

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All right, that has been expunged already.

SALARIES AND ALLOWANCES OF OFFICERS OF PARLIAMENT BILL

The Minister of Law and Minority Affairs (Shri Biswas): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to provide for the salaries and allowances of certain Officers of Parliament.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

“That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to provide for the salaries and allowances of certain Officers of Parliament.”

The motion was adopted.

Shri Biswas: I introduce the Bill.

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—Contd.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House will now proceed with the further consideration of the General Budget.

I propose to call the hon. Minister to reply at 6-30 P.M. He will have an hour's time till 7-30 P.M. So, the other Members will have their turns to speak before 6-30 P.M.

Yesterday, Mr. Muniswamy was on his legs. He will now resume his speech.

Shri Muniswamy (Tindivanam): I was saying yesterday that the Budget is based on the Five Year Plan, for the implementation of which the hon. Finance Minister has repeatedly stated that he seeks public co-operation. But I am at a loss to understand what attempts have been made to enlist public co-operation. It has been stated in the Five Year Plan that they have organised two associations, viz. the Bharat Sewak Samaj, and the National Advisory Board. As far as I know these two associations have been formed with the help of men belonging to one party only, and I must say that the whole thing has been done without any consultations with the leaders of all the other parties.

Looking into the Budget and its allotments, I must ask one question. What is meant by family planning?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I find that there is so much of noise in the House. If hon. Members want to carry on conversations, they will go into the lobby and do so. We are not able to hear anything legitimately talked in the House.

Shri Muniswamy: In the Five Year Plan, an allocation of Rs. 65 lakhs has been made for family planning. As far as I remember, it has been discussed in the recent Conference at Bombay that family planning is an indirect way of advocating and supporting birth-control. It has been said by those who follow Gandhian ideologies, that Gandhiji was dead against this birth-control. It has not been explained clearly in the Five Year Plan, how this sum of Rs. 65 lakhs is going to be spent.

Coming to Education, in the Budget they have allotted only 40 lakhs for scholarships. In the recent list of scholarships published, not a single candidate from the backward communities from Tamil Nad has got it. So many castes, who are not really backward at all, have been included in the list of backward classes. In this connection, I would like to say one thing. The washerman community, which has a population of seven or eight lakhs in the Madras State, and the barber community have not been included in this list. This is an anomalous position. In all the other provinces, Madhya Pradesh, Bombay, etc., these communities have been included in the scheduled classes whereas in the Madras State, they have been brought into the list of backward communities. A memorandum was submitted to the Prime Minister when he was in Hyderabad. I request that these people should be brought in the list of scheduled classes immediately.

I would like to say something about the Archaeological Department. I can say that the money spent on the Archaeological Department is a sheer waste. There is the Nandikonda project. Formerly in Nagarjunakonda archaeological survey was carried on. They have spent thousands of rupees in Nagarjunakonda. If Nandikonda project is realised, the whole of Nagarjunakonda will, they say, be submerged in water. As far as I know, Government has not taken any steps to preserve the relics found in Nagarjunakonda. At this rate it is a sheer waste.

There are many more items which have not been attended to. Regarding this archaeological survey, I had a talk with the Director. They are spending money only in Northern India. In South India, especially in the Madras State, we have Kaveripumpattinam, Korkai and Madura where the Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas ruled. They are not doing any survey in these places at all. It does not mean that I am too pessimistic. There must be equal distribution. Either the

Minister in Charge must be ignorant of these places or they must be confining themselves to Northern India. Therefore, I must say that the allotment for the Archaeological Department in the Budget must be called a North Indian allotment and it should not be in the General Budget at all.

