expenditure on the first year of the Second Five Year Plan was estimated last year at Rs. 700 crores and for the year for which we are passing these estimates, 1957-58, it is to the tune of Rs. 900 crores, if I mistake not, including the expenditure in the States. Without the necessary data it is difficult for me to put before this House or to put to the hon. the Finance Minister detailed criticism about these. One thing of course I know and one thing has been admitted in the report of the Finance Ministry also that a regular evaluation of whatever we are doing is in the process of being put through, that certain committees have been formed which are evaluating what has been done and that their reports will be available to Government and in due course they will be available to this House.

In this respect I would particularly refer to the Community Projects Administration and the expenditure that is being incurred on the big irrigation schemes. These big irrigation schemes are very good things. As you know, in our part of the country we have got the greatest multi-purpose project, the Bhakra-Nangal and very good work has been done. But unfortunately we hear from time to time allegations of waste of funds, allegations of misappropriation, and so on. So, I would suggest to the hon. the Finance Minister that whatever organisation has been set up for the evaluation of new projects, might be utilised on these projects which have been completed. I know it would be a kind

of post mortem. We have completed the Hirakud project; Damodar is near completion; Bhakra Nangal is near completion. But still I would suggest that if this organisation, or a similar organisation was asked to see whether the large amount of money sunk in these irrigation schemes had been well utilised and their reports made public. I think most of the dissatisfaction that is in the public mind about wastage of funds would be set at rest.

Then I have to say a few words about the economic situation as we see it. I must preface my remarks by saying that I am no student of that subject. The White Paper circulated, the documents made available to us and the budget speech of the Finance Minister have shown and it is there for everyone who wants to see, that in the year under review, the year that has passed, although there has been an advance in industrial output, there has been a decline in agricultural production. Many speeches have been delivered both inside and outside this House as to how agricultural production in this country should be raised and how the decline in agricultural production is affecting the economy of this country. Yesterday there was a Farmers' Forum, an all-India organisation. It had its meeting. The hon. the Prime Minister addressed it and it was emphasised that production in the agricultural field should be stepped up, as much as possible. Nobody can quarrel with that. But I would submit that the basis of the fall in agricultural production, has, to my mind, escaped us. That is because we do not realise the conditions that exist in the villages.

India no doubt is an agricultural country. Nobody denies that. Although we are going fast with our schemes of industrialisation, basically it remains a fact that we are an agricultural country; ours is primarily an agricultural economy. The point is: if ours is an agricultural country and if we want production to be increased, what is the incentive offered to the farmers in the villages to increase production. The Community Projects Administra-

[Shri Anandchand]

tion is said to be a panacea of all ills in this direction. On that Administration and on that Ministry has fallen the burden of stepping up agricultural production. I have my own doubts. It is not because the Community Projects Administration is not doing all that it can. Coming from an area which is covered by community projects, I have come to the conclusion that with all the best will in the world and with all the subsidy which we give by way of seeds, fertilisers, machinery, and so on, the incentive for increase in production is not there in the farmer. The wrong, in my opinion, lies in the land policy that we have adopted, a land policy which, to my mind, is halting in the extreme, a land policy which is based more on political considerations rather than the economics of the country. If I might try to enlarge that point, we all want there should be a ceiling on land. We are all against landlords and people who have extensive lands and so on. We are doing away with that. That is a good thing. But, the point is, in doing away with them, have we come to any conclusion whereby agriculture in this country has been placed on a rational basis? In removing them, to my mind, we have adopted a process which is more political in nature. Land to the landless, we say. Land to the landless, to what extent? To the extent of 1 acre or 1½ acres? Is that landless person going to solve the problem of more production living on 1½ acres? He cannot. It is not possible for him to do so. At the same time, we emphasise, land to the landless. It is a good slogan provided we are able to give him a minimum economic holding which is necessary for him to cultivate that land and bring out the best in production.

Then, again, there are so many difficulties. We have legislation. We say, so far as the peasants are concerned, so far as the tenant is concerned, they should not be victimised. Well and good. They should not be victims. They must enjoy the fruits of their labour. At the same time, we do not

see that by putting him there, by not providing some kind of alternative employment for him, we are subdividing and fragmenting the land which is today with the cultivator. He comes to this unhappy position. Perhaps he has only 15 acres. With this area of 15 acres, he can raise production. He is hemmed in by tenancy legislation. He cannot uproot the man who is tilling 1½ acres on one side and another three acres on the other. The net result is, he is losing incentive. However, to my mind, people cannot possibly go into this problem of increasing production without being assured that the standard of living in the villages approximates in certain essential social features to the living in urban areas. What is happening is, the people in the villages, although we talk good of them, have no amenities. It is very seldom we see high educational institutions in villages, very seldom that we see high technical institutions in the villages. The result is, if a person has to stay there and give you increased production, he is denied the amenities of higher education and better standard of living to his children. What happens is, instead of working on the land, he comes to the urban area, he takes a house and leaves his avocation. Agriculture suffers.

I would like, with your permission for two or three minutes, to say a few words about my own area. The reorganisation of States is more or less over though I might say that there are still problems of Gujarat and Maharashtra in the offing. I am not here enlarging on them. I dare say the peoples' verdict is there to some extent. In the new House they are going to be fully debated. I will only say that the conversion of Himachal Pradesh, into a Union Territory, although it has solved to some extent the maladministration prevailing there, it has not helped us very much so far as the political emancipation of the people is concerned. Anyway, it is an interim measure and as such, I welcome it. But, I feel that the Government must, now that

it has become a Union Territory, try to improve the administration of that area. Recently I read in the papers and I have been reliably informed that the Home Ministry is going to have a review of the administrative set-up in this territory to see how it could be made more effective, more, what I might call, conducive to the welfare of the people and more nice to them. I think that that should be gone into very quickly; especially the seniority and cadres of the officers in that area must be looked into. All the unfortunate happenings of the past four years where promotions, seniorities and so on have been given on considerations other than merit must be properly rectified. Here, if I might strike a personal note, especially those happenings and the stepmotherly treatment which was meted out by Himachal Pradesh Government to about 1,100 or 1,200 employees of the erstwhile Bilaspur, when it was merged should be looked into. The House would be amused, perhaps, the Finance Minister knows or does not know, that after the integration of Bilaspur in Himachal Pradesh in 1954, that is, for three years, no seniority has been fixed, no cadre has been fixed and no increments have been given. There are dozens of cases in which even pay slips are not available to them. They are serving the Government for over 2½ years without receiving any salary. There is only just advance made to them, because their seniority, and their permanence in the cadre of Himachal Pradesh have still not been fixed.

Lastly, I may say a word about Bhakra itself. Last year, I gave a report to this House about the rehabilitation problem of the Bhakra project. I said what headway we have made. I acquainted the House with the headway that we had made about the rehabilitation of the rural population. I am sorry to say that although it was said last year that they would be given lands in Hissar, the land allotment is pending even after one year. I would request the Government to look into the matter, because

waters are rising and every year we are making the dam a little higher. The rehabilitation of the rural population can no longer be delayed. Secondly, about the township of Bilaspur, I am grateful to the Government and to the Home Minister and the Minister of Irrigation and Power for having taken up this question and decided it. I was just reading in the summary of the report for 1956-57 that the Government of India have sanctioned Rs. 103 lakhs to construct the new township of Bilaspur. As you know, and as the House knows, the whole of this town is going under water and within two years it will be submerged. Although it is a little belated, this decision is welcome. It may not be possible to reconstruct the whole township in one year or 1½ years. Now that the sanction has been given, the problem is one of great urgency. I am not happy when I see the Budget estimate of the Works, Housing and Supply Ministry. Out of the sum of Rs. 103 lakhs sanctioned, provision has been made for Rs. 7½ lakhs for 1957-58. This town is going under water in June 1959. There is hardly any time to be lost. I would request that that part of the estimate may be looked into and a much larger grant may be given so that the construction of a new township and rehabilitation of the urban population is expedited in all possible manners.

Shri Karni Singhji (Bikaner-Churu): Mr. Chairman, time flies and five years are over since the first general elections were held. The second general elections in our country have further proved the confidence of the people in democracy. The Finance Minister has just presented his Budget. No doubt, as before, it is a very ambitious Budget aimed to promote a socialist pattern of society to which our country is pledged. But, no matter however good our Five Year Plans or our Budgets may be, unless our Ministries in the States have the will and the determination to implement these Plans, they can never be a real success.

[Shri Karni Singhji]

As you know, and as I have pointed out on numerous occasions on the floor of the House, as far as my home State of Rajasthan is concerned, ministerial instability and the rift within the ruling party have come in the way of full utilisation and proper expenditure of the Five Year Plan grants. This time again, the Congress Party has been returned to power in Rajasthan. I sincerely hope that the Central Government will see that this time the funds of the Second Five Year Plan are properly utilised and that there is no repetition of the experiences of the First Five Year Plan.

The unemployment situation in this country still remains more or less as it was before. If anything, it is on the increase. I have brought this question to the notice of the House. As far as Rajasthan is concerned, I am pained to repeat that in spite of the fact that Members from Rajasthan have been pointing out that industries should be located in places where unemployment has been most acute, the Rajasthan Government and also the Central Government have not taken any proper pains to see that these industries were located where they were needed most. Regarding the Fertiliser factory, though Rajasthan has the strongest claim because of the fact that gypsum deposits, coal, hydro-electricity and water from the irrigation canals are available all in one place, yet just because the representation of the Rajasthan Government was weak, we lost our case for the fertiliser factory. I would beg the Government of India to see that in the interests of this backward State a fertiliser factory is located somewhere in Rajasthan, wherever it is considered most feasible.

The second and most important way of over-coming the unemployment problem in the rural areas is to bring in more and more canals. In this respect the Central Government deserves to be congratulated as a network of canals is coming into Rajasthan's parched desert areas. The

latest canal system, the Rajasthan Canal, is going to be the longest and is going to irrigate a very large amount of desert area. We sincerely hope that the work on this canal will be finished before the Second Plan is over.

Along with this problem is the problem of drinking water to be supplied from this canal to little towns and villages located close enough to the Rajasthan Canal, from which whether by the lift system or by the flow system water could be supplied for drinking purposes. I know that the expenditure involved may be considerable, but India is a Welfare State, and you will agree with me that wherever the question of drinking water is concerned, it becomes the primary duty of the Welfare State to see that water is easily accessible and available to people. In some remote parts of Rajasthan people have to sometime travel no less than 20 miles a day to get drinking water. The Rajasthan Canal will be flowing very close to this area, and perhaps with a little bit of expenditure on lifting the water, we will be able to supply drinking water to a large number of villages and towns located within approximately 30 or 40 miles of the Canal. I would strongly urge the Government of India to see that this point is strongly borne in mind.

There are two other problems which have been facing us in our progress. The first, and perhaps the most difficult of all and which, has been the aftermath of the integration of the former States, has been the question of regionalism both in the Ministries and in the Secretariat. The integration and the reorganisation of States have brought in certain problems, and it is absolutely essential that the Ministry should, under all circumstances, have an over-all picture of the entire State at heart, and not only the welfare of the regions they belong to. I had asked on a previous occasion on the floor of the House that the Government of India insist on the Rajasthan Government supplying us facts

and figures showing how the allocations of the Five Year Plan funds were spent. If these figures are carefully noted you will find a strange relationship between the amount of money spent and the Minister's or Chief Minister's own home area and constituency. In a democracy this is hardly the correct thing. Expenditure whether it be from the normal budgets or from the Five Year Plan funds must be spent equally over all the districts and divisions of the State. I would urge the Government of India once again to insist on the Government of Rajasthan placing before this House the facts and figures showing how much money has been spent in each Division of Rajasthan. The Government of India and the Members of this House should then see and judge whether the funds allotted to some places have been out of proportion. If we have to build up our country on healthy traditions and think of our country or our respective States as one unit, we must overcome this feeling of regionalism. India is one. The integrated States are one, and we must put our shoulders to the wheel to see that the Five Year Plans go through smoothly, that the socialist pattern of society goes through unhampered.

Then the next, and perhaps another very important factor which has come in the way of the progress of certain States, has been the question of Ministerial instability. Here again, Rajasthan takes the lead. In less than five years, we have had over half a dozen Ministerial changes, and you can imagine how detrimental that can be to the progress of a new State. I would urge, no matter whether this be democratic or not, that it is the duty of the Central Government to see that Ministerial instability of such a magnitude is not permitted, particularly when the Congress Party itself is in a majority in Rajasthan.

Since the time available is short, I will conclude by saying that India has a great future, but we can achieve that future only if all of us, whether it be the citizens or the representatives or

the Ministries, work with one will to place our country's interests above ourselves.

श्री ज्ञानप्रभाकरा : सभापति महोदय : आज हम लोगों के सामने एक इन्टरिम बजट विचारार्थ है। पूर्ण रूप से इस वक्त इस पर कुछ नहीं कहा जा सकता है। जब पूरा बजट पेश किया जायगा तभी विस्तार से इस पर कुछ कहा जायेगा।

आज यहां पर फंडेशन आफ इंडियन चैम्बर्स आफ कामर्स एंड इंडस्ट्री की मीटिंग थी। वहां पर हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी गए थे। मुझे भी वहां जाने का अवसर हुआ था। फंडेशन के प्रेजिडेंट साहब ने अपनी तक्रार में इस चीज का जिक्र किया कि हमारे ऊपर टैक्सों का बहुत बड़ा बोझा लाद दिया गया है जिससे कि हम लोगों को बहुत ज्यादा दिक्कत हो रही है, बहुत ज्यादा तकलीफ हो रही है। इसका एक बहुत ही माकूल जवाब प्रधान मंत्री जी ने दिया। उन्होंने कहा कि यह ठीक हो सकता है कि बोझा बहुत लाद दिया गया है और इससे आप लोगों को बहुत ज्यादा दिक्कत भी हो सकती है। लेकिन आपको चाहिये कि आप ८०-९० प्रतिशत लोगों की दिक्कतों को भी समझें और उनकी दिक्कतें और उनकी तकलीफें भी आपके मन में हमेशा रहनी चाहियें। आप जो भी काम करें, उसे करते वक्त इनके दुख तकलीफों को हमेशा अपनी दृष्टि में रखें और इनको अपनी आंखों से भ्रोक्षल न होने दें। अगर आपने यह दृष्टिकोण अपनाया तो आपको यह बोझा, बोझा महसूस नहीं होगा। आपको मानून ही है कि आप जो टैक्स दे रहे हैं वह हम लिए दे रहे हैं कि उनका उपयोग करके हमारा देश ऊंचा उठे। हम जनता के प्रतिनिधि हैं और उसकी भलाई के कार्य करना ही हमारा कर्तव्य है। पांच वर्षों तक किसी के भी राज्य का बना रहना और न बने रहना इन्हीं लोगों पर निर्भर करता है। इस वास्ते यदि ऊपर पर जो बोझा है उसको आप देखेंगे तो यह बोझा आपको हल्का महसूस होगा।

[श्री मन्मन्बाला]

हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने अपने भाषण में इस बात का संकेत किया है कि टैक्स और भी लगेंगे। मुझे इससे जग भी घबराहट नहीं है। पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं को सफल बनाने के रास्त में जो जो दिक्कतें आती हैं जैसी कि दामों के बढ़ जाने की है, फौरन एकमंचेज की कमी है, प्राकृतिक कारणों से या दूसरे कारणों से प्रोडक्शन में कमी होनी है, जैसे कि वर्षा के न होने के कारण हो सकती है, ये सब तो आती ही रहेंगी। इनसे हम लोगों को हताश नहीं होना चाहिये। असली चीज जो देखने की है वह यह है कि हम जो रुपया टैक्सों के जरिये बमूल करत हैं और जो कार्य कर रहे हैं, वे ठीक से खर्च होते हैं और काम ढंग से चल रहे हैं या नहीं। अगर सब कार्य ठीक ढंग से हो रहे हैं तब तो ठीक है और अगर कहीं कोई त्रुटि है, तो उसको आपको ठीक कर देना चाहिए और उसमें सुधार कर देना चाहिए। हम सब यह कहते हैं, अशाक मेहता साहब कहते हैं, तुलसी दास जी कहते हैं और दूसरे मंम्बर साहिबान कहते हैं कि हमारा देश तभी तरक्की कर सकता है, तभी उन्नत कर सकता है, जब जनता का सहयोग हमें प्राप्त हो। मैं उन लोगों से यह पूछना चाहूंगा कि जैसा कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा कि ८०-९० प्रतिशत जनता कि हजारों दिक्कतें हैं और यह सही भी है। ऐसी मूरत में किस तरह से उनका सहयोग हासिल किया जा सकता है। आप किस तरह उन का सहयोग चाहते हैं। यह मैं समझना चाहता हूं मैं इस चीज को अपनी सरकार और वित्त मंत्री जी से पूछना चाहूंगा। उस समय चुनाव के वक्त हम को गांधी में जाने का मौका मिला। वह तो इतना भय नहीं था कि चुनावों में हमें सफलता प्राप्त नहीं होगी परन्तु जब इस समय जब हम जनता के बीच में जाते हैं तो वह अपने सारे दुःख हम को बतलाती है, और समें दिलचस्पी लेने के नाते बराबर डे महीने तक हम लोग जात रहे। मैं ६ बज सुबह निकलता था और रात को ८, १० बज वापस आता था। उनकी दिक्कतों का श्वोरा यहां पर देना तो