Now, coming to Research Institutes, of course, we all admit that Research Institutes are necessary for the country. But, as far as I know, some of the Research Institutes have been doing work without any results for the past five or six years. I had a talk with a high official in the Fisheries Department. They have been carrying on research in fishery for the past five or six years in places like Barrackpore, Mandapam and Bombay. They have spent more than 50 lakhs up to now. I asked the gentleman, what is the result of five years of research in fishing, have they increased the number of fish in the sea, what have they done. The gentleman replied, 'Oh, it takes 70 years in foreign countries to come to a decision; five years are not enough; we have to spend two or three crores for this research'. Therefore, I say that Government should at once examine whether they have achieved substantial results in these Research Institutes. Otherwise what happens is, people are getting a lot of money, they come at about eleven o'clock or twelve o'clock, sit, and go away. Alongside this, there are famine stricken places. We have had recently natural calamities in Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts. What has the Central Government done? What is it here for? When we say anything, they say, it is all a provincial matter. Why should there be people here in the Centre calling themselves the Central Government? Therefore, as far as I know, this Five Year Plan, even if it is a Ten Year Plan will not be supported in Tamil Nad at all. Kindly excuse me for putting it very bluntly.

We are all anxious that the postal rates should be reduced as it has been repeatedly promised to the public, that the nine pies card would come down to six pies and the one and a half anna cover would come down to one anna. On the other hand, to our great surprise, it has been raised indirectly. The Finance Minister said the other day that 16,000 rural post offices have been opened. He admits that they are not remunerative. If you go on increasing these rates, even the people who write one or two letters, or the people who go to the post offices with one or two registration letters, will never go to the post office at all. I

know as the President of my District Post Offices Union, that these rural post offices are not remunerative at all. The postal subordinates are employed on a part time basis. They are either Government servants or private persons. They are paid a salary of Rs. ten or twelve and asked to do post office work. The man attends to his school or his lands, attends to his domestic work and also attends the post office. If a card is posted there, he takes it, puts it into his pocket and goes to his house. He says, "I will go and deliver after three days". I humbly submit that these rural post offices, especially the extra-departmental staff are of no use at all, unless they are paid a monthly salary and unless they are recognised.

Much has been said about deficit financing. To the criticisms made from this side of the House that deficit financing is always risky and dangerous, one hon. Member from the other side said that we are accustomed to deficit financing, and that we are accustomed to deficit Budgets. Suppose I say to a man that drinking toddy is bad, it is just like his replying, "I am accustomed to drinking". It is also said that it is a stimulus. Some weak persons, to get some sort of a stimulus, drink. If one goes on taking it, in course of time, what happens? For the first time when he takes to a drink, he says, the doctor advised to take one dose. Then he says, the doctor has advised me to take two doses. Afterwards, he takes without the doctor's advice. After a time, he begins to supply the doctor himself. Of course, for a weak person, it could be given as a tonic for the time being. But, unless he has got self-control, the Finance Minister knows better what will happen. He says that there are circumstances. There will always be circumstances for everything.

He expects much from the agriculturists. I must admit one thing. In Tamil Nad they have opened some community project centres. There was a proposal to start a community project in the South Arcot district, a down trodden poor district; there are hard workers. But, it was dropped. These centres have been opened in two places, with your permission, I must say. Sir, in Coimbatore and Madura, the only two districts where the Congress party is supposed to be in power. The only sin which the South Arcot district committed is that it has completely defeated the Congress in the elections! That is the sin we have committed!

Shri Nambiar (Mayuram): It is a sin!

Shri Muniswamy: We, some Members, went to Madras to represent about this omission—There were none to hear us. People are here in Delhi who could answer us. Therefore, I submit that the South Arcot district requires a community project centre, and if the Finance Minister thinks it reasonable, he must have some consideration for this district.

I think I have finished.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members ought not to encourage; we have to distribute the time.

Shri Muniswamy: On these community projects, if I am correct, they have spent 500 crores, out of which 450 crores have been spent in Northern India. I say 90 per cent. of the money has been spent in Northern India. Does it mean that I am too pessimistic if I say that the South is neglected? Suppose there is a friend who always puts his hand into my pocket and takes five rupees from it. If I raise objection, can he say, why do you differentiate, we are one, we are friends? When I say that the South is neglected whereas we are contributing men, money and the best brains to the Centre, all of a sudden, the Ministers in the Treasury Benches stand up and say, you are too pessimistic; do not be narrow-minded.

In the end, Sir, I may quote a Thiru Kural if the Finance Minister is pleased and of which the Finance Minister was kind enough to give one. Thiru Kural, as you know, Sir, very well, is the only book in the world which has been translated into 40 languages. The 1330 Kuralas in it deal with everything. It says: "You may be intelligent; you may be a cultured man; you may have a world of experience; but there is no use if you do not do things with the co-operation and consultation of all".