मुश्किल है क्योंकि बहुत समय लगेगा, उन की हर एक बात का उत्तर देना भी बड़ा कठिन था। यहां पर हमारी सरकार कहती है और तुलसी दास जी ने भी कहा कि हमें तो उन लोगों का सहयोग चाहिए। जनता के लोगों ने हम से पूछा कि बतलाइए हम किस तरह से आप को सहयोग दें। हम को खाने की दिक्कत है, कपड़े की दिक्कत है, घरों की दिक्कतें हैं, यहां तक कि गांवों में हम को स्वास्थ्यकर साफ पानी भी पीने को नहीं मिलता। आज हम को ऐसा पानी चाहिए जिस को पी लें, लेकिन वह भी नहीं मिलता है, आप बतलाइए कि आप क्या सहयोग चाहते हैं। हम काम करना चाहते हैं, लेकिन हम को काम नहीं मिलता। हमारे पास जमीन नहीं है कि हम जाकर जोंतें और कुछ पैदा कर के खा सकें। हम बहुत कुछ बतलाने की चेष्टा करते थे कि हमारा सरकार न फट-लाइजर फैंकट्री खोला है, इतने बड़े बड़े डैम बनाए हैं, इतनी इतनी डस्ट्रीज चलाई हैं, कपड़े बना रही है, सब कुछ कर रही है, यह सब कुछ आप के दुःख को दूर करने के लिए हो रहा है। उन्होंने कहा, ठीक है, सुनने में बहुत अच्छा लगता है, लेकिन हम पर तो इस का कोई असर नहीं पड़ता है जिस से कि हम कह सकें कि हमारा कुछ लाभ हुआ है। कुछ आप सरकार की ओर तो देखिए हमारी सरकार कहती है नौकरी देने के लिए लोगों को म्प्लाय-मेंट देने के लिए। द्वितीय पंच वर्षीय योजना में कहा गया है कि हम तने अधिक आदमियों को म्प्लायमेंट देंगे। ठीक है वे म्प्लायमेंट देंगे, लेकिन अगर कहीं पर जगह होती है तो उस समय के लिए हजारों ऐप्लीकेशनम आती हैं। लोग दौड़ कर एम० पी० और एम० ल० ए० के पास जाते हैं और कहते हैं कि मेहरबानी कर के हमारी सिफारिश कर दे क्योंकि आज कल सिफारिश का ही जमाना है। यदि आप जरा सिफारिश कर देंगे तो हम को नौकरी मिल जाएगी और हम अपने बाल बच्चों को कुछ खिला सकेंगे। सुन कर दुःख होता है, तकलीफ होती है। हम कहते हैं कि भाई तुम यह विश्वास करो कि

यदि हमारे लिखने से कुछ हो सकता तो हम जरूर लिख देते। आज जनता में इस प्रकार का डिमार्लाइजेशन फैल गया है कि काम खोजने के लिए उन को हजारों लोगों की खुशामदें करनी पड़ती हैं। भले ही यह सच हो या झूठ लेकिन यह भाव लोगों में फैल गया है कि बिना सिफारिश के नौकरी नहीं मिल सकती। सरकार को इस और ध्यान देना चाहिए। अक्सर यह कहा जाता है कि यह चीज तो पब्लिक र्विस कमिशन के हाथ में है, यह वहां ही जाएगी, आप भी यही कहते हैं, लेकिन वहां पर भी सिफारिश चलती है। गुंसी जनता कि धारणा है मैं अधिक इस बारे में नहीं कहना चाहता। जब जनता में यह भावना हो कि कोई भी काम बिना सिफारिश के नहीं हो सकता तो आप खुद सोचिए कि हमारे यह कहने का कोई मतलब नहीं है कि ऐसा नहीं ऐसा है। अब सरकार को यह देखना है कि जनता के अन्दर जो भाव है जो राय है, उसे किस तरह से परिवर्तित किया जा सकता है। सरकार को इस बात के ऊपर पूरी तौर से ध्यान देना चाहिए। लोग कहते हैं कि आप को अप्रेशन करने के लिए कहते हैं, लेकिन हम को खाने के लिए नहीं मिलता, पहिने के लिए कपड़ा नहीं मिलता और पीने के लिए पानी नहीं मिलता, हमारे लिए काम करों का मौका नहीं मिलता, तो हम किस तरह से को अप्रेशन करें। 50 परसेंट लोगों का यह हाल है, हां, 20 परसेंट जो लोग हैं उनके पास थोड़ा बहुत है, मिडिल क्लास पीपल हैं उनके पास थोड़ा बहुत काम है, लेकिन जमाने को देखते हुए उनकी हालत भी बहुत बुरी है और वे भी यही सोचते हैं पर वे भी कोई धारामन नहीं पाते हैं। पेंशन खत्म होने के बाद वे फिर वहां पर जाना चाहता हूँ और मैं उन लोगों से डेफिनिट प्रॉपोजल्स लाऊंगा कि वह किस तरह की बातें चाहते हैं और मौका मिला तो मई के महीने में उनकी बातों को सुनाऊंगा। जैसे हमारे इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट लोग हैं, वे समझते हैं कि हम ने खूब धन पैदा कर लिया और इतना डिविडेंड दे दिया, हम तरक्की

पर हैं, उसी तरह हमारी सरकार भी सोचती कि हां, हमने बहुत तरक्की कर ली, परन्तु मैं सरकार मे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जो कुछ अभी मैंने कहा, उसका वह क्या जवाब देते हैं। मैं उन लोगों को सन्तोष देता हूँ यह कह कर कि आज जो आप की दिक्कतें हैं, अगर आप चाहें कि वे एक दिन में मिट जाए, तो वे एक दिन में पिटने वाली नहीं हैं। इसमें कुछ समय लगेगा। मैं यह कह सकता हूँ कि 20 वर्ष बाद आप की ग्रामदनी, जैसा कि सेक्रेटरी फाइव इयर प्लान में कहा गया है, दुगुनी हो जाएगी। हम लोग समझते हैं कि वे मूल्य हैं, परन्तु वे मूल्य नहीं हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि हम को महीने में मुश्किल से चार रुपया मिलता है, अगर हमारी ग्रामदनी दुगुनी हो जाएगी तब भी तो घाठ ही रुपए महीना रहेगी। उतने से क्या होगा? कभी कभी हम लॉम कन्सेंट हो जाते हैं और अपने मन में यह धारणा बना लेते हैं कि अगर ग्रामदनी बढ़ जाएगी तो हमारा देश तरक्की पर है। ठीक है यह भी एक रास्ता है जिस में देश तरक्की पर हो सकता है परन्तु इन के साथ साथ में यह कहना चाहूंगा कि जब तक आप उनके elementary दिक्कतों को दूर नहीं करेंगे तब तक आप का यह कहना कि जनता का हम को सहयोग मिले, यह केवल धाशा में रह जाएगा इस पर भी सन्देह होने लगेगा कि आप दिल से यह बात चाहते हैं या नहीं। आप को कई एक ऐसी स्कीम्स लेनी पड़ेंगी जिन से कि 20 वर्ष तक उन की ग्रामदनी चार रुपए से घाठ रुपए ही नहीं बल्कि उनको काम प्रासानी से मिलने लगे और उन की ग्रामदनी ऐसी होने लगे उन को इतना काम मिलने लगे जिस से कि उन को खाने पीने, कपड़े पहिने और स्वस्थ रूप से रहने की पूरी सामग्री मिल जाए। लेकिन जो प्लान इस वक्त हमारे सामने है उस से तो कम से कम यह बात अभी नजर नहीं आती। हो सकता है यह बात ठीक हो, परन्तु वह बात नजर में नहीं आती। सरकार को उन लोगों को ये सब बातें समझानी हैं यदि वह उनका सहयोग चाहती है। जैसा कि

[श्री ज्ञानमूनबाला]

मैंने कहा, हर एक धादमी ने अपनी तरफ से कह दिया कि सबसे ज्यादा प्रायोरिटी यह होनी चाहिए, परन्तु ऐसी कई एक चीज है छोटी सी चीज है जिसकी ओर मैं सरकार का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। लोगों को स्वच्छ पानी नहीं मिलता है। इसलिए मैं तो कहता हूँ कि सबसे बेसिक प्रायोरिटी यह होनी चाहिए कि हर एक गाँव में लोगों के लिए पीने के स्वस्थकर स्वच्छ पानी का प्रबन्ध होना चाहिए।

जैसा कि मैंने शुरू में कहा, इस समय में विस्तार में कुछ नहीं बतलाऊंगा बाद में विस्तार में बोलूंगा। हमारी सरकार ने कुछ दिक्कतें बतलायी हैं। फारिन एक्सचेंज की दिक्कत है, इनफ्लेशन तथा रुपया कहा में आबे ताकि हमारा काम चले, ये सब दिक्कतें सरकार ने बतलायी हैं। इन दिक्कतों का जवाब भी सरकार ने दिया है और दूसरे लोग भी कहते हैं कि देश में बचत होनी चाहिए और सब लोगों को चाहिए कि बचत करे। ठीक है। लेकिन, जैसा कि मैंने आपको बतलाया है, हमारी ८० प्रतिशत जनता तो ऐसी है कि जो बचत कर ही नहीं सकती। हमने प्रेसीडेंट के एंड्रस के धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव पर अनमोदन की स्पीच सुनी। उसमें कहा गया कि लोग अपना खाना पीना कम करे। और अपनी दूसरी जरूरतें कम करें। पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर अपनी आवश्यकताएं बड़ाने जाते हैं और जनता से कहा जाता है कि वह अपना खाना पीना भी कम कर दें। उनको जो थोड़ा बहुत खाना पीना मिलता है उस पर हमारा ध्यान है कि वह कम हो जाये। पर हम जो फिजूलखर्चिया कर रहे हैं उस पर हमारा ध्यान नहीं जाता। हम जो मोटरों में चलते हैं और तरह तरह की सुविधाएँ लिए हुए हैं उसकी ओर हमारा ध्यान नहीं गया। हमको यह बात कहने से पहले जनता के सामने अपना उदाहरण पेश करना होगा और उसको बताना होगा कि हमने भी अपने खाने पीने में और अपनी जरूरतों में कमी कर दी है, अब

तुम भी ऐसा ही करो। यदि ऐसा होगा तभी लोगों को संतोष हो सकता है। यदि हम अपनी जरूरतों को बढ़ाते चले जायें और केवल जनता से कहें कि तुम अपनी जरूरतें कम करो तो इसका कोई प्रभाव नहीं पड़ सकता। यह आवश्यक है कि हम उनके सामने अपना उदाहरण पेश करें कि हम भी खर्च कम कर रहे हैं, तब हम उनसे कह सकते हैं कि तुम भी अपना खर्च कम करो।

फाईनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब ने अपनी स्पीच में फारिन एक्सचेंज के बारे में कहा कि उसका डेफेंडे पेमेंट होगा। इस पर तुलसीदास जी ने कहा कि ऐसा करने से हमारा ३० या ४० परसेंट ज्यादा खर्चा होगा। यह बात वित्त मंत्री के मोचन की है। यदि वास्तव में ऐसा है तो उनको कोई दूसरा उपाय निकालना होगा।

हमारे सामने दो प्रकार के प्लान हैं। एक तो हम पब्लिक सेक्टर में रुपया लगाते हैं और एक प्राइवेट इंडस्ट्रीज पर लगाते हैं। तो अब जो गवर्नमेंट पब्लिक सेक्टर पर अधिक रुपया लगाना चाहती है उसके लिए उपाय मोचन चाहिए कि deferred payment का क्या असर होगा इस deferred payment का सारा बोझा प्राइवेट एंटरप्राइज पर ही डाल दिया जायगा तो वे हताश हो जायेंगे। दूसरी बात मुझे यह कहनी है कि हमारा जो टैक्स का बोझा है वह बेसी है। पर मैं उसकी तरफ से हताश नहीं हूँ। परन्तु जैसा कि तुलसीदास जी ने कहा, टैक्स रियलाइजेशन का क्या हो रहा है? वित्त मंत्री जी ने कहा कि वह तो आप लोग जानते हैं कि क्या हो रहा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यदि वे उन्हीं पर छोड़ देंगे तो टैक्स रियलाइजेशन में बड़ी दिक्कत होगी। सरकार को अपनी मशीनरी ठीक करनी चाहिए ताकि जो टैक्स है वह पूरा बसूल हो सके। पर सरकार ऐसा क्यों नहीं बसूल कर सकती यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता।

एक बात और है। हम लोग जो रुपया प्रदेश सरकार को देते हैं

उसमें यह भी देखना चाहिए कि वह रुपया किस तरह से खर्च किया जाता है। इसकी बहुत जरूरत है। हमारी सरकार बहुत रुपया फूक रही है। सरकार बहुत से लोगों को लोन देती है लेकिन मिलने में इतनी दिक्कतें हैं कि मी रुपए का लोन लेने वाले को ५० या ७५ रुपया तो खर्च करना पड़ जाता है और बहुत दिक्कत होती है। लोगों को बहुत कम रुपया मिल पाता है, अंग दफ्तर वानों की पाकेट में चला जाता है।

इन सब चीजों की तरफ सरकार को ध्यान देना चाहिए। यदि सरकार २० प्रतिशत जनता का सहयोग प्राप्त करना चाहती है तो उसे जल्दी से जल्दी कोई ऐसी स्कीम निकालनी चाहिए जिसमें कि उनकी जो ऐनी-मेंटरी दिक्कतें हैं वे दूर हो जायें।

Shri Ramananda Das: (Barrack-pore): **Mr. Chairman,** the Finance Minister presented the interim Budget to this House the other day. The Budget looks very nice, but it is nothing but a gloomy picture of the whole thing.

The First Five Year Plan is already over. But we should take stock and see what we have achieved by this Plan. It is said that production has increased. No doubt, in some respects, production has increased; but what about the necessities of life like food, cloth etc? We now find that we are running short of food, cloth and other necessities of life. The prices of food-stuffs and cloth are going up day by day. What is the reason for this state of affairs? Two years ago, we stopped import of foodgrains. But we have now started importing foodgrains from foreign countries.

After all, what have we achieved by the First Five Year Plan? The food problem has not been solved. The same is the case with other necessities of life. I say that the First Five Year Plan was 50 per cent failure. We should take stock of the situation and remedy it in the Second Five Year Plan which has already started.

In order to solve the food problem and also the problem of the want of other necessities of life, we shall have to find ways and means to increase production. After abolition of zamindari, land has gone to the big kisans and not to the actual tillers of the soil. Unless we distribute land among the actual tillers, we cannot increase food production. So I would appeal to the Government to look into this aspect of the matter.

We have completed many river valley projects and established many big industries. But there have been many shortcomings and many shortfalls, in regard to these projects. Vast amounts of money have been wasted. We have not got cent per cent of the profit expected from these projects. So I appeal to the Government to see that small projects are undertaken to facilitate increased production of food-grains. Big irrigation schemes are already there; we should see to it that production is increased by small irrigation projects also, by sinking tube-wells and other things. Unless we do this, we cannot solve the food problem. Big projects are, of course, necessary, but side by side, small projects are also essential to speed up the production of food and other necessities of life.

Shri Jhunjhunwala has drawn a graphic picture of the villages. What have we achieved during these ten years of independence? We have, no doubt, got political independence, but economically we are still slaves, and are backward when compared to other countries. So this independence is not worth its name unless we have economic independence also and we give sufficient relief to the village people, the rural people, who constitute 80 per cent of the population of the country. If you go and see the condition of the rural people, you will find that they are still starving in some areas. There is no drinking water, there are no paths or anything of the kind. The picture of village life is horrible, with the result that villages are being depopulated and people are coming and flocking to the towns in order to

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secure employment and the amenities of life. If we improve the condition of villages, the towns will not be so much over-populated as they are today.

In order to solve the unemployment problem, Government have adopted many schemes. But all these schemes are not fully successful and we have not been able to solve the unemployment problem. In order to solve this problem, I suggest that we have to patronise cottage industries; we have to look to the increased production, and proper marketing facility and all other aspects of cottage industries so that people may get employment in these industries. Also, production will go up. By big industries alone, we cannot solve the unemployment problem which is a huge problem—there are several lakhs of unemployed in the country. So I appeal to the Government to devote attention to this aspect also in a greater measure than they have done in the past. Unless we do so, the whole country will go—against you. We have already seen in the elections that the Government are daily losing ground and becoming unpopular throughout the country.