Ulagaththodu Otta ozhugal pala katrum, Kallar ariviladar.

"If you do not know how to co-operate with others—You may be intelligent, but there is no use if you do not know how to move with others, if you do not know how to make yourself fit with others."

Therefore, what Thiru Kural says is:

Evvadu uraivadu ulagam ulagathodu Avvadu uraivadu arivu.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is interesting, but I am concerned with the time.

Shri Muniswamy: That is why I have quoted Kural. Kural is very short. It consists of only seven words.

Therefore, I must submit once again, Sir, that the case of Tamil Nad is neglected, and I will request the hon. the Finance Minister to open some more Community Project centres. Otherwise, they cannot get any co-operation. Co-operation is not something which you can purchase in the market. I refer to South Arcot especially which is very near Pondicherry, which we all know.

I will once again appeal to the Finance Minister to do something for Tamil Nad and also for the backward communities.

One word about Prohibition, Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Prohibition is not a Central subject.

Shri Muniswamy: All right. But it has been allowed yesterday and the day before. I do not know how a Central subject of yesterday becomes a Provincial subject today!

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I was not here.

Shri Muniswamy: With these words, I resume my seat.

श्रीमती मणिबेन पटेल (कैरा दक्षिण):

माननीय उपाध्यक्ष जी, इस बहस में शरीक होने का मेरा कोई ख्याल नहीं था। परन्तु कल और परसों कुछ बातें मैंने सुनी, उनसे मुझे लगा कि कुछ बोलना चाहिए। आपने ठीक कहा कि प्राहीबीशन सेंट्रल सबजेक्ट नहीं है, परन्तु इधर कई सदस्य ऐसे हैं जिनको बम्बई की प्राहिबीशन पालिसी पैसे के लिये बाधा डालती है, ऐसा लगता है। वह लोग कहां घूमते फिरते हैं, मुझे पता नहीं। आप देहात में जाइये और देखिये तब पता लगेगा कि इस पालिसी से शरीब लोगों को कितना फायदा हुआ है। कल बिलासपुर के एक सदस्य ने बात की कि हमारे विधान में बहुत सोच समझ कर आप ने पार्ट सी स्टेट्स को रखा और सरदार साहब ने काफ़ी सोच कर इसका इन्तजाम किया था।

अगर आप यह कहते हों तो जिस तरह से

पार्ट सी स्टेट्स का उस बफा ब्याल किया गया था, उस तरीके से रखो तो ठीक बात है। आप ने कहा कि मणिपुर है, कच्छ है, यह हमारे स्ट्रेटजिक प्वाइंट हैं, इसलिये इन को पार्ट सी स्टेट्स रखा गया। यह बात सही है। परन्तु जिस प्रकार का आज इनका नकशा बन रहा है उस में वह बात तो बैठती नहीं। अगर वे इतने स्ट्रेटजिक प्वाइंट थे तो उनका शासन सेंटर के पास ही रहना चाहिये। मुझे तो यह बात समझ में नहीं आती है कि हमारे अर्थ मंत्री और उनकी मिनिस्ट्री जो छोटी सी बात में अगर थोड़े से पैसे देने को होते हैं तब तो अड़ बैठते हैं, कभी मंजूरी नहीं देते और पार्ट सी स्टेट्स का आज जिस प्रकार का नकशा बन रहा है और जो मिनिस्ट्रीयां बनाई हैं, उन में आज कितना खर्चा हो रहा है इस को नहीं देखते। आप लोग कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट के लिये पैसा चाहते हैं। मैं तो यह कहती हूँ कि यह पार्ट सी स्टेट्स वाले यह कहें कि इस तरह से इस प्रकार के सेंटअप में पैसा न खर्चते हुए यही पैसा हमारे यहां कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट में खर्चिये, तो उस से ज्यादा लाभ होगा। परन्तु मुझे समझ में नहीं आता है कि जो लोग इस प्रकार आंन पार रहना चाहते हैं पार्ट ए और पार्ट बी स्टेट्स से, तो वह लोग अपने लिये सोचते हैं या अपने लोगों के लिये। उन्होंने यह भी बात कही कि पार्ट सी स्टेट्स के ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटर बदले नहीं जाते। यह कहा कि एक जगह रहने से cess pool के ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटर हो जाते हैं। बहुत साल तक एक जगह पर रहने से उनके काफी स्ट्रॉंग लाइकस, डिसलाइकस और प्रिज्युडिसेज हो जाते हैं। तो मेरा कहना यह है कि आप यह cess pool के ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटर नहीं चाहते तो आप क्यों cess pool में रहते हो, बगल के स्टेट्स के साथ मर्ज हो जाये, बड़े समुद्र या नदी में बहने लगिये। बड़े बड़े बगल