The reason for this growing unpopularity is that we have not, even in ten years of our independence, been able to give more amenities to the people of the rural areas as well as the town areas. So Government should come to their senses and see the graphic picture drawn by Shri Gidwani, of how Government have lost and are losing, gradually. If Government policy goes on in this way it would be a bad day for the country. Government should come to their senses and do something for the all-round improvement of the whole country.

Shri M. K. Moitra (Calcutta North-West): Bring them to their senses.

Shri Ramananda Das: I now come to the problem of the displaced persons. India was partitioned and in 1947 we saw a big exodus of persons from West Pakistan. Government have done

something to rehabilitate them but still about 25 per cent of these displaced persons have to be rehabilitated. They are living in the footpaths in the suburbs of Delhi and other places.

So far as refugees from East Pakistan are concerned they are more than 40 lakhs and the influx from East Pakistan is daily growing. The Government report itself says that:

“The migration in Hindus from East Pakistan during the last year continued unabated. The volume of influx rose from 2.40 lakhs persons during 1955 to 3.20 lakhs during 1956. Up-to-date India has received over four million displaced persons from East Pakistan and more continue to cross the border every month. Over 60,000 applications covering nearly 2 lakhs persons, are pending with the India's High Commissioner at Dacca for the issue of migration certificates. The situation demands earnest consideration. Whatever the circumstances, political or economic, which force people to leave their homes in East Pakistan, it is essentially a human problem. The displaced persons should be rehabilitated as speedily as possible and as best as the country's resources permit. They need houses to live in, land to cultivate, and industries to provide them with work. Their children need schools and their sick need hospitals. The Eastern States of West Bengal and Assam and the Tripura Administration have already overstretched their resources and have no scope for any new migrants.”

This is what is mentioned in their own booklet. What have Government done to rehabilitate these 40 lakhs of refugees from East Pakistan? They have failed miserably and the whole thing is going to collapse due to the inefficient administration of the department. I appeal to Government to come to their senses and see that these displaced persons who fought for the freedom of the country and

suffered much are properly rehabilitated. In the course of 10 years, Government have miserably failed to give relief to these lakhs and lakhs of refugees. We find from the figures that more than 3 lakhs of refugees are still rotting in camps where they get only doles of 8 rupees or 10 rupees per head per month which is insufficient for a person to live on and families of 10 or 12 persons get a maximum of Rs. 60 per month only. They live like cats and dogs without any amenities of human life. I appeal to Government to see their wretched condition. The Government are sending delegations, cultural or otherwise, to see things in other countries. I would appeal to them to send a Parliamentary delegation immediately to West Bengal to see the wretched condition of the refugees in the suburbs of Calcutta and other places and find out ways and means to solve the problem immediately. Government is complacent and they feel that they have done enough. But I challenge Government that they have not done even 25 per cent. of what they should have done. They are guilty in the moral Court of moral justice for neglect of displaced humanity.

Shri M. K. Moltra: The challenge comes too late.

Shri Ramananda Dass: We have already given the challenge. You have let down others; you should not find fault with others. You are late and only 6 to 8 months old in this House and I am rather the first.

Mr. Chairman: It is not proper for hon. Members to address each other in this manner.

Shri Ramananda Das: More than 3 lakhs of persons are in the Camps and their condition is horrible as I have already explained.

Then I come to the squatters' colonies. There are more than 100 such colonies which the refugees themselves have built. They have appealed to Government to recognise these colonies and give them amenities by sanctioning some amount as per rules. But Government is adamant and the

machinery is slow. Up till now only 33 squatters' colonies have been recognised in West Bengal. What about the remaining about 100 colonies? They want help from the Government but Government have done nothing to rehabilitate these persons. I would appeal to Government to send some Parliamentary delegation to these places to look for themselves the conditions of the people there and not take them in conducted tours as is being done here and there to show the better side of things.

It is sometimes complained by the State Governments that money or financial aid from the Centre comes too late; sometimes it is delayed by months and even year and so rehabilitation work is being delayed abnormally. I suggested last time and I suggest it this time also that it is not necessary to have four Ministers in the Finance Ministry at the Centre in Delhi and one of them may be shifted immediately to Calcutta to sanction immediately adequate funds for rehabilitation after seeing things. They should see to the proper rehabilitation of the refugees. The bureaucratic government goes on as it was and the officers are going on exploiting the refugees taking advantage of their wretched condition and harassing them in many ways.

So far as medical aid to the refugees is concerned, I wish to point out that 50 per cent. of the refugees are sick and emaciated. The incidence of T.B. among the refugees is so great that you find in most of the colonies hundreds of persons suffering from T.B. and Government is not in a position to give proper relief. There is no sufficient number of beds in hospitals. Their condition is going from bad to worse everyday. Unless they do something constructive to rehabilitate these refugees immediately, I think, Government will be discredited and it is being discredited due to the inefficiency of the heartless and selfish officers of the department. So, I appeal to Government and to the whole House in the name of humanity to see that these displaced persons whose

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number is more than 40 lakhs in West Bengal are properly rehabilitated. The conditions are such that the economy of West Bengal is going to collapse and Government should do something for that immediately. Rehabilitation problem should be treated like war emergency matters.

Lastly, I would like to point out one thing. It is said that the motto of Government is the socialistic Welfare State. But it is nothing but a capitalist pattern of society. What is the socialism they have done up till now? They have only nationalised Insurance companies and one Bank, the Imperial Bank. What else of socialism is there? The rich are growing richer and the poor the poorer. This is not socialism. Thank God, the Finance Minister has not come forward with fresh taxation proposals this time. But I fear, after 2 or 3 months when he again presents the Budget, he may come forward with proposals for fresh taxation, with the result that the poor will become poorer and the rich richer. Government requires money for its development programmes and it should be found from the capitalists, persons who are evading tax. According to Mr. Kaldor's report, every year about Rs. 200 crores to Rs. 300 crores are lost on account of evasion of income tax and other Taxes by the capitalist employers. I appeal to Government to find out ways and means to collect these taxes and to see that no fresh tax is imposed upon the poor people. Otherwise, it will not be a socialist State which you want.

13.59 HRS.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair.]

Then, corruption is another aspect of our administration. In almost all departments there is a sufficient degree of corruption and there is no machinery to stop it. There is no measure to stop this corruption. It should cease immediately.

14 HRS.

Lastly, the Government should come forward to give amenities to the poor people. I appeal to the

Government to provide free and compulsory primary education to all children. Unless we do so, there is no welfare State or socialist pattern of society. We should give at least the minimum amenities to the people, especially the poor people who cannot afford to spend money and send their children to school and also proper housing and other amenities of life.

There are six crores of Scheduled Caste people in the country. From the figures given by Shri Chatterjee, we find that several lakhs of people are being converted into Christianity and other faiths. What has the Government done to check this conversion by foreign missionaries who are exploiting the poor and illiterate masses by promising them some relief. It is the duty of the Government to help the six crores of the Scheduled Castes and 2.5 crores of Scheduled Tribes who are socially, educationally and economically backward and give them more amenities so that they do not fall a prey to the machinations of the foreign missionaries and reacting political parties. If these people are exploited and neglected the condition of the country will be very worse. I appeal to the Government to do something constructive for their all round prosperity for their social, educational and economical upliftment by sanctioning more money.

पंडित च० ना० मासबीय (रायसेन)

जनाब डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, जो यह बजट पेश किया गया है और जो ब्याजट पेपर शायद किया गया है, इसके दूसरे पैगदाफ में लिखा गया है :—

The year under review was the first year of the second plan and for the first time since planned development got under way the economy showed evidence of some amount of strain.

मेरी यह गम है कि बजट पर जो यह ब्याजट पेपर पेश किया गया है, इसमें हमारी धरती तक की उन्नति और वर्तमान स्थिति का एक सही चित्रण किया गया है। उसको एक

रीयलिस्टिक वे में पेश किया गया है। लेकिन मेरा कुछ ऐसा एहसास है कि अगर जो तरफकी हमने की है उसको देखें और जिस तरीके से खुद हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने अपनी तजवीजों पेश की है, उनको देखें, तो प्राज की फिजा में ऐसा पैसिमिस्टिक व्यू पेश करना, मैं कुछ मुनासिब नहीं समझता हूँ। हमने पंच वर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत जो तरफकी की है, जो रिकार्ड हमने डिफरेंट स्कीमों में कायम किए हैं और जो अंदाजे हमारे लीडर साहिबान ने लोगों के सामने रखे हैं उनसे कहीं से भी निराशा की कोई झलक नहीं झलकती। उनको अगर हम गौर से देखें तो प्रासा का दीपक और ज्यादा चमकता नजर आता है। हाँ, इतना जरूर है कि बीच में स्टेट्स रिभागनाइजेशन की वजह से और जनरल इलेक्शंस की वजह से लोगों की तवज्जह कुछ बट अवश्य गई और हमारी योजना जो प्रागे बढ़ रही थी, उसमें कुछ कमियाँ महसूस हुईं और उसको धक्का लगा। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि उन कमजोरियों को कुछ बढ़ा बढ़ा कर पेश किया गया है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि उसमें कुछ खराबियाँ थी और उनको पेश कर दिया गया है और उनकी तरफ अवर्नमेंट का ध्यान भी है और उनको दूर करने की कोशिश भी की गई है। हमने प्रोडक्शन को बढ़ाने का और कीमतों को बढ़ाने का जो अंदाज लगाया था वह पिछले साल के मुकाबले में लगाया है। लेकिन अगर हम सन् १९५२ में उनका मुकाबला करें जब से कि हमारी पंच वर्षीय योजनाओं का सिलसिला शुरू हुआ और उनके आंकड़ों का मुकाबला आज के आंकड़ों से करें, चाहे वह एग्जीक्यूटिव स्पीचर में हो, चाहे कैश क्रॉस में हो या हमारी इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोड्यूस हो तो हम पायेंगे कि सन् १९५२ के मुकाबले में हम हर फील्ड में आगे ही बढ़ते गए हैं। किन्हीं क्षेत्रों में हमने मुसलसल तरफकी की है और किन्हीं में हम पीछे गए हैं। इसके दो कारण हैं। पहला तो यह कि हमने पाँच साला प्लान में एग्जीक्यूटिव पर जोर दिया था और उसमें कम्प्यूटिटी

प्राजैक्ट्स और नैशनल एक्सटेंशन के जरिये में इंटेंसिव एफर्ट की थी और दूसरी तरफ हमने माइनर और मेजर इरिगेशन प्राजैक्ट्स पर जोर दिया था। इसके अलावा हमने और भी तरीके अपनाये थे जैसे सीड देना, तकाबी देना, लैंड रिक्लेम करना। इनका एग्जीक्यूटिव प्राडक्शन पर असर पड़ा और साथ ही कुवरेज में भी असर डाला। जब हम हर साल बजट पर गौर करते थे तो उस वक्त एक स्टेज पर आकर हमने यह महसूस किया कि अब हमें बाहर से गल्ला मंगाने की जरूरत नहीं रही और वह इस वजह से नहीं रही कि हमको अब कोई खाने की बहुत भारी दिक्कत नहीं है? हमने यह महसूस किया था कि अगर हम बाहर से गल्ला मंगायेंगे तो इसलिए कि अगर कहीं ज्यादा आप फेल्योस हो जायें तो उस सिचुएशन का मुकाबला करने के लिए हमारे पास गल्ला स्टॉक में रहना चाहिये और हमें स्टॉक करके गल्ला अपने पास रख लेना चाहिये। हमें उस वक्त यह सैल्फ कन्फिडेंस हो गया था कि हम सैल्फ सफिशेंट हैं, जहाँ तक कि फूड प्राडक्शन का ताल्लुक है। लेकिन जो फिगर्स अब दी गई हैं उन पर हमें गौर करना है। इनसे मैं यह नतीजा निकालना चाहता हूँ कि यह पिक्चर बिल्कुल डिसेमल नहीं है, कोई अंधेरा ही अंधेरा हमारे सामने नहीं आ गया है कि हमें यह नहीं मूझता कि हम क्या करें और कहीं ऐसा न हो कि आगे जा कर हमारी योजना बिल्कुल ठप्प हो जाए। एक चीज को तो मैं मान सकता हूँ और वह यह कि प्राइसिस जो है वे उंची जा रही हैं, एग्जीक्यूटिव प्राडक्शन पिछले साल के मुकाबले में या सन् १९५४ के मुकाबले में बहुत कम है और हमारा जो फारेन एक्सचेंज है वह भी कम हो गया है। इनको देखते हुए ज्यादा टैक्स लगाने की जरूरत महसूस की गई है। इस चीज को मैं मानता हूँ कि हम को अपनी आमदनी के जरिये बढ़ाने हैं, इम्पोर्ट्स को घटाना है, एक्सपोर्ट्स को बढ़ाना, फारेन हेल्प या फारेन कैपिटल को हिन्दुस्तान में लाकर अपनी कमी को पूरा करना है, इन

[पंक्ति ५० ना० मालबीज]

दृष्टियों से इन चीजों को पेश करना तो मैं सही मानता हूँ और इसके लिए जस्टिफिकेशन भी है। लेकिन मुझे याद है और हाउस के मيم्बरान को भी याद होगा कि जब से मैकिड फाइव इमर प्लान का मस्विदा बनना शुरू हुआ था उस वक़्त से एक कंट्रोवर्सी बराबर चलती रही है। यह कहा गया कि हमारी किंगडम बहुत हाई है, हमारे एस्टीमेट्स बहुत हाई हैं और इन को कम किया जाना चाहिए। हमारे ग्रानरेंबिल मिनिस्टर साहब को याद होगा कि शुरू शुरू में यह तजवीज थी कि ६६ अरब रुपया खर्च किया जाए लेकिन बाद में उसको घटा कर ४८ अरब के करीब कर दिया गया। इसकी क्या वजह थी। इसकी एक तो वजह यह थी कि हमें हर चीज का रीयलिस्टिक व्यू लेना चाहिए और हमें सोचना चाहिये कि हम रिसोर्सिस कहाँ से लायेंगे। ४८ अरब का जो अंदाज लगाया गया है उसमें १२ अरब के करीब मिल जाने की तो हमें पूरी आशा है, पूरा कॉन्फिडेंस है। उसके बाद हम सेविन्ज पर डिपेंड करते हैं, फारन इमदाद पर डिपेंड करते हैं और इस तरह से सब मिलाकर ४८ अरब के करीब रुपया बनता है। यह तो ठीक है कि हमें इतने खर्चे चौड़े एस्टीमेट नहीं बनाने चाहिये जिन को कि हम हासिल न कर सकें। इसके पीछे एक चीज यह भी है कि हम किस तरह से अपने रेवेन्यूज को बढ़ा सकते हैं और स्टेट्स के रेवेन्यूज को किस तरह से बढ़ा सकते हैं। इसका एक तरीका जो हमने खोजा वह था समाजवाद की ओर जाना। अगर हम प्राइवेट एंटरप्राइज को प्रोत्साहन दें तो प्लान्ड इकोनोमी नहीं हो सकती है। इस वास्तु हमने धीरे धीरे नैशनलाइजेशन की ओर बढ़ने का लक्ष्य अपने सामने रखा। जाहिर है कि फी एंटरप्राइज में इससे खलबली मर्ची। घनश्यामदास बिड़ला तथा दूसरे पूंजीपतियों ने एक स्कीम निकाली जिसमें कहा गया था कि हम बगैर सोशलिज्म की तरफ बढ़े अपनी प्रोडक्शन को बढ़ा सकते हैं और कैपिटलिस्टिक इकोनोमी के अन्तर्गत

भी बाहर से ज्यादा से ज्यादा इन्वेस्टमेंट हिन्दुस्तान में ला सकते हैं। तो एक व्यू तो यह था कि हम बाहर के कैपिटल को बढ़ावा दें और मदद लें और दूसरा यह कि हमें इंटरनल रिसोर्सिस को इतना बढ़ाना चाहिये कि हमें बाहर के रुपये की ही जरूरत महसूस न हो।

तो इस तरीके से यह कंट्रोवर्सी रही और आज वह आखिर इस स्टेज पर आयी है जब कि हम ऐसा महसूस करते हैं कि हम जो अपने इंटरनेल रिसोर्सिज को बढ़ाकर समाजवादी व्यवस्था की तरफ जाना चाहते हैं कहीं उसमें रुकावट पैदा होना चाहती है और हम आगे बढ़ते हुए इस उसूल से पीछे हटना चाहते हैं।