के स्टेट्स में मर्ज हो जाइए। और आप में इतनी काबलियत है और लोगों में आप के लिये मुहब्बत पैदा कर सको तो बड़े स्टेट में भी आप को मौका मिल जायगा। परन्तु सही बात क्या है? आप दिल से सोचिये कि आप अपने लिये यह बात करते हैं या लोगों के लिये करते हैं। मुझे तो समझ में नहीं आता और मैं कई बार सोचती हूँ कि हमारे अर्थ मंत्री इस को कैसे मान गये, क्योंकि जब कंट्रोल की बात आती है तो उस में ऐसे अड़ जाते हैं जिस में लोगों को काफी परेशानी है, तकलीफ है, उस की बात नहीं सोचते हैं, तब तो कहते हैं कि हमारा सब प्लान, हमारा सब नकशा बिगड़ जायगा अगर कंट्रोल ढीला करें। मैं आप को एक ही बात का उदाहरण देना चाहती हूँ। आप को यहां दिल्ली में बैठे बैठे लोक सभा के सदस्यों को तो कोई तकलीफ नहीं होती। आते ही यहां तुरन्त आप को राशन कार्ड मिल जाते हैं। तुरन्त राशन मिल जाता है। आप और जगह जाइये और देखिये कि क्या होता है। हफ्ते हफ्ते तक अगर कोई मेहमान आता है तो राशन कार्ड नहीं मिलता है। मैं खुद जब दिल्ली से अहमदाबाद गयी तो २० दिन बाद मुझे राशन कार्ड मिला। दो महीने से अहमदाबाद में जो गेहूं दिया जा रहा है वह इतना सड़ा हुआ है। एक दिन मेरा कलेंक्टर के साथ अकस्मात कहीं मिलना हुआ। मैं ने कहा कि ऐसा गेहूं क्यों देते हो, उन्होंने जवाब दिया कि वहां से आता है वही देते हैं। दुकानदार से पूछा कि ऐसा सड़ा गेहूं क्यों देते हो, तो उस ने कहा कि सरकार सड़ जाता है तभी गेहूं निकालती है लोग तकलीफ पाते हैं और सरकार बदनाम होती है। आप को दिल्ली में बैठे बैठे पता नहीं है। तो मेहरबानी कर के आप सोचिये, इस में आप को कुछ करना

[श्रीमती मणिबेन पटेल]

है। अब इतने पैसे आप परदेश से अनाज लाने में खर्चते हैं और वह मंहगा भी मिलता है। मैं कहती हूँ कि इस में से चौथाई हिस्सा भी किसानों को दें, उन को प्रोत्साहन दें, बीज खाद दें, तो आपका मामला जल्दी सुधर जाय। परन्तु इस तरह न देखते हुए अगर लोगों की तकलीफ का ख्याल नहीं करेंगे तो आप असंतोष नहीं निकाल सकेंगे।