मैं यह मानता हूँ कि कैपिटलिस्ट कंट्रीज में अच्छा प्रोडक्शन हो सकता है और वहाँ बड़ी बड़ी इंडस्ट्रीज मुमकिन हैं। अमरीका में बहुत कुछ हो रहा है और यूरोप के दूसरे कैपिटलिस्ट देशों में भी बहुत कुछ हो रहा है। लेकिन हर देश की भिन्न भिन्न दिक्कत है और उन सब देशों में दिक्कतें बराबर मौजूद हैं। अमरीका में पोपूलेशन कम है और उनके इंटरनल रिसोर्सिज बहुत ज्यादा हैं। साथ ही साथ उनकी एक्सप्लॉइटिंग इकानमी है, यानी दूसरे देशों के बराबर बाजार पर उनका असर है इसलिए उनकी इकानमी बनी है। पर हम तो ऐसा नहीं कर सकते। अगर हम कैपिटलिस्ट तरीका अपनायेंगे, तो जैसा कि पंडित जी ने फारमर्स फोरम में कहा, कि अगर हम कुछ माडल विलेज बना देंगे फिर भी हमारे गांवों की उन्नति नहीं हो सकती, उसी तरह अगर हम कैपिटलिस्ट तरीका अपनायेंगे तो हमारे यहाँ कुछ और कारखाने हो जायेंगे और प्रोडक्शन भी बढ़ जायेगी। लेकिन उससे हम अपना डेबेलपमेंट नहीं मानेंगे। हमारा डेबेलपमेंट तो इसी कसौटी पर कसा जायेगा कि हम बेरोजगारी को किस हद तक खत्म कर सकते हैं और लोगों के

स्टैंडर्ड ग्राफ लाइफ को कितना भाग बढ़ा सकते हैं तो जो सोशललिस्ट इकानमी हम अपनाना चाहते हैं उसकी तरफ जाने में हमको इस बजट की टोन से ऐसा मालूम होता है कि रुकावट पैदा होगी। जो फिगर्स आपने मेमोरैंडम में पेज १७६ पर दिये हैं उनसे पता चलता है कि १९५२ में राइस का प्रोडक्शन ६०.१ था जो कि १९५५-५६ में १०६.६ हो गया। जाहिर है कि १९५१-५२ के मुकाबले में बढ़ा है। मैं इंडस्ट्रियल और एग्रीकल्चरल फिगर्स को रेफर कर रहा हूँ। ये बताते हैं जो हथिया हमने खर्च किया है उसके मुकाबले में हमने तरक्की की है और हमारा प्रोडक्शन बढ़ा है। प्रोडक्शन तो बढ़ा है पर इसके साथ ही साथ प्राइसेज भी ऊंची गयी हैं। सिर्फ पिछले साल के मुकाबले आपका एग्रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्शन ज्यादा नहीं है। हमें देखना यह है कि जो कुछ हमने इनवेस्ट किया है उसका क्या नतीजा निकला है, उसमें क्या वेंस्टेज हुआ है और क्लाइमेटिक कंडीशन्स ने कहां तक हमारी मदद की है या कहां तक वे हमारे आड़े आयी हैं। जाहिर है कि इस साल खरीफ की क्राप खराब हो गयी है लेकिन रबी क्राप इस वक्त बहुत अच्छी है और हम उम्मीद करते हैं कि हमारी रबी की फसल अच्छी होगी। हमारा मुल्क बहुत बढ़ा है इसलिए सब जगह यकसां फसल तो नहीं हो सकती है। कुछ जगह हेल् स्टाम की वजह से नुकसान हुआ है, कुछ जगह फसलों को बीमारी से भी नुकसान हुआ है। लेकिन फिर भी आने वाली फसल अच्छी होगी। घाकड़ों से इस बारे में मालूम हो जायेगा। पर इस सिलसिले में सब से बड़ी दिक्कत यह है कि हमारे घाकड़ें अक्सर मिसलीडिंग होते हैं। और यह लगती विलेजलेबिल से होती है। गांवों में काम करने वाली तीन एजेंसियां हैं, एक तो विलेज वर्कर, दूसरी पंचायत और तीसरी पटवारी। यह काम ज्यादातर पटवारी करता है और यह काम राज्य सरकारों के अधीन है। सेंटर में जो फिगर्स आते हैं वह स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स से आते हैं और वहां पर इनको पटवारी तैयार करते हैं।

पटवारी के फिगर्स सही नहीं होते। उसकी वजह यह है कि जिस पर वह खुश होते हैं उसका नुकसान ज्यादा बता देते हैं और जिसमें नागाज हुए उसका नुकसान कम बता दिया और ऐसा करने में वह इस बात का भी खयाल नहीं रखते कि सब मिला कर उस गांव में जितना नुकसान हुआ है उसको तो ठीक ठीक बतलायें। इन गलत फिगर्स से जनता का भी नुकसान होता है और सरकार भी गुमराह होती है। जनता का तो यह नुकसान होता है कि जो लोग वाकई राहत के मरतहक हैं उनको राहत नहीं मिल पाती।

आपने अपने व्हाइट पेपर में बतलाया है :

The Budget for the current year, as finally approved by Parliament, placed revenue at Rs. 527.39 crores, and expenditure at Rs. 545.43 crores, leaving a deficit, on revenue account, of Rs. 18.04 crores. On present estimates, the year is likely to close with a surplus of Rs. 37.94 crores.

इसमें आपने बतलाया है कि सन् १९५६-५७ के बजट में मरगलस रहेगा जो आप सन् १९५७-५८ का बजट पेश कर रहे हैं उसमें २६ करोड़ का आपने डेफिजिट बतलाया है। ग्रोवरग्नल डेफिमिट ३६५ करोड़ आपने बतलाया है जो कि कैपिटल ऐक्सपेंडीचर को शामिल करके होता है। जो एडीशनल टैक्सेशन है उसमें आपने खुद कहा है कि उसका असर आगे पड़ेगा। इम्पोर्ट और एक्सपोर्ट को आप कंट्रोल करने वाले हैं। तो फिर क्या वजह है कि पंचवर्षीय योजना में आपको घबराहट पैदा हो गयी कि हमारे फारिन एक्सचेंज का क्या होगा और यह कि हम किस तरह से अपने यहां फारिन इनवेस्टमेंट बढ़ायें। साथ ही बाहर से मदद चाहते हैं ताकि जो हमारा फारिन एक्सचेंज कम हो रहा है उसमें कमी और ज्यादा न हो। इस कमी का कारण

[पड़ित च० ना० मन्त्रालय]

यह है कि अभी तक आप लिबरली इम्पोर्ट्स की इजाजत देने रूठे हैं। इन इम्पोर्ट्स को घटाइये। एक समय में पोलैंड में था। वहां पर अच्छी स्याही नहीं मिलती थी। बतलाया गया कि जो स्याही वहां बनती थी उसी में काम लिया जाता है और अच्छी स्याही बाहर से नहीं मंगायी जानी थी। अगर हमारे यहां फारिन एक्सचेंज की दिकत है तो हम भी अपने यहां बनी स्याहा इस्तेमाल करेंगे लेकिन बाहर से अच्छी स्याही नहीं मंगायेंगे, हम बाहर से ब्लेड्स नहीं मंगायेंगे और अगर हमारे देश में ब्लेड्स की कमी होगी तो गोजाना शेव न करेंगे, पर जब करेंगे तो अपने यहां की ब्लेड में ही करेंगे। आप लज्जगी की चीजें, जैसे यूडीकलोन वर्गह मंगाना बन्द कर सकते हैं इस तरह से आप फारिन एक्सचेंज को बचाने की कोशिश कीजिये। हम टैवी इन्स्ट्रुज को बढ़ाना चाहते हैं। जाहिर है कि उनकी जरूरत को हम नहीं गंजना चाहते। पर इन सामूची चीजों के इम्पोर्ट को तो हमको एकदम रोक देना चाहिए। इसके साथ ही साथ हमको अपने ट्रेड रिगुलेशन ऐसे देशों में बनाने चाहिए जो कि हमारी चीजों का भी लेने को तैयार हो और हम भी उनकी चीजों को खरीदें।

एग््रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्शन पर आज बहुत जोर है। इस बारे में कुछ मुझसे आपसे सामने पेश करना चाहता हूँ। एक तजवीज अभी आप के सामने रखी गई, बाकी में उस तजवीज का समर्थन करता हूँ कि इस तरह से आप ने जनता में सस्पेणन फैला रखा है वह अच्छा नहीं है। हर आदमी के पास लैंड है, लेकिन वह पड़ी हुई है क्योंकि वह समझता है कि इस को डवलप करू या न कर, पता नहीं कल मीनिंग ३० एकड़ होती है या ५० एकड़ होती है। इस लिये जहाँ मीनिंग की पालिसी का समर्थन करता हूँ वहाँ उसके मुताबिक यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप

ने उस को कौन्ट स्टोरेज में ला रखा है। उस की तरफ गवर्नमेंट कोई कदम नहीं उठा रही है। लोकल गजनीति की दृष्टि में या अपनी पालिसी की दृष्टि में। सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट और स्टेट गवर्नमेंटों को इस चीज को माफ करना चाहिये। सेक्रेट फाइव इथर प्लैन में आप ने कहा कि आप लैंड रिक्लेमेशन करेंगे, एग््रीकल्चरल डवलपमेंट करेंगे, लेकिन अगर देखा जाये तो आप उस पर ठीक से ध्यान नहीं कर रहे हैं। आप भोपाल को ही ले लीजिये वहाँ पर तीन लाख एकड़ जमीन रिक्लेम हुई, लेकिन उस में से अधिकतर फालो अप नहीं हो सकी है। बहुत से लोगों ने लैंड को बेकार कर रखा है। वह दुविधा में है कि पता नहीं कल आप डवलप करें या न करें। अगर एक बार यह तय किया जाय कि सीनिंग करनी है, तो उस को कर डालिये। मानस न ही लैंड का कंसांलिटेशन हो रहा है या नहीं, आप उस को कर डालिये। आपने इंटेंसिव कल्चिगेशन के लिये रूलर कट्टि की बात कही है, लेकिन सब जानते हैं कि उस के ऊपर ध्यान नहीं हो रहा है। याज हिन्दुस्तान का किमान कोई चीज मुफ्त नहीं लेना चाहता, लेकिन यह जरूर चाहता है कि अगर उस को एग््रीकल्चरल इम्प्रुवमेंट का जरूरत है तो वह उस को वक्त पर मिलना चाहिये। जगती का हाल यह है कि किमान का वक्त पर लकड़ी नहीं मिलती, जिससे उस को परेशानी होती है। कोई भी चीज उस को वक्त पर नहीं मिलती है, बीज नहीं मिलता है, वहां पर कोई माहकार नहीं है, कोई इन्स्ट्रुक्शन नहीं है जिस से उसको बीज मिल सके। उस को इम्प्रुव्ड बीज न दिया जाय लेकिन कम से कम ऐसा तो दिया जाय कि वह अपने खेत में उस को डाल सके। नतीजा यह है कि जमीन खराब हो रही है। जहाँ डाइ खेती होती है वहाँ पर अगर वक्त पर बीज नहीं मिलेगा तो नहीं उगेगा या अगर मामूली

तीर में दमगुनी फसल पैदा होने वाली होगी तो छःगुनी या चौगुनी ही होगी। कहा गया कि हम फटिलाइजर देंगे। अक्षर मुनी गया कि हम इतना फटिलाइजर देने वाले हैं, लेकिन जब खेत ज़ोन चुका, वां चका तब उस के यहां फटिलाइजर पहुंचता है। अगर नहीं चाहिये तब भी तुम को फटिलाइजर लेना ही पड़ेगा। कीमत तुम को अदा करनी ही पड़ेगी। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप इन चीजों की मदद लोगों को देना चाहते हैं तो टीक में देना चाहिये। अगर प्लैनिंग आप का देश में चलानी है तो आप को वकन के अन्दर इन चीजों को देने की ज़रूरत है।

इसके बाद किमान का पैसा की जरूरत होती है। गल्ले की जो मार्केटिंग है वह भी प्रापरी नहीं हो रही है। किमान को गल्ले का मही पैसा नहीं मिलता। जब उस का गल्ला तैयार होता है तो उस की कीमत गिर जाती है और उस के बाद उस को वही गल्ला महंगे दाम पर लेना पड़ता है : जब आप रेवेन्यू वसूल करते हैं तो किमान को मजबूत हो कर गल्ला बेचना पड़ता है। इस मिनसिले में स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स और मेट्रोल गवर्नमेंट दोनों को ही ध्यान देना चाहिये। जब आप रेवेन्यू वसूल करते हैं तो उस का गल्ला मरना बिकता है और उस का तुश्मान होता है। अगर आप मही तरीके में वसूल करें तो उस की जो गल्ले की कीमत है वह ज्यादा मिल सकेगी।

आप ने ज्यादा एग्जिक्टिव और एक्जाम्पली की तरफ ध्यान दिया है और इस मिनसिले में प्लैनिंग कमिशन की तरफ से जो कमेटी बैठने वाली है में उस का स्वागत करता हूँ। लेकिन मैं यह महसूस करता हूँ कि आप ने जो सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट के मिनिस्टर्स और स्टेट्स के चीफ मिनिस्टर्स की कमेटी बनाई है उस में आप ने यह उम्मीद की है कि वह प्रोजेक्ट में जा कर उस की देखरेख करें और निगरानी करें उस से काम नहीं चलेगा मेरा ऐसा

खयाल है कि मिनिस्टर्स और चीफ मिनिस्टर्स उनमें बिली है कि वह किसी और काम की तरफ ज्यादा ध्यान नहीं दे सकते। इस लिये अगर आप को पुराने प्रोजेक्ट्स की निगरानी करनी है या नई प्रोजेक्ट्स की देख भाल करनी है तो आप को इस उद्देश्य को प्राप्त करने के लिये ऐसे आदमियों की कमेटी बनानी चाहिये जो उस चीज को जानते हों और उस की मही जांच करके आपके सामने उस की पेश कर सकें।

बेजेज के मिनसिले में अभी तकनी ने कुछ नहीं कहा, मैं उस के मूनालिनक आप के सामने एक तजवीज़ रखना चाहता हूँ। एग्जिक्टिव और एक्जाम्पली के मिनसिले में आप ने बेजेज की जो पालनी बनाई है उस में आप ने बेजेज का मुक़रर की है, लेकिन मेरी तजवीज़ यह है कि आप काम के नाम पर मुक़रर कीजिये, चाहे वह आपकी सेक्टेरियल के काम हो चाहे विलेजेज के काम हों, या इंडस्ट्रीज के काम हों। गवर्नमेंट, एम्प्लायर और एम्प्लयीज, इन तीनों के एग्जिक्टिव बैठ कर हर काम के कुछ नाम मुक़रर करें कि इतने घंटों में इतना काम हो सकता है, और नाम के मुताबिक हम बेजेज फिक्क करनी चाहिये। इस तरह में अगर दफतर हूँ घंटे का होता है तो यह देखना चाहिये कि जितना काम उतनी देर में होना चाहिये वह हुआ या नहीं, यह नहीं कि उतनी देर आदमी बैठा या नहीं या उतनी देर में वह उतनी जगह घुमा या नहीं। इस के साथ ही साथ यह भी जाना चाहिये कि जो ज्यादा काम करे उसे उतना ही ज्यादा देना चाहिये। अगर कोई आदमी पूरा काम न करे तो उस की बेजेज फ़ीज कर दी जाये। अगर इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स इस तरह में काम करेंगे, आप इस तरह में काम करेंगे तो मेरा ऐसा खयाल है कि आप का इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोडक्शन भी बढ़ेगा, अच्छी उपज होगी और हमारी प्लैन अच्छी तरह में कामयाब हो सकती।

Shri M. K. Meitra: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I should like to point out that the White Paper discloses that there has been a setback in the production of foodgrains. When there has been a setback in the production of foodgrains, it gives us a warning as to whether the economic capacity is sufficient to indulge in deficit financing to the extent that we have gone. That is the warning that has been given by the setback in the production of foodgrains. I should like to point out in this connection that we have heard that it was due to the irrigation facilities and other schemes that were formulated during the first Five Year Plan period that our food situation improved. But, in the White Paper, it has been clearly stated that it was the smile of Nature that improved the production and not the irrigation schemes. We have now seen that irrigation schemes have not been able to produce the results that people expected of them.

Sir, you have seen how sense has dawned on one of the distinguished Members on the Benches opposite and how he was anxious to bring the Government constituted by his party to its senses. In his anxiety he has thrown a challenge. Without going further, I would simply say that full throated pledges were given from different platforms by leaders, deputy leaders and sub-leaders just a month ago during the election campaign, but in this budget we do not see any sign of those pledges being translated into action. Of course, it will follow the tradition of the Congress, namely, the tradition of broken pledges.

The budget which has been presented by the Government should try to give a true picture of the financial position in this country. The Finance Minister has not conceded the fact that he would not put more burden on the people in regard to taxation. When I say people, I do not mean the rich people, but I mean the working people. They are not in a position to bear the burden of taxation and I hope the Finance Minister will consider that aspect.

Now, I come to the reports issued by different Ministries. I come from West Bengal and as such I must plead for the rehabilitation of the refugees coming from East Bengal. If we go through the pages of the report issued by the Ministry of Rehabilitation, we will find the following fine sentences:

"The situation demands earnest consideration. Whatever the circumstances, political or economic, which forced the people to leave their homes in East Pakistan it is essentially a human problem. The displaced persons should be rehabilitated as speedily as possible and as best as the country's resources permit. They need houses to live in, land to cultivate and industries to provide them with work. Their children need schools and their sick need hospitals. The States of West Bengal and Assam and the Tripura Administration have already overstained their resources and have no scope left for any new work."