आप कम्युनिटी प्राजैक्ट और फोर्ड फाउंडेशन प्राजैक्ट में चाहते हैं कि लोग उत्साह से भाग लें। यह बड़ी अच्छी बात है। लोग उत्साह से भाग लेना चाहते हैं। उस से देश का भला होगा, यह भी मैं मानती हूँ। फोर्ड फाउंडेशन और कम्युनिटी प्राजैक्ट के साथ मेरा कुछ सम्बन्ध है, इसलिये मैं कहती हूँ कि जिस तरह से काम हो रहा है, शासन चल रहा है, उस में काफ़ी मुसीबतें हैं और लोगों को उत्साह नहीं रहता क्योंकि आप उस को मंजूर करते हो तो उस के बाद कई महीनों तक स्टाफ का सैक्सन नहीं होता। स्टाफ सैक्सन होने के बाद कई महीनों तक उन को तनख्वाह नहीं मिलती। अगर छोटे छोटे आदमी छोटी तनख्वाह वाले कर्मचारी, वहां रखे जाते हैं और उन को दो दो तीन तीन और चार चार महीने तक तनख्वाह नहीं मिले तो बेचारे किस तरह काम करें? उन को उत्साह किस तरह से हो? उन को कई मील तक देखने को रहता है। उन के ऊपर जो आफिशियल और नान आफिशियल कर्मचारी रखे जाते हैं उन को हर गांव में जा कर देखना होता है। वह किस तरह से ठीक तरह से देखभाल करें, जब उन के लिये इस काम के लिये कोई वाहन का और प्रवास क्वॉर्टर का इन्तजाम न हो। तो मैं अपने प्लानिंग कमीशन के मंत्रियों से और अर्थ मंत्री से एक विमती करती हूँ कि इस तरह आप देखिये और इसको जल्दी हल कीजिये।

आप उस पंचवर्षीय योजना का देश भर में प्रचार करना चाहते हैं, तो लोग कहते हैं कि हमको प्लानिंग कमीशन की रिपोर्ट देखने को चाहिए, तो वह तो हमारे पास छपी हुई मौजूद नहीं है, हां, अलबत्ता एक छोटा सा पीपुल्स एडिशन आपने जरूर निकाला है, लेकिन उससे लोगों को पूर्ण संतोष नहीं होता, क्योंकि उसमें पूरी चीज नहीं छपी हुई है, लोग तो पूरी चीज देखना चाहते हैं, तभी उनको संतोष हो सकता है। साधारण नागरिक यह देखना चाहता है कि उस योजना के अन्दर अपने प्रान्त के, जिले के बारे में क्या क्या योजनाएं हैं, लेकिन जब वह उस छोटी सी किताब में उन चीजों को नहीं पाता तो उसको बड़ी निराशा होती है। इसलिये मंत्री विनती है कि अगर आप चाहते हैं कि आपकी यह पंचवर्षीय योजना सफल हो और लोग उस को कामयाब बनाने में सहयोग करें और पूरे उत्साह से इसमें काम करें तब आपको इस योजना को जितनी जल्दी हो सके पूरी तरह छपाने और पब्लिक तक इसको पूर्ण शकल में पहुंचाने का इन्तजाम करना चाहिए।

आप देखिये कि पार्ट सी स्टेट्स की आजकल क्या हालत हो रही है, दिल्ली का ही उदाहरण ले लीजिए, दिल्ली पार्ट सी स्टेट है, दिल्ली के शासन और केन्द्र के बीच में बात चलती है और रोज उनके बीच कशमकश चल रही है, दिल्ली राज्य वाले कहते हैं कि अगर हमको शासन का कार्य चलाने को दिया है, तो हमको यह सब चीजें दे दो, वह चाहते हैं कि हमें पार्ट बी० स्टेट के समान अधिकार और स्टेट्स दे दो, फलस्वरूप दोनों के बीच में झगड़ा होता है, शासन कार्य में अनुचित बिलम्ब होता है और खर्च भी अधिक होता है और लोगों का इससे कोई भला भी नहीं

होता। तो मैं तो यह कहती हूँ कि सचमुच अगर आपकी इकोनामी करनी हो, खर्चा कम करना हो तो आप एक टार्जेट फ़िक्स करिए कि इतनी सालों में यह सब पार्ट सी स्टेड्स को मर्ज कर दिया जायगा और उनमें से जो स्ट्रैटजिक प्वाइन्ट पर हों उनका शासन केन्द्र के अधीन रहेगा। आज इन पार्ट सी स्टेड्स पर काफ़ी खर्चा भी आ रहा है और उनको शासन-कार्य चलाने के लिए अच्छे और योग्य आदमी भी नहीं मिलते हैं। इसलिये मेरी सरकार से प्रार्थना है कि वह इस विषय पर गम्भीरतापूर्वक विचार करे।