That is the valuable information that this book has given. But this book has not mentioned what the Central Government proposes to do when the resources of Tripura and West Bengal have been exhausted. That is the only thing that is absent in this book—fine draftsmanship, I must say.

About the rehabilitation of refugees, I must point out one thing. During 1950, about 50,000 Muslims left for Pakistan during the disturbances and after the disturbances were over, they came back to West Bengal. I am sorry to say that up till now, they have not been provided with any shelter. Their huts were occupied by other people, and those people are prepared to vacate the huts of the Muslim refugees, provided they can get alternative accommodation. But our Government have not been able to find alternative accommodation for them during the last seven years. That is the record of our Government.

I come to another point. You know that engineering workshops on a small scale have developed round about Calcutta supplementing the big industries. In Calcutta, iron and steel used to be supplied at cheaper rates, because the centres of production of iron and steel were in the vicinity of Calcutta and the port was there. About a year or so ago, the Government have increased the prices of iron and steel and this has hit hard the small industries developing in and around Calcutta. You know that in West Bengal, the unemployment problem has reached its worst magnitude; if industries which have been developing by their own efforts are hard hit like that, you cannot solve the unemployment problem. Therefore, I would request the Government to see if they can revise the prices of iron and steel in and around Calcutta.

I now come to the retrenchment in the Government food department and also the grievances of the people working in various Government departments. You know that about 20,000 people had been retrenched from the Damodar Valley Corporation, after the work was completed. Several other hon. Members from these benches and I saw the Planning Minister and he promised that he would request the Government of West Bengal about 2,000 people. He gave this promise in September last, but up till now, not a single man has been absorbed. Not only that; we have received complaints from the Regional Directorate of the Food Department where people have been serving for six to ten years that they have not yet been made permanent and very often they are retrenched. We also saw the Food Minister, but nothing has yet been done.

You know that the Sea Customs Act is prevalent in Calcutta. We find that all on a sudden small dealers dealing in gold are surrounded by police in the morning and throughout the day the search is continued. Their books are taken away and they are returned after one or two months. There is

no mockery of a trial even. In this way, they are harassed. I will certainly plead that if there is any contraband gold there, that must be seized and the authorities must take proper steps. But it is the duty of the authorities to see that innocent people are not harassed. Here innocent people are being regularly harassed. The attention of the authorities has been drawn to these facts, but they are sitting tight over the matter. I will plead that the cases of these people should be taken up by the authorities. You know that gold is found in Calcutta in the flower tubs of rich men, but they are not brought to book, whereas the smaller dealers are always harassed. I would draw the attention of the authorities to this matter.

Now I come to education. I would like to say a few words here about the policy followed by the University Grants Commission. The University Grants Commission grants money to universities. But you know that in India, universities deal only with postgraduate education and undergraduate education is dealt with by the affiliated colleges. These affiliated colleges have a large number of students and teachers. Whenever the question of improving the salaries of these teachers serving in affiliated colleges comes up, the Government says that they do not belong to the universities. These affiliated colleges are practically the suppliers of students to universities; they are practically the makers of the nation, but their cause is thus neglected. In Calcutta, 5 colleges have got 35,000 students and when the University Grants Commission was asked to help these colleges to start additional colleges, the Commission pleaded inability, because it was beyond its scope. I would request that the scope of the University Grants Commission should be revised, so that in addition to helping the universities, it should be able to help the affiliated colleges, so that the condition of the teachers and the students in those colleges may be improved.

[Shri M. K. Maitra]

My hon. friend, Shri Gidwani, told us that efforts are being made to check corruption in Government offices. I must welcome such a suggestion. But during the elections, we have seen that even the Prime Minister of India has trampled under his feet the conventions set up in parliamentary democracy. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru is a leader of the Congress, and as a leader of the Congress, he can canvass for his party. But he goes there as Prime Minister of India and not only he, but other members of the Working Committee stay in the Government House of Calcutta; and, I cannot say if their expenses have been met from the sumptuary allowances of the Governor of West Bengal. When we see the Prime Minister of India and Chief Ministers using Government cars for going and addressing election meetings, we do not know how this Government will be able to check corruption.

Shri M. R. Krishna (Karimnagar—Reserved—Sch. Castes)/Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I do not stand here to speak about big things. I do not claim to have anything bigger for my constituency. But, I would like to lay stress on some very primary necessities without which my people are suffering. This matter is very fresh in my mind and I take this opportunity to bring before this House and particularly to the notice of the Finance Minister how, in some parts of this great country, people are suffering for want of dire necessities of life.

We know that this Government is striving sincerely to establish a socialist welfare State and the Plans are aimed towards that end. We also know that in a country where we do not have enough foodgrains, we cannot think of establishing a socialistic pattern of society or a welfare State. Therefore, the Government was right in evolving a Plan which is directed purely for the production of more food in the country.

Under the First Plan, an agriculturist, irrespective of the fact that he owns more than 100 acres of land, got help from the Government to produce more foodgrains. In the Second Plan, the Government are developing the industrial sector. We are sure that the Government are striving hard to benefit the people of this country. People are speaking high about the community projects. We know that some of the community projects and National extension blocks, they are definitely doing good work. The cultivators are taught proper methods of cultivation and they are given sufficient financial assistance to increase production of foodgrains. One thing I have noticed during my recent election campaign. Most of the officers and even social workers are concentrating more in the community projects and in National extension blocks. The result is that these people forget their primary duty for the rest of the Districts. The Collector of a district or the Tahsildar and other officials are there to look after the entire district. But these officers generally concentrate only on those places where these community projects have come into being and they have forgotten the rest of the district. This is what has exactly happened in the Karimnagar district. Just three or four months before the election, I visited some of these areas. The officers connected with the community projects told me that they do not have enough medicines to supply to the villagers. I thought it was a genuine request and made appeal to the State Government and the Central Government to enhance the money given for providing medical facilities. When I went round recently, in 95 per cent of the villages that I visited, the people wanted just ordinary medicines for skin diseases. When I saw these people, women and children, and their pitiable condition, I was terribly worried and I actually forgotten that I had gone there to canvass for votes. They have been suffering from ordinary itches and they could not get

medicine. Doctors have not visited these places for months together. It is no exaggeration when I say that if any Party were to know this and carry a small chest of medicine to these villagers, they would have got the entire votes of those people. They never care to understand the big policies of the Government; they never care to understand that they are going to get the First and the Second Plan. They wanted that their diseases should be eradicated. For that, they require some medicine. The district officers and every one else are purely concentrating on the community projects and National extension blocks. I do not blame them for this. It has become a practice now, wherever community projects or National extension blocks have come into being, practically every week, some dignitary or other visits the place and the entire staff, officials and non-officials will have to go to that place. Other areas are neglected. This is a bad practice. Even though we are going to cover the entire country with community projects and National extension blocks in the coming years, I do not think we will be able to do much if this is going to be the practice. I would like to make a small suggestion. There have also been complaints from various Members that in the community projects and National extension blocks, they waste a good deal of money and that the work turned out is not much, compared to the money that has been spent. After doing round the places, I am quite sure that if the people in non-Community Project areas are given only a little sum of money, they will be able to do much more work than the work that is being done in the community projects under official supervision. There are the village officials and there are non-official agencies in every village, in every taluk who will gladly take up such works. If they get only the share that is due to them, they will be able to turn out much better work without much propaganda and much show.

I come from the Harijan community. This House knows about it and the Finance Minister is quite aware of it. I was under the impression that these community projects and National extension blocks are going to change the pattern and face of the villages that, the hamlets and villages of the Harijans which are included in the community projects will get due attention and that they will be able to get schools, good roads and better houses. I have gone round most of these community projects and National extension blocks. When I actually saw some of them, I was really shocked because in the community project areas, the hamlets in which the Harijan communities are living, are still neglected. I have even found that the village panchayats and the authorities which are entrusted with this work of development have given a separate well to the Harijan villagers. If there is a Harijan hamlet in a community project area, under some pretext or other they give a separate well. When we have passed an Act by which we say that there is no untouchability, when we say that under the Constitution every one is to be treated equal, when we say that every one in the community projects is to get a fair treatment, I do not understand the reason why, even if the Scheduled Caste villagers wanted for certain reasons to have separate well, the administration provided them a separate well.

Shri Thimmaiah (Kolar—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Otherwise they won't get water.

Shri M. E. Krishna: It is a fact which is very well known to every Member of this House that the Harijans have not come up to the stage to know their basic rights and to get the benefits of the Acts passed in this House. An Act has been passed abolishing forced labour. When we went for the election campaign, we told the people,—every Member of this House, I think, must have said this—that Acts have been passed

[Shri M. R. Krishna]

abolishing forced labour. When we have said all this to the people, how is it that we still see these people are not enjoying the benefits of these Acts. It is very simple. Even though there is a school, the Harijans do not like to send their children to the school because it has been their attitude for centuries. Today if you say the Harijans have got this right, they are not so courageous as to make use of it. The Patwari is there and indirectly he says: "You cannot make use of this school, you cannot send your children to the school because the children of the high caste people are also reading there." These things are still prevalent. If we want to remove them, this year when we are thinking of more community projects we should not, even if the Harijans want a separate well or a school, encourage it. If we encourage it, that will clearly indicate that we are not honest in our attempt in passing these Acts and in speaking about the removal of untouchability etc.

Yesterday I heard some very important Members speaking. They were right in saying that the people of this country have not been informed about the various developments and the various plans and schemes that we are at present contemplating to bring out. Eighty per cent. of the people are ignorant about what we are doing in this House, the benefits we are going to give them etc. Even Shri Asoka Mehta stressed this and said that if we want that the Second Plan should be successfully implemented, we must see that the people in the country who have actually to back the Government in implementing the Plan are informed about the various measures that we are thinking of taking. I also feel that it is very important because in the recent elections we found that almost 90 per cent of the people are ignorant about various important things. In the villages they would like to help the Congress, and the Government but when we say that these improve-

ments have been effected, that the Government is contemplating the Second Plan and has enhanced food production in the First Plan, the people are not happy about it. In the first place, they do not know much about them. The A.I.R. Research Section has designed a radio set, a community receiving set, which is being operated on kerosene oil. That has been put to test and it must have worked for thousands of hours by now. I do not see any reason why such a kind of thing should not be developed and provided to the villages. It is all because of the lack of education that the people are creating all kinds of complications and obstacles in the way of the Government implementing the Five Year Plans etc. There is indiscipline in labour. The standard of discipline has fallen whether it is in the railway labour or in the educational institutions, but it is a granted fact that in the country the Standard of discipline has fallen. Even the standard amongst the officials has gone down. It is clear proof that it is because of lack of education the poorer classes, that they are very backward and are not in a position to co-operate with the Government. Therefore, if only some money is spent, I think the Government will be able to give one of these important items of necessity to every village and thereby the people will be able to know the day to day happenings and there will be much improvement in the village conditions. The Government will also be able to get more from these villagers.

I have been frequently speaking about housing facilities in this House for poorer classes. I can understand if the Government gives enormous money to the people who own hundreds of acres of land for production of more food, but I do not understand the Government's policy of advancing huge loans to the tune of Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000 for people

to construct houses, when the rural population which is barely living in huts which are very bad for all kinds of changing whether comes forward and demand certain facilities, the Government simply ignore them. It should be the policy of the Government to stop all the advances and monetary assistance to the people in the towns who desire to have big buildings worth Rs. 10,000 or Rs. 20,000 till these rural people who can construct their houses within Rs. 1,000 are able to get the money for constructing their houses. There is scarcity of accommodation in towns also, but since we are not in a position to give shelter to the people who are actually in need of it, we should not think of wasting money by giving huge loans to people who went to construct houses in cities. This is important and I hope the Finance Minister will be able to advance sufficient money to the Works, Housing and Supply Ministry so that they will be able to implement this scheme of rural housing. Hitherto, even the Works, Housing and Supply Minister has been concentrating more on houses in the city areas. If this practice is continued, I think the people will be right in demanding that there should be a separate Ministry to look after rural housing schemes. In the reports we have received so far, or in answers to questions or in the speeches made by the Minister we have not been informed at any stage that the Minister is concentrating more on rural housing. This is very important, and I humbly request the Finance Minister to keep this in mind and try to help in the coming years.

Shri Matthen (Thiruvellah): I am not likely to get several opportunities in this House to speak on the General Budget or any other subject, and so I intend making use of this opportunity to stress the importance of a subject which I have been stressing for the last two or three years, a subject to which I have devoted considerable effort and study—I mean the development of Indian shipping.

That India had been a maritime country for ages is not realised by that portion of India which is land-locked and which is unfortunately more than the sea-locked area. At any rate, as soon as independence was granted, one of the immediate reactions of the independent Government was to study this question of shipping. It is no wonder that the Britisher did not help Indian shipping. Whatever economic development we had was a corollary or a consequence to the economic development they planned for the British. Therefore, the national Government in 1947, on the recommendation of the Shipping Policy Committee, decided to have a target of two million G.R.T. by 1954 or 1956. We can appreciate the importance of shipping for our security as well as for our economy. The foreigners were able to conquer India because our sea power was weak. Till then we were able to retain our independence. The Portuguese were able to get control over Goa, which is a thorn in our flesh now, only as a result of want of shipping on our side at that time. So, it is no wonder that the Shipping Policy Committee recommend a target of 2 million tons G.R.T. to be achieved by 1954-56. But what we have been able to achieve by the end of the First Plan is only 6,00,000 tons G.R.T. which includes the ships that are being built in Visakhapatnam as well as in foreign shipyards. But this is only about one-fourth of the target which the Shipping Policy Committee had recommended and which the Government of India had also accepted.

15 HRS.

Prior to the war, the world tonnage was of the order of 70 million tons G.R.T. But, soon after the war, in 1948, in spite of the tremendous destructions of millions of tons, it rose to 80 million tons. In July 1956, the progress was so rapid that it rose to 105 million tons.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram (Visakhapatnam): Not millions. It cannot be 80 millions and 100 millions. It may be 100,000.

Shri Matthen: Thank you. But I stick to my figures.

It is rather remarkable that by 1956 the world tonnage has increased to about 50 per cent. more than the pre-war level. Today, every shipbuilding yard is fully booked with orders, which will keep them engaged till about 1960-61. So, it is difficult for us to get a berth anywhere, for the number of shipbuilding yards is very limited.

There has at the same time been a marked increase in the foreign trade of India after Independence, thanks to the Plan and thanks to our individual efforts; it has now come to about 3 per cent. of the world overseas trade. But the tonnage that we have got today is just about half a per cent. of the world tonnage. As I said earlier, the target of 6,00,000 tons GRT fixed by the Planning Commission may be considered to have been achieved, provided we take into account the 17 ships that are being built. But then, to my knowledge, all these ships have not been delivered yet.

We missed the bus in the early fifties, when secondhand ships were available very cheap. The price of a ship today is about four times that of a ship that we could have gone in for in 1950. For the carriage of food alone, we had to pay by way of freight more than Rs. 100 crores in the early fifties. The total cargo estimated for 1955-56 is about 18 million tons. During the Second Plan period, the average amount of cargo will be about 25 million tons. No reliable statistics are available. I have already tabled a question on this subject, and I hope I shall be able to get the answer on the 28th instant. Although the Ministry has been promising us to provide these statistics, yet I am sorry we have not been provided with them so far.

I believe the Finance Minister is aware that our freight bill will come to about Rs. 200—300 crores during

the Plan period. I remember he made a remark last year about the target of 9,00,000 tons fixed by the Planning Commission for the Second Five Year Plan. He said that we must get at least 56 more ships in order to fulfil our commitments for the import of food and other necessary cargo. But I do not know whether the Planning Commission has taken proper note of this remark of the Finance Minister, who was then the Commerce and Industry Minister. I can boldly say that there was no other subject on which the whole House was united as on this question of the development of shipping, as was evidenced when a non-official resolution moved by my hon. friend Shri Raghunath Singh was under discussion here. On that occasion, even the Opposition Members were very enthusiastic over the development of Indian shipping for various reasons.

In spite of that, in spite of the fact that the experts' committee appointed by the Planning Commission recommended a target of at least 1.2 million tons GRT to be achieved by 1961, the Planning Commission's figure was only 9,00,000 tons.

But one thing that I was able to find was that both the Planning Commission and the Transport Minister were very keen and very positive in saying that we must be in a position to carry at least 15 per cent. of India's overseas trade. According to the recommendation of the Shipping Policy Committee, the entire coastal trade was to be in Indian hands, and 50 per cent. of the foreign trade was to be in Indian hands. But that is not within practical politics, and, therefore, the Planning Commission has decided on a target of 15 per cent. The Transport Minister had expressed his pious wish that by the end of the Third Five Year Plan, we shall have been able to attain the target fixed, 2 million tons.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: May I interrupt the hon. Member for a minute? Does the hon. Member know that the

shipyard at Visakhapatnam today is threatened with a lay-off, that there is to be 'nil' allocation, and there is no work available for the existing complement? In the light of this fact, the hon. Member may proceed and make a revision of his argument.

Shri Matthen: I thank the hon. Member for the information. I think the capacity of the shipyard at Visakhapatnam, judging from the experience of the last two or three years is about 15,000 tons only.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: Today, there is no work in the shipyard. A strike is threatening.

Shri Matthen: Of course, the strike is there.

In the Second Five Year Plan, we have provided for an addition of 3,00,000 tons GRT; besides, we have to provide for about 90,000 tons by way of replacements. So, even according to the target fixed by the Planning Commission, the figure is 3,90,000 tons. But today orders have been placed only for about 26 ships. All that we have achieved so far is only two secondhand ships and one tanker. And the 26 ships that we have placed orders for would be available only by about 1961. So, the total tonnage acquired comes to only 1,70,000 tons. That means that we require another 2,20,000 tons to achieve the target of 3,00,000 tons for the Plan plus 90,000 tons of replacements.

Of the sum of Rs. 45 crores allotted for shipping under the Second Plan, we have already utilised more than Rs. 38 crores. Even according to the statement of the Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport, we would be needing a minimum of Rs. 45 crores more to attain the target fixed under the Plan. So, I am eager to know how the Planning Commission is going to attain the modest target of 3,00,000 tons which has been fixed for this purpose, and especially how it is going to find the sum of Rs. 45 crores needed for this purpose.

One suggestion that has been put forward by some one in the Transport magazine is that about Rs. 10 to 12 crores will have to be repaid by the shipping companies in respect of the loans that had been advanced by Government, and for this sum may be permitted to acquire new ships. That would leave a balance of Rs. 45 crores minus Rs. 12 crores.

One problem over which we are very much anxious today is the problem of foreign exchange. So far as the maritime countries like Norway, Japan, Germany etc. are concerned—of course, they are not very important—they are in a very favourable position in this regard. I think the foreign exchange earning of Norway through shipping was about Rs. 200 crores last year.

Even the modest shipping we have got is, I am told, fetching about Rs. 5 to 7 crores per annum. During the Second Plan period, it is estimated that 24 million tons of cargo per year will have to be carried. The freight on it will be not less than Rs. 300 crores—foreign exchange to be paid to the foreign shipping companies. If at least Rs. 45 crores are advanced by the Planning Commission, we could make a further saving of Rs. 7 crores annually in foreign exchange. Not only that; the normal life of a ship is 20 years, in about 6 years' time they will be able to pay back the amount, once the ships start functioning. If this is done, in future also we could save Rs. 6 to Rs. 7 crores of foreign exchange, which is our real problem. On the basis of 15 per cent. of the overseas trade, according to the estimates of well known shipping companies, it will require 8,50,000 tons (GRT). Then coastal shipping will need about 7,50,000 tons, on account of the developing economy of India. That means that we will need more than 1-1/4 million tons to attain the target fixed by the Planning Commission.

One fundamental thing about shipping development is that it will give us ample foreign exchange, and, therefore, any money advanced is only

[Shri Matthen]

a question of accommodation for six or seven years. I am sorry that I would not be here to follow up this subject in which I have taken so much interest. If you will pardon my doing so, I may, in all modesty, say that I was mostly responsible for the constitution of the Transport Committee of the Congress Party dealing mainly with shipping, as also the Inter-Parliamentary Study Group on Shipping. I hope my hon. friends, Shri A. M. Thomas and others, who are here will follow up this subject, in which every Member of the House has evinced considerable interest.

I would say one word about the ~~നവകരണ കേന്ദ്ര~~ shipbuilding yard. As I said before, the capacity of the Visakhapatnam Yard is hardly 50,000 tons (GRT). Today, even if we have the finance and foreign exchange, it is not possible for us to place orders with any of the foreign shipyards. Therefore, we have to develop our shipbuilding industry rapidly. India will rapidly become a maritime country only if we have a second shipbuilding yard bigger than Vizag. This is the most important point we have to bear in mind. As I said before, world tonnage is rising so fast—it is double of what it was before—that we have to proceed in this matter expeditiously.

I will conclude with just one word about my State. As a result of agitation by my colleagues and myself, the hon. Transport Minister Shri Lal Bahadur announced that he would start a school for the training of merchant navy ratings almost immediately in Cochin. That announcement was made four months ago when he visited Kerala to open the railway line from Ernakulam to Kottayam. But in reply to my question the other day, the present Transport Minister said that the matter was under consideration. In unmistakable language, Shri L. B. Shastri had said that there would be a rating school in Kerala. There are schools in Visakhapatnam, Calcutta and Kandla, but this part of the country that has got the richest

maritime tradition and the richest human material for development has been neglected. That was why the former Minister stated that he would surely have the school started. I can tell you that I actually saw a board put up in the Cochin Harbour showing the site of the proposed rating school. The Chief Secretary told me that Kerala Government was prepared to allow Rs. 1 lakh or more for the building of the school.

I want this House to consider this matter very seriously. The disappointment that has been caused by the subsequent reply of the hon. Minister is causing frustration in that part of the country where, as you know, unemployment is an acute problem.

Shri Thimmalah: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, during our election tours, we happened to visit as many villages as possible in the rural parts. We have understood the correct position as regards the existing condition in the villages. During my tour, I noticed one thing, that the village community is disintegrating. In every village, we can see rival groups and parties.

This state of affairs is due to the presence of the hereditary village heads known as shanbhogs and patils in that part of the country and patwaris or kulkarnis in some other parts. These people are responsible for all village disputes and strifes in villages. This hereditary system must be abolished; then alone the condition of the villages will be improved. These village heads are the most reactionary elements in the rural parts and they are responsible for the unhappy atmosphere that is existing today in the rural parts.

When we have abolished kings and rajas, I do not think there is any justice in having these patwaris and hereditary headmen. It is better to abolish this class also as early as possible as it is for the good of the country.

Coming to the development works that we have undertaken during these five years, I submit that the villagers are completely misinformed of what Government have done for their improvement. Some of the Opposition parties, have completely misguided them; they have not got the correct information about the various works undertaken by Government for the improvement of the villages. Therefore, it is better for Government to have some agency in order to disseminate correct information now and then to the villages and the rural masses about what the Government are doing for their upliftment.

Opposition parties have exploited the ignorance of the masses, particularly of the Scheduled Caste people. This exploitation is due to the backwardness of the Scheduled Castes. In order to catch votes, these parties have completely misguided them. They have bribed them, not only with money but also with illicit liquor and other things. I feel ashamed to see that the Scheduled Caste people are completely exploited. This, I thought, was really very bad for the country. If they are going to remain like that, I think some of the Opposition parties in this country are going to exploit them to the maximum extent.

Therefore, I submit that Government should take care and see that special attention is paid for the economic improvement of the Scheduled Caste people in the rural parts. My hon. friend, Shri M. R. Krishna, was saying that separate wells and separate schools should not be opened for the Scheduled Caste people. In some of the villages where the Harijan population is large, a large number of Scheduled Caste boys is not admitted to the general schools for want of seats. Therefore, I submit that in some places at least separate schools ought to be constructed for the benefit of the Scheduled Caste students. The hon. Member said that separate wells need not be constructed for Harijans. But, from my experience I submit that these separate wells are very necessary because the villagers are

not so much advanced as to understand that they should take water from the common wells along with Harijans. Until we successfully persuade them to understand that the Harijans will have to starve without water. Otherwise, as I have seen, people in the villages, the Harijans will be getting all sorts of diseases due to want of good water. ✓

We have seen that food production is going down and agricultural production is going down. This has been attributed to some weather conditions and external developments. I submit that weather is one of the reasons for the fall in food production, but the main reason is the ignorance of the ryots about improved methods of cultivation, improved manures etc. and lack of knowledge about rotation of crops and such other things connected with agriculture. We have not rather successfully educated the agriculturists in the rural areas and because of the lack of such knowledge we are not producing sufficient foodstuffs in the country.

In the First Five Year Plan, we have reached the target. But, in our enthusiasm to achieve the target we have completely neglected to maintain the fertility of the land. The soil has to be surveyed completely. Unless there is a permanent agency to survey the soil and test it and inform the ryots which particular soil is good for a particular crop, even at the district level, I do not think production will rise. In order to increase agricultural production fair prices should be paid for the agricultural commodities. The agriculturists are not getting the benefit of the higher prices. It is only the middlemen that get the benefit of the rise in prices of agricultural commodities. The agriculturists are in the same position as before. Therefore Government should see that these agricultural commodities get fair prices.

I have spoken a number of times before on the floor of this House about agricultural labourers. About 22 per cent. of the population is landless agricultural labour. In the south the Minimum Wages Act for agriculturists

[Shri Thummaiah]

has not been implemented in all the States. Though some States have taken it up seriously, in some it has not been brought into force. Government should see that at least welfare officers for agricultural labour are appointed throughout the country and special attention must be paid to the improvement of the economic condition of agricultural labour.

Today agricultural labour is being exploited and misguided by political parties in the country. You can see this at election time and find how they are turned reactionaries in some cases. I submit these things should be seriously looked into by Government.

We have allotted a lot of money for cottage industry. But this does not reach the common man. If a man wants money for the development of cottage industry or for starting one, he has to provide some security and take the loan. If he does not offer any security he does not get the loan at all. Some means should be provided to enable the poor to get these loans even without security. Otherwise, the very object of creating means of livelihood would be defeated. I submit that these loans for the development of cottage industries should be given, wherever possible, without any security at all.

We are introducing the Ambar Charkha. If we introduce it throughout the country as far as possible, to some extent we can minimise unemployment in the villages. In order to develop cottage industries and to minimise unemployment in the villages Government should bear the capital expenditure in the sense that they should give help in kind rather than in cash. Wherever possible, they must open cottage industry centres in places where men and material are available so that the people might get employment. Government should start development work from the village level or the common man level. Then only will the villagers have some confidence that their conditions are going to improve. Government should

always pay attention to the common man, to agricultural labour and the Scheduled Caste people in the villages.

श्री रत्नबमन सिंह (शाहडोल सोधी—
रक्षित—अनुसूचित आदिम जातियां) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप का आभाषण कि आप न मुझे समय दिया। फाइनैस मिनिस्टर साहब ने जो अपना बजट पेश किया है उसके अन्दर पंच वर्षीय योजना के जो लक्ष्य दिखलाये गये हैं वे ज्यादातर देहातों में दिखलाये गये हैं। लेकिन मेरे खयाल से यह लक्ष्य ज्यादातर कितारों में, कागजों में और फाइलों में ही पाये जाते हैं, देहातों में बहुत कम। योजना का प्रोग्राम तो ऐसा होना चाहिये कि साल ब साल मारे देश की जनता में एक प्रसन्नता की लहर दौड़ती जाय और देखने में आये कि कहां क्या काम हुआ है और किस तरह से योजना चल रही है। उद्योगों को प्रमुख केन्द्र गांवों में होना चाहिये जहां पर कि देश की ८० प्रतिशत जनता रहती है। शहरों में २५ के होने से जो थोड़े बहुत लोग आस पास रहते हैं केवल उन्हीं को मालूम होता है और शहरी लोगों में तो स्वयं चेतना होती है। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐसे काम अधिकतर वहां होने चाहिये जहां पर कि न रेल है, न सड़कें हैं और न जहां के रहने वालों के लिये अब तक कोई विशेष कार्य हुआ है। अर्थात् देहातों में। उन लोगों को अधिक से अधिक शक्ति और पुष्टता मिलनी चाहिये, वहां ऐसे रचनात्मक काम होने चाहिये और ऐसे छोटे छोटे उद्योग होने चाहिये कि जो वहां की जनता से सम्बद्ध है, खास कर गरीब जनता, उस की दिक्कतें कम होने की सम्भावना हो। इस काम के वास्ते सरकार को चाहिये कि वह एक निष्पक्ष योजना आडिट कमेटी नियुक्त करे जो देखे कि साल में कहां पर कितना काम हुआ है, कितने काम सम्पूर्ण हुये और कितने अधूरे हैं। लेकिन मेरे खयाल से ऐसे काम बहुत कम किये जाते हैं। देखने में

प्राया है कि इस पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्दर जिन देहातों में रचनात्मक क्रान्ति के नाम में काम हुये है, जैसे कुएँ खोदे गये है, तालाब खोदे गये हैं या कोई आदर्श मकान बनाये गये है, वहां पर वह काम अघूरे पड़े हुये है। बहुत से तालाबों में तो पानी तक नहीं है, कुओं में भी पानी नही है, वह गिर गये है। स्कूलों की हालत खराब है लेकिन उन की सरकार कोई देखरेख या जांच नही करती। मैं आपको एक जूनियर हाई स्कूल की हालत बतलाता हूँ जिसको कि मैंने हाल ही में देखा है। वह पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना में बना था। वह एक कच्चा मकान है, घास फूस से छाया हुआ है। उसकी दीवारों पर भामूली मिट्टी छपी हुई थी जो कि बरसात में धुल गई और गिर गयी। उसी स्कूल के पास एक कुआँ है जिसमें कि ६००० रुपया लग चुका है पर वह आधा ही बना है, २८ फुट तक ही खुदा है। उसको पूरा नही किया गया। नतीजा यह है कि उस का कुछ हिस्सा गिर गया है। उसी का गन्दा पानी वहां के लड़के पीते हैं। लड़कों के रहने के लिये कोई जगह नहीं है। बरसात में लड़कों को बड़ी तकलीफ होती है। जाड़ों में उनको ठंडी हवा का सामना करना पडता है जिससे वे बमार हो जाते है। इसलिये मेरे अर्ज करने का मतलब यह है कि चाहे काम कम हो पर सचाई के साथ ही और रचनात्मक हो। और आपको एक आडिट कमेटी जरूर नियुक्त करनी चाहिये कि जो चेक करे कि साल में कहां कितना कार्य हुआ। जो अधूरा काम छोड़ दिया जाता है उसको करने वाले ठेकेदारों को या जो लोग उसके लिये जिम्मेदार हों उनको पकड़ना चाहिये। स्वर्गीय भूतपूर्व महाराजा श्री गुलाब सिंह जूदेव के समय में एक सड़क का ठेका एक बड़े आदमी को दिया गया। वह बहुत सी रकम खानी गया और काम पूरा नहीं किया। तब महाराजा ने उसकी सारी जमानत जब्त कर ली और पूरे ठेके की रकम उससे वसूल की और उससे कहा गया कि अपने पैसे से

सड़क बनावे। उसके ऊपर डिर्जी हो गयी और उसका घर बरबाद हो गया। उसके बाद ऐसे ठेकेदार तैयार होते थे जो रुपये में सवा रुपये का काम करके देते थे। आजकल एक एक काम के लिये पचास पचास ठेकेदार तैयार हो जाते हैं क्योंकि उनमें कोई नियंत्रण नहीं है। तो मेरा मंत्री महोदय से अर्ज करने का मतलब यह है कि जो सरकार का रुपया बरबाद जा रहा है और यह जो भ्रष्टाचार हो रहा है इसको रोका जाना चाहिये। अगर ऐसा नहीं किया जायेगा तो जनता को लाभ नहीं हो सकता। इस और सरकार को ध्यान देना चाहिये।

आजकल यहां एक किसान सम्मेलन हो रहा है। पिछले साल यह कहा गया था कि अगले साल यह सम्मेलन कहीं देहातों में किया जायेगा ताकि जनता इससे लाभ उठा सके। लेकिन हम देखते है कि फिर यहीं पर तालकटोरा बाग में वह सम्मेलन हो रहा है। यदि यह सम्मेलन देहातों में होता तो लाखों की संख्या में जनता आती। यहां तो केवल बड़े बड़े आदमी ही आ पाते हैं। यहां पर तो ज्यादातर जमींदार और बड़े बड़े आदमी आये हैं। किसान बहुत कम आये है। मैंने खुद जाकर देखा है। बतलाया तो यह जाता है कि यह किसानों का सम्मेलन है और उनके फायदे के लिये किया जाता है लेकिन जो किसान हल चलाता है और खेती करता है वह यहां नहीं आ सकता। उनको बतलाया जाना चाहिये कि खेती किस तरह से करें, कैसा बीज डालें, कैसी खाद डालें ताकि पैदावार ज्यादा हो। अर्ज करने का मतलब यह है कि ऐसे सम्मेलन देहातों में किये जाने चाहिये ताकि जनता को अधिक फायदा पहुंचे। किसानों को पता होना चाहिये कि कैसे बीज काम में लावें, कैसी खाद डालें, पर उनको इन बातों का पता ही नहीं। उनको बतलाये तो कौन बतलाये। सरकार उनके लिये जो प्रच्छा बीज भेजती है तो वह मौसम के बाद पहुंचता है। उनको

[श्री रत्नदामन सिंह]

समय पर नहीं मिल पाता। जैसा कि एक माननीय सदस्य महोदय ने कहा कि अगर उनको समय पर बीज नहीं मिलता तो बाद में मिलने में क्या फायदा। उन बातों पर सरकार को समय में पहले ध्यान देना चाहिये।