कुछ व्यक्तियों ने कर्मचारियों की तनख्वाह घटाने का सुझाव दिया है, मैं उनकी तनख्वाह घटाने के लिए तो नहीं कहती, परन्तु उनकी संख्या अवश्य घटाइये, आधी कर दीजिये। तनख्वाह पूरी दीजिए और काम उनसे पूरा लीजिए और यह देखिए कि वह अपनी ड्यूटी ठीक तरह से देते हैं। देश में जब स्वराज्य आया तो लोग आशा रखते थे कि अब हमकी सरकार के बर्हों से जल्दी हमारी बातों का ठीक तरह से जवाब मिलेगा और हमारा काम जल्दी होगा, लेकिन मुझे दुःख के साथ यह कहना पड़ता है कि अभी हालत नहीं सुधरी है, वही डीली रफ़्तार जारी है और कभी कभी तो महीनों और साल भर तक अपने पत्रों का जवाब नहीं मिलता है और निस्सन्देह आप यह उम्मीद नहीं कर सकते कि हर एक चिट्ठी के लिए कोई सब्सय मंत्री के नोटिस में लावे और तब जाकर उस पत्र का जवाब मिले, मैं चाहती हूँ कि सरकार इस तरफ़ ध्यान दे और शीघ्र सुधार करे।

प्रतिवर्ष आप हमको हर एक मिनिस्ट्री के बारे में एक रिपोर्ट देते हैं और कई कई

रिपोर्टें में चार्ट होता है जिसमें सबसे ऊपर मंत्री, फिर सेक्रेटरी, ज्वायंट सेक्रेटरी, डिप्टी सेक्रेटरी, अन्डर सेक्रेटरी वगैरह दिये होते हैं, देखने में तो वह चार्ट बहुत अच्छा लगता है, परन्तु उसका परिणाम वास्तव में क्या है, जितने अधिक कर्मचारी बनाते हैं, उतना ही काम में ढील होती है क्योंकि एक को दूसरे और दूसरे को तीसरे और इसी प्रकार सीढ़ी दर सीढ़ी काम को डिस्पोज करना होता है और इस में काफ़ी वक़्त और देर लगती है और इनक़्वायरी करने और एक दूसरे को पूछने में होता यह है कि कागज़ में खो जाते हैं। पोस्टल सर्विस की स्थिति यह है कि चिट्ठियाँ ठीक तरह से पहुँचती नहीं, दफ़्तरों से चिट्ठी भेजते हैं, उसका कोई जवाब नहीं मिलता, रजिस्टर्ड करके भेजते हैं, तो भी उसका कोई जवाब नहीं मिलता, अब भला बतलाइये कि उसके लिये दोषी कौन है, अगर मिनिस्ट्री नहीं तो पोस्टल विभाग हो सकता है, मैं जानती हूँ कि वहाँ भी काफ़ी त्रुटियाँ हैं और यह बात सम्बन्धित मंत्री भी कबूल करते हैं कि हमारे पोस्टल डिपार्टमेंट में ठीक तरह से काम नहीं हो रहा है और मैं चाहती हूँ कि उसकी तरफ़ सरकार को ध्यान करना चाहिए और उसमें सुधार करने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिए। यह बड़े दुःख और अफ़सोस का विषय है कि सर्विसेज में कुछ ऐसे लोग भी हैं जो हमको बदनाम करना चाहते हैं, तो ऐसे लोगों को हटाने के लिये अगर आपकी विधान में तबदीली भी करनी पड़े तो आप करने से न हिचकिचायें। शासन में सुधार लाने के लिए अगर विधान में कुछ बदलाव जरूरी हो तो वह भी हमें करना चाहिए ताकि जनता को पूर्ण राहत और संतोष मिले, इस तरह से हमको काम करना चाहिए।

हमारा पन्द्रह साल के भीतर सब जगह

[श्रीमती मणिबेन पटेल]

हिन्दी में काम शुरू करने का विचार है, लेकिन अगर हम इसके लिए अभी से प्रयत्नशील नहीं होते तो यह तो हो नहीं सकता कि पन्द्रह साल खत्म होने के दूसरे दिन से ही सारा काम हिन्दी में होने लगेगा, इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि सरकार को हिन