इस साल देश में बहुत जगह पर ओले गिरे हैं और पानी बरसा है। यह ठीक तो नहीं कहा जा सकता कि देश में इसमें कितना नुकसान हुआ है पर मैं समझता हूँ कि इस साल फसल को बहुत नुकसान हुआ है। इसके अलावा हमारे पहाड़ी प्रदेशों के लोग तो अपने यहां फल-फूल खा कर करीब ५ या ६ महीने बिता देते हैं। ओले पड़ने का परिणाम यह हुआ है कि फल ही जड़ गया और खेती भी बर्बाद हो गई। सरकार को ऐसे पहाड़ी प्रदेशों की और विशेष रूप से ध्यान देना चाहिये और वहां के लोगों के लिये रिलीफ और तकावी का प्रबन्ध जल्द करना चाहिये।

हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के लिये स्कालरशिप के लिये सरकार रुपया मंजूर करती है। लेकिन देहातों में देखा जाता है कि वहां पर लड़कों को बजीफा नहीं मिल पाता। मुश्किल में एक दो स्कूलों में दो चार लड़कों का बजीफा मिलता है। उनको भी बजीफा समय से नहीं मिलता। नतीजा यह होता है कि इम्तिहान के वक्त वे फीम दाखिल नहीं कर पाते और इसलिये उनको स्कूल छोड़ जाना पड़ता है। मैं कहता हूँ कि सरकार के खजाने में तो रुपया खर्च ही हो जाता है, लेकिन वह रकम जाती कहाँ है? सरकार की तरफ से इन पिछड़े हुए लोगों को खाना कपड़ा दिया जाये और दूसरी सुविधायें दी जायें, लेकिन यह न करके साधारण बजीफे तक नहीं मिल पाते। सरकार को ऐसे कामों पर भी ध्यान देना चाहिये।

जहां जंगलों के पास देहातें बसी हुई हैं वहां के रहने वालों का जंगलों से बहुत बड़ा

सम्बन्ध है। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि गांवों के पास वाले जंगलों का ठेका दे दिया जाता है जिससे इन लोगों को बड़ी असुविधा हो जाती है। उनको न तो लकड़ी मिल सकती है और न मकान आदि बनाने के बांम मिल सकते हैं। उनको इस काम के लिये मी मी मील में बांम लाना पड़ता है, जिसको कि वे लारी आदि में नहीं ला सकते बल्कि उसे अपने कंधों पर लाना पड़ता है। आप सोचें कि ऐसी जगहों की जनता की क्या हालत होगी। सरकार इन बातों पर विचार नहीं करती। मेरे अर्थ करने का मतलब यह है कि उनको जलाने के लिये लकड़ी का, कोयले का प्रबन्ध किया जाये और मकान बनाने के लिये बांमों का प्रबन्ध होना चाहिये। इसके बाद आप चाहें जितने ठेके दे दें। लेकिन सरकार ऐसा नहीं करनी और गांव के पास के जंगलों का ठेका दे देती है और उन गांवों में वहां के लोगों का निस्तार व जाना बन्द कर देती है। ऐसे लोगों में अधिकांश हरिजन और आदिवासी ही शामिल हैं।

सरकार ने अस्पष्टता निवारण के लिये कानून बनाया है लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि देहातों में उस कानून का उपहास हो रहा है। आदिवासियों की आर्थिक हालत दिन ब दिन गिरती जा रही है। ये लोग ज्यादातर जमींदारों के इलाके में रहते हैं। जमींदार उनके कास्त की जमीन अपने नाम पट्टा लिखवा लेते हैं और आधे या तिहाई पर उनसे खेती करवाते हैं। इस तरह इनको अपनी मेहनत की कमाई का चार या पांच आना मिलता है और इस तरह से उनकी गरीबी बढ़ती जाती है। दूसरी ओर बड़े हुये टैक्सों के कारण उनकी आवश्यकता की चीजें जैसे चीनी, तल, नमक, कपड़ा आदि महंगी होती जाती हैं। इस कारण इन लोगों की आर्थिक हालत और भी बुराब होती जा रही है। सरकार को इन बातों

की और विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिये। टैक्सों का मैं विरोध नहीं करता। मैं नहीं कहता कि टैक्स न लगाये जायें। लेकिन पहले सरकार उत्पादन बढ़ाये, लोगों की आमदनी बढ़ाये और फिर टैक्स लगाये तो किसी को ऐतराज नहीं होगा।

मैं सरकार से खास कर घूसखोरी और भ्रष्टाचार को रोकने के लिये अर्ज करूंगा। यह घूसखोरी और भ्रष्टाचार तब तक नहीं रुक सकता जब तक कि सरकार छोटे कर्मचारियों की तनखाह नहीं बढ़ाती, जैसे पटवारी, मुन्सी, चपरासी, चौकीदार, मास्टर व मिपाही वगैरह। इनकी तनखाह बढ़ाने के बाद से देखा जाये कि भ्रष्टाचार और घूसखोरी बन्द होती है या नहीं। जो आपने अस्पृश्यता निवारक कानून बनाया है उसके बारे में भी देखा जाये कि उसका अमल हो रहा है या नहीं। अगर आप इन मामलों को हल कर ले और छोटे आदमियों की रोजी रोटी, कपड़े आदि का मसला हल कर लें तो आपकी पंचवर्षीय योजना बहुत सफल हो सकती है। इसलिए मैं मंत्री महोदय से अर्ज करूंगा कि इसके बारे में अच्छी तरह ध्यान दें और इन कामों को चक करने के लिये एक निष्पक्ष योजना आडिट कमेटी की नियुक्ति अवश्य करे। मेरा ह्यान है कि ऐसा करने से आपका काम अच्छी तरह से चलेगा और योजना भी बहुत सफल होगी।

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am afraid the House has listened during the last three days, with few exceptions now and again, to a somewhat listless debate which, from the point of view of Government, is perhaps an advantage, because there is nothing that I have to explain.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: Sleep over it.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: But, from the point of view of the House

and the educative part of its functions so far as the people of the country are concerned, it has been highly disappointing. I do not know, Sir, if I should take all those criticisms that have been made in regard to this Budget, even such of those, as have been relevant, seriously, considering the fact that I find exactly **four Members of the Opposition** present in the House one of whom had been silent and has not exercised his privilege, which you were good enough to grant, to speak in this discussion. Nevertheless, I suppose, if Government remains silent they might be considered to be guilty of all the various charges that have been levelled against them.

But, it is somewhat disconcerting that, even after five years' experience in this House, some hon. Members should speak about matters which ought to be within their purview, namely, Harijan welfare, without any understanding of what is being done or what has been done. I found two hon. Members belonging to that community, who spoke today just an hour back, levelling charges against the Government which really have no basis, whether it be the Central Government or the State Government. The work that has been done, so far as that unfortunate community is concerned, is undoubtedly something which falls far short of what has to be done. But, still, what has been done is really impressive.

My friend **Shri M. R. Krishna** was speaking about the inequity of some of the State Governments digging a separate well for a Harijan hamlet. I do not know if the hon. Member realises that if the well was dug near the village and away from the hamlet it would not have helped the Harijans.

Hon. Members of this House have been speaking about their experience in the elections. Undoubtedly, elections have a very large educative element in them. Speaking for my-

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self, I have no doubt that I have been better educated now than I was, say, two months back.

One significant cry that I heard from the under-privileged people in this country, who are not Harijans—it is more or less universal; wherever I want that was the cry—was: "Please give us the facilities, the special treatment that you are giving to the Harijans". That cry came from people who are supposed to be caste Hindus; it came from fishermen, it came from washermen, it came from people who belong to the better type of classess merely because they felt, that while they were on the same level so far as the standard of living was concerned they were denied the privileges that were given to the Harijans, so much so I felt that, while we should not take away the privileges given to the Harijans, we should make some privilege available to the people whose level of income is low, say, less than Rs. 1,000 a year.

Therefore, hon. friends who belong to the Harijan community should understand that there are today in this country, and unfortunately so, a large section of people whose standard of living is below that of the Harijans who enjoy certain special facilities from the Government. I would like to repeat that this remark should not be misunderstood. I am not one of those who believe that we have done the right thing to the Harijans or the under-privileged people. At the same time, I would only like to point out the fact that there are other people who would like to have at least those privileges.

Then I come to a related question, namely, slum clearance and low-income group housing. Hon. Members in this House, several of them, have spoken about this particular matter. I think a lady Member on this side spoke about slum clearance. My friend Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava

spoke about the lack of housing facilities for the poor. It is undoubtedly a fact that we have not been able to do anything which would even crack the surface of this particular problem; maybe we are not equipped to do so administratively; maybe that State Governments have other preoccupations and have not given high enough priority for this particular problem. It might also be that we have not provided them with adequate finance for this purpose. But I think, most of us who have done some touring during the elections have come back with this conclusion that this is a problem which must be faced fairly and squarely and, that if it is necessary, that we should be away with the present system of asking for matching grants from the States and take primary financial responsibility for the lowest bracket amongst the people in this country.

In this connection, I am particularly grateful to my hon. friend Shri Asoka Mehta for having exposed the problem in all its nakedness, and asked us to realise the facts as they are and face them. It is undoubtedly true that, if I today promise that in the next five years I would provide a house for all those people who are in the low-income group, it is a physical impossibility, and assuring that I do something towards that end I should be denying resources for expenditure in directions which are part of the Plan and which demand expenditure more insistently than the low-income group housing. I would repeat, Sir, I am particularly grateful to him for having spoken somewhat frankly on this particular matter and, may I say, Sir, in all humility, I entirely agree with him in the approach that he has indicated as being the right one that we should take.

We, probably, will have to do something in regard to low-income group housing. Our policies, which we pursued during the last five years, have, I am sorry to say, been entirely ineffective. It has been, as I said,

a matter of asking for matching grants, and matching grants under circumstances that made the demand hardly rational. We are prepared to give 30 per cent of 25 per cent as grants, and we are prepared to give another 50 per cent as loan. Then we say that the State must find 25 per cent; if it does not do so, well, they cannot take advantage of the scheme. And we well know that the resources of most of the States are even more strained than ourselves, and in some cases they do not even make an attempt to balance their budgets. But it is quite obvious that the scheme that we put before them to provide even 25 per cent of the expenditure as their share is not taken advantage of. The system of matching grants, when it is divorced from the needs of the people for whose purpose these grants have to be used, looks almost a mockery.

I do not know if I have mentioned in this House what I am going to say now; perhaps, I did mention it before, and if I am mentioning it again I am merely mentioning it because of the need for a radical revision in our own approach to this problem of helping in the living conditions of the people in the villages. It is this. Sometime back, I think more than a year back, I went to a village in Bombay in the Sholapur District, which, to us who are interested in handloom, is almost a 'show piece'. The people there were doing very well so far as the handloom industry was concerned. They had taken advantage of our schemes. One section certainly was very prosperous. We thought of starting a housing colony for the handloom weavers. When I went there I found that the place had no water-supply. There were at that time only two wells with water and they too were infected with guinea-worms. People had to go four miles to fetch water from a river. A Hindu handloom weaver there got on an average Rs. 3/8 a day and a Muslim weaver Rs. 2/8. They felt that if they did not have to go such a long distance to fetch

water they would be able to make another rupee per day.

Shri Asoka Mehta (Bhandara):
Why the difference in earnings?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari:
Because one went in for coloured stuff and the other went in for plain stuff. The Hindu weaver had a roof over his head which the Muslim weaver did not have. Therefore, those who had no roof have to close down the loom when there was a dust-storm or rain or even when the sun is very severe.

I found that the Bombay Government had sanctioned a water-supply scheme for the municipality. They sanctioned a little over Rs. 4 lakhs and the municipality was asked to match it with Rs. 2 lakhs odd. The municipality, containing as it did 8,000 people who depended on handloom weaving, and only 2,000 people were outside, said that they had no money. The net result was that the grant was being revived every year and allowed to lapse. But it meant nothing to them. I made an approach to the Bombay Government and said that I would be prepared to pay a quarter out of the allotment made for the handloom weavers' colony. I do not know what has happened to it.

I mention this only to illustrate the fact that if we felt that the people of that locality who had to take water from the wells which were infected with guinea-worm and whose earning capacity was diminished by the fact that they had to go to the river, are to be helped, the idea of a matching grant has no meaning. Therefore, we probably have to consider this question of asking the States to give the matching grant in respect of people who are in the lowest income bracket. But none the less, the complaints that my hon. Harijan friends made here have not got that amount of substance as their eloquence seemed to indicate.

Another hon. Member who spoke about loans said that loans should

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be given freely. Now if loans are given freely they ought to be grants, and they cannot be loans. Just as I was listening with one ear to the speeches made by the hon. Members, I was looking into some of the files that came to me by virtue of the fact that I am the Finance Minister. One of the sister Ministries had sent a file to me asking for a loan of Rs. 20 lakhs to an institution which already owed Government, directly or indirectly, through another institution, Rs. 44,37,000. Their assets, as checked by the agencies, were round about Rs. 14 lakhs. It was quite obvious that out of Rs. 44 lakhs, they had wasted away Rs. 30 lakhs. We are asked to give another Rs. 20 lakhs. Maybe I was given a bright picture here, showing the amount of loan that can be given as against the assets, but, in reality, an examination would show that after my giving Rs. 20 lakhs, the assets may be of the order of Rs. 34 lakhs where the loan would have been Rs. 64 lakhs. If my hon. friend had said there should be no loans but only grants, I might agree with it, but to give loan without any scrutiny means they are made into grants. I am afraid we are already afflicted with that mentality and maybe when we review the extent of our assets, we will have to write down quite a lot. It might be that I will have to tell the House that the loan figure that we showed against the credit column has to be diminished to considerable extent. But this only indicates the fact that sometimes when we give help, we had better give the help with our eyes open. If we have to give grants, let us give them. If we give loans, let us make sure whether they are loans which are returnable, and also ascertain whether they are already loans which are returnable.

Now, I do not know—I am really thinking aloud—whether those loans that are returnable should not be, in future, given by some institution and not by the Government. This gov-

ernment lending merely shows that the budget is inflated so much so that the pillar of economic orthodoxy in Calcutta, the journal called *Capital* says that this is a budgeting for inflation. It is not so. I can easily camouflage it and ask the loans to be given by some other institution. The Rs. 365 crores unfortunately seems to indicate that we are spending at the rate of Rs. 1 crore more every day without the necessary backing, and it looks like budgeting for inflation. But it is not so. We are not budgeting for inflation. We know that if we want to meet the demands of every hon. Member of the House and the demands of every State, we shall have to be budgeting for inflation, but hon. Members know and some hon. Members have been kind enough to tell me that I have been frank, probably brutally frank, to place the cards on the Table, and tell them that if the minimum demands have to be met, this will be the position.

Of course, I would certainly ask, and request, and beg, if necessary, the successors of this House to help to bridge this gap and I could bridge this gap if they could only tell me the ways and means by which Rs. 365 crores would become Rs. 65 crores. I should be deeply grateful to them for the rest of my life on the face of this earth, but the suggestions must also come from other people who criticise me on this budgeting for inflation.

I can perhaps proceed in the same manner with regard to the critics and exhaust the time at my disposal, but I am sure that certain hon. Members who have taken some pains to make some points would like to have some reply. My hon. friend, the sleek, smiling, self-satisfied Member from Mehsana West, was, as usual, wide of the mark in anything that he said. Of course, when once the budget is before the House, we ask for criticism, but criticism is not to say, "It is over-ambitious, this is over-budgeting, this is over-rigid," etc. You can

take a dictionary and reel out words. In fact, I remember an instance which I may relate here. The lamented friend, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, who also came from Bombay, once got up to make a budget speech. He said, "I have no time to study the budget papers, and therefore, I took out the dictionary". He had 26 words, not very elegant, from the dictionary, one word from each letter of the alphabet, and read them out. Of course, compendiously, they could have been described as words of abuse. After reading those words, he sat down. He had made his budget speech!

I am sure my hon. friend from Mehsana West would be able to find enough to fill up the vocabulary, in such a manner as he could, to characterise my budget speech. Maybe some of them might hit the mark and some wide of the mark. There was one particular point which he mentioned about which I was very glad. He said: "What about the income-tax which you are collecting? I see that there has been no perceptible rise. Have you reach the saturation point? Is the law of diminishing returns operating?" I do not know if in regard to the income-tax, there is the question of law of diminishing returns operating. But, unfortunately, in the school where I studied economics, I have not been told the relation. Perhaps I may have to go to school again. But I will wade through some of the figures which have been given in the explanatory memorandum here. The amount for the year 1955-56 reveals a total income, by way of income-tax and corporation tax, of Rs. 168,40,00,000. In the revised budget for 1956-57, it is Rs. 189,60,00,000. In the budget for 1957-58, it is Rs. 197,60,00,000. That shows some progression. I do not think the law of diminishing returns is operating.

My hon. friend from Mehsana West would ask, "If you draw up a graph, what will you find?". The graph

goes upwards and not downwards. He can look up and need not look down.

The same hon. Member then made a very good suggestion, namely, that we should abolish the Constitution! He did not say it in so many words, but polite people always imply what they want to say. They do not say specifically. It is the usual, correct way of saying it, so far as Pandits are concerned. He said "Let us have a committee of this House to look into the ways in which the States have been behaving or misbehaving. The loans granted to the States must be scrutinised." I do not know what the reactions of the States will be. In fact, they resent when I tell them that they are over-budgeting and that they cannot expect me to fill up the deficit. They resented even more when I told them, "You cannot make a raid on the treasury chest".

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: When you give loans to the States, do you not expect to recover them?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I do expect them to recover them; but, our expectations are not always fulfilled. I gave an instance just now as to what we do by way of loans. Very often, when we cannot give grants, the States say, "Please give us loans"; but, ultimately, they have no assets and it means that the loans are not returnable. Generally if you give a loan, it will be returnable. My friend from Mehsana wanted me to scrutinise this question of State loans, wanted that there should be a committee of this House to scrutinise those loans and so on. I am afraid the States will resent any such suggestion. At any rate, I have not got the courage to put forward that suggestion.

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Another thing he said was that the life insurance business has gone down—"You have been a bad businessman". So what? I agree that it has gone down to some extent. I agree that I should make an attempt

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to see that it goes up. But if the suggestion of the hon. Member is that I call him back and say, "You take it over; I will hand it over and you can make a little more money", if that is my hon. friend's expectation, I am afraid it is one of those expectations which must be belied.

Now I come to budgeting ahead. I have not got the figures; may be we are not always precise. My technical advisers tell me, "You had better ask for a token grant for many of the items in which you are not able to assess correctly and then go with a Supplementary Demand." Then people will say, "You do not budget ahead and are coming with a Supplementary Demand. You do not have the resources and come with fresh taxation." The hon. Member from Mehsana accused me of having broken the traditions of parliamentary financial practice, because I came once or twice before the House for additional taxes. Well, I have budgeted correctly for my present needs and I will put in a token grant for my future need; if the future need happens to be great, naturally I have to come to the House for additional resources. You then object to it. But, if I estimate it now and say this is the gap and therefore I must levy the taxes, you will object to that also. Well, it is a question of a wife who is not wanted; whatever she does is wrong. I hope I have satisfied my hon. friend from Mehsana.....

Shri Tulsidas (Mehsana West): I do not think this is any answer to my questions.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari ... and treated him with all the consideration that he is entitled to at my hands.

Mr. Radha Raman mentioned something about sales-tax. I do not like the sales-tax myself, but that happens to be the main source of income for the States. Our trouble with regard to sales-tax is human ignuinity

not only in this country, but all over the world, whether it is the United States or Germany or Australia or even France. No country has been able to devise a fool-proof sales-tax system which would satisfy everybody. We shall still go on trying to experiment.

My friend Shri Sharma—he is not here—wanted us to pay special attention to the frontier areas. We should certainly draw the attention of the Punjab Government to it; but, they will perhaps ask us for grants then.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: Give a loan now.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Then, he asked for information regarding the places where drinking water is not available. I think we will have to ask the Census Commissioner to do it in 1961; but, unfortunately, the census is taken at a time when water is plentiful, i.e. in the winter months.

There is a remark made by the hon. Member, Shrimati Jayashri, about the small savings scheme. I would like to say that I am not particularly satisfied with the small savings scheme. I think some hon. Member in this House—I do not know who it was—mentioned about a criticism made about the small savings scheme by Shri Patil. May be it is Shri Asoka Mehta. The net result was that he Shri Patil was landed with a baby. He still holds the baby or, I do not know if he has thrown away the baby with the bath-water.

Then came a very formidable attack this morning from no less a person than the leading legal luminary of this House. He was pretty severe about our misbehaviour in our foreign policy. I do not know whether Kashmir is part of our foreign policy or internal policy. All that he said was that everything that has been said by everybody else other than the members of the Congress Party, including Shri Chatterjee, has come true. Well, as a lawyer

he must know that there is not much significance attached to the oft-repeated saying "I told you so". It is easy to be wise after the event. But, I am not quite sure we feel quite so wise as he does.

One basic complaint from certain sections of the Opposition has been about the Plan. I am afraid I have said all that I could about the Plan both in the White Paper placed before the House and the very short speech that I made. The point is, I agree that there may be defects in the Plan. There may be some mistakes in the order of priorities that we have assigned in the Plan; may be we want a revision. But all that I humbly submitted on the day I introduced the Budget was to request the people that "if you point out the defects, we will consider them and if we are convinced that defects are there, we will remedy them. But, do not question our basic assumptions and postulates." I am afraid even that has been taken exception to, though not in so many words by hon. Members of this House, excepting by Mr. Chatterjee, and of course, the hon. Member from Mehsana, and also by people outside. We have been told so often that nothing that we do can ever be right. There is an organisation which has risen now, with its various affiliated bodies, which says that nothing we do is right. Mr. Jaisooriya, who gave me the valuable information that his education and mine have been singularly neglected because we came from the same educational institution—he did not complete it, because his approach to all these problems is not purely mundane, but aesthetic—said "Cut your coat according to the cloth; do not say 'I am going to get some more cloth; my coat might be a patched work, but nevertheless, because I am getting some more cloth or rug, I shall make it a bigger one or as big as I want it to be.'" This point has been raised also in the newspapers. It is right that they should criticise

us. It may be that it does us some harm in countries abroad, where we are being told constantly that we are planning ambitiously. May be that some countries abroad which tell us that we are planning ambitiously are thinking that they are losing their market here by our planning ambitiously. May be some of them were wiser in thinking that they might get a better market if we planned ambitiously, so that higher technical development in those countries would supply the gaps which would become bigger, as our industrialisation proceeds faster. I can only say this. When I see criticisms which are basic and consistent undoubtedly, but nevertheless which would not listen to any reason, which would not even try to understand our point of view, which would not understand the basic needs of this country, which have to be met in some way and therefore the Plan cannot be whittled down, I am only sorry that my own countrymen, the more intelligent section of my countrymen represented by the press do not even make an attempt to understand things. I can understand people who belong to a particular sector, which shall remain unnamed for the present, being afraid that their own privileges will be cut and wanting the Plan to be cut down, wanting that progress should be cut down and wanting that any progress that we want to make should be assigned to that sector. I can understand it. I may not approve of it. I certainly appreciate their genuine desire to see that, if they cannot make progress in the way in which they want to, we should not make any progress in a corresponding sector which is not under their control at all. I may point out to them that that is a mistake, because whatever progress I may try to make in the sector which has come to me will lead to enormous progress on the other side. Because if I am producing basic materials, I cannot consume them. I cannot make them into consumer articles and supply them to the people. They may be short-sighted. If they object to my

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efforts, I can understand it, because, after all, people who have the good things of the world do not like to part with them. They are afraid that somebody else who may be equally better off will ultimately see that their position is reduced. I can understand all that. But, I cannot understand our intelligent critics who form the bulk of the press in this country, not understanding the fact that we want this plan, that we want a Plan of this size not even to perpetuate the Prime Minister and the Congress Party in this country, not for the fact that Shri Jawaharlal Nehru should be the Prime Minister of India for all time and we should be Ministers with him, but because this is the least that would be necessary to keep us away from what would be the inevitable fate if we do not proceed fast. Enough cries have been heard from various friends in the House that this has not been done, that has not been done in respect of our defence. These things have not been done merely we have not made adequate industrial progress, we have not got the resources in our hands for nothing their progress and therefore we are not able to do it.

My hon. friend Shri N. C. Chatterjee says, you must increase the defence potential in the country. He did not say that in so many words; a lawyer never says anything direct. If I want to increase the defence potential, if I want to make the defence stronger, the minimum industrial programme that we have chalked out in this Plan is an absolute necessity. I am asking his help to convince the people of the sacrifices that must follow because we have a programme which, to all intents and purposes is beyond our capacity, but which must be necessarily put through. Only if he does that, can the defence potential be increased. If I have heavy machine building plants, if I have adequate steel producing capacity, I can make tanks; I can even make aeroplanes and jet engines if I get the know-how and I have the necessary

raw materials here. I am asking Shri N. C. Chatterjee, who is not here and who probably may not come back here, to realise this. The only purpose for which he is urging all along is, we must increase the defence potential. We want to do all this. I might say that in regard to our budgets in the past, we may have been perhaps guilty of one error. We never wanted to tell the House until it was inevitable that we have expanded the money, that we are increasing the expenditure on defence services. We did not do it. We used to come by way of supplementary demands. This time we decided that we shall take the House and the people into confidence and tell them that we have to spend this amount and probably a little more for keeping our defences in what you might call optimum efficiency level. I am not trying to rebut an argument. I have no intention to be polemical; I have no desire to score a point over those people who for the time being dislike us because they are in the private sector, because they represent private enterprise. I have no desire to castigate or even criticise my friends, the press, with whom I have personally had the best relations. But, it is more in regret than in a mood of challenge that I am telling them, this is according to my understanding. Unfortunately, so long as we are given the responsibility to administer the Government of the country, our understanding must be the final word. According to our understanding, this is the barest minimum that we have to do in order to save our country from disaster. At least, if you do not approve of our intelligence, if you do not concede that we are normal intelligent beings, appreciated our *bona fides* That is all that I am asking of those people who are not really in the opposition. In the opposition, Shri M. K. Moitra says that the Congress Party's record is one of broken promises. He wanted to do this and that. I can understand his language. If he has no argument, then condemnation is the alternative. But, even intelli-

gent people who are really patriotic, who want this country to progress do not make an attempt to understand why we are doing all this.

I have, as my hon. friend Shri Asoka Mehta put it correctly for which I am grateful, placed all the cards on the table. I have not tried to sugar-coat it at all. If there is any surplus sugar, I would like to export it than sugar-coat a bitter pill. We want the country to go with us. We want every citizen in the country to realise that this is to be done and that it is going to be an extremely difficult task. My hon. friend from Mehsana suddenly found that I was a bad Commerce and Industry Minister. Some time back, before the 31st of August, I was extremely embarrassed by my friends in the private sector who, after a period of two years of probation, thought that they would approve of me, so much that my friends on the opposite said that I am a running dog of Anglo-American and Indian capitalism. It was amusing to be called something running and not a static dog. That did not matter.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: A dog all the same.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Dog is not the main thing. Running is the main thing. I hate to be called static. On the 1st of September, I became the most inefficient Commerce and Industry Minister. If I were ever a fool to expect gratitude from any sector of the people, I should be more of a fool than what I am today. I never expected it. I must tell my hon. friend from Mehsana that it is not a matter of personal pride or personal boast. It is the conjoint action of the Ministry which shall be going out of office in a few days. We have served this country well and in doing so, we have served the poor man ill because we served the vested interests extraordinarily well, because we wanted the wealth of this country to grow. I know that money was going into the black market. I know that

taxes were not being paid. I knew huge profits were being made because we gave quantitative protection of a blanket nature. I knew that we bled the consumer of this country white because we were making those enterprises charge whatever the market will bear. Why did we do it? I am prepared to be convicted for all that we and the Government did. Because, we did it in the interests of the country. We did not do it in the interests of private enterprise. Maybe all this helped to further the interests of private enterprise. But I cannot expect any gratitude from this. The hon. Member from Mehsana may be correct. I do not want to make any personal reference. My hon. friend from Mehsana himself knows in regard to one particular project with which he was connected, the speed with which we allowed him to go ahead. He was all smiles, and the Commerce and Industry Minister was a great friend of private enterprise. On the 1st of September, he ceases to be a friend of private enterprise and along with him all the thirteen other colleagues in the Cabinet. Posterity will judge whether the Commerce and Industry Minister who worked for 4½ years and the colleagues who worked with him in the Cabinet did serve this country well in industrialising this country or not. If, today, the foreign exchange position is bad, I am prepared to take full responsibility for it. Why does not my hon. friend from Mehsana say, why don't you take responsibility for the present position in foreign exchange. I do not want him to take any portion of it. All that he has to do is to rake in the profits from whatever institutions he is connected with. If there is tightness in the money market, the Bank of Baroda declares a higher dividend. Everybody's distress is somebody else's profit. That is what private enterprise is in India today. You profit because the country is in distress, you profit because the Government is in trouble, and you want to exploit all the difficulties we have around us, so that your profits can increase. I am very sorry that I

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should have to answer the charge of people who in season and out of season attack us.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Was all that addressed to me?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: As you represent everybody, may be your shoulders are big enough to take all the charges we level.

I will only repeat that maybe we will alter the Plan, maybe we will have to cut it down, but I cannot understand how any person with any intelligence can quote a subordinate official of the Planning Commission, who merely because he knows the English language uses it in a manner which we cannot understand. It is wrong to say Mr. Moon has said such and such a thing. If Mr. Moon has said such and such a thing, Mr. Sun can say something else, Venus, Jupiter, Mars and Mercury will say something else. What really matters is what I and my colleagues in these Treasury Benches say, and not what some official anywhere says. There is no use these people throwing these things at our face every time, but I will come back to the story which I would like to conclude.

We shall grimly hang on to the Plan. If we sink, we shall sink. I shall not be sorry if I sink first.

The Minister of Production (Shri K. C. Reddy): We shall not.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: But we propose to swim and take the Plan to the shores of safety, and every effort that we can possibly put behind it, every ingenuity that we can command, every resource that we can lay our hands on, shall be used for implementing the Plan. I shall wind up on the note that my hon. friend Shri Asoka Mehta so significantly laid his fingers in his speech. I said I was grateful to him because it was plain speaking. If propriety will permit it, may I also say that we would like to see him again in those Benches

at the earliest possible moment, so that he can continue to criticise us relentlessly, but fairly. All that I ask is this. I do not mind relentless criticism, but let it be fair, let it be objective, let it lead us a step further. I endorse every word of what he said. Our sense of priorities must be recast, must be re-done every time. As we go on, we have to change. That is why we have annual plans. If necessary, we have to change in the middle of the year, and if we have to tell the people that they have to undergo some suffering, well, we have to tell them.

Of course, he said for four years we can be bold. I do not think that is correct. I propose to be bold until the last day of the fifth year. If merely because I am bold and I tell the truth people do not want me or this Government back again, we shall be all happy about it, because truth has to be said. Maybe it is a casualty in the elections as it is in war, but I do not see why until the last day truth should be hidden from the gaze of the public. We shall tell the people that we want their sacrifice. Maybe we shall want it. But we shall not ask the people who cannot sacrifice to sacrifice any more than they can.

I agree with my hon. friend when he said: what is the object of saying we should spend money on housing, on low-income group housing? We would like to spend money on it, but my own experience in the election has been that our people understand the position. I have done a lot of slum walking. Maybe some hon. friend says we went and made promises. My friend from Calcutta North-West says: "You have made promises. Where have you fulfilled them?" But I am not producing any unreality about it. I do not know what my resources are, what the hidden resources are, what the resources I can tap are, but I do propose to stand my pledges. If Shri Moitra is here, he will know that we will attempt to fulfil them.

I have done a lot of slum-walking, not only now but even before. What do those people ask? They do not ask for housing. They ask for half a ground of land for erecting a hut, sanitary conditions, drinking water supply, and a road. They do not ask for houses at all, most of them do not, because our people know that they should ask for something which they will get, and that is why I have come back with the determination that I should persuade my colleagues that we should take the responsibility, direct financial responsibility, for the well-being of the lowest income bracket. We shall not consider them in terms of Harijans and non-Harijans. We shall not consider in terms of refugees and non-refugees. Maybe the refugees become rich, and the rich men become refugees. We are only concerned about the low income brackets and to the extent that this Government has resources and can spare them so long as I have the privilege of handling the finances of this country, we shall try to serve the low income brackets to the extent that it is possible. But at the same time I realise and I would underline what Shri Asoka Mehta has said that we should tell the people the truth. The whole economy has to be put on a war time basis. Maybe some people do not like controls. I know the average Indian, because of the experience he had undergone during war time, is allergic to controls, and so long as we are democratic, we cannot afford to ignore even his allergy, merely because it is five years before the people can assert their will. Democratic socialism has to choose the golden mean between

controls and freedom. We are aware of it, but I think the best thing is to take people into confidence. My experience is that the people of the country, if they are told the truth and asked for a sacrifice in the hope that in next five years their life will be better, will respond to it and I am perfectly sure the call will not be in vain. No matter what some people in this House say, no matter what the people whom the Member from Mehsana represents may say, we are determined to go ahead along the lines we have broadly indicated in the White Paper placed before the House and in the Budget placed before the House.

I am very grateful to the House for such support that it gave me for this Budget.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now that this discussion is over we might proceed to the next business now.

Shri Keshavaikengar (Bangalore North): In view of the fact that we have a party at 5 p.m. in Rashtrapati Bhavan, may I request that the House may be adjourned?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is that the sense of the House?

Hon. Members: Yes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Then the House stands adjourned till 11 a.m. on Monday the 25th.

16-27 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday the 25th March, 1957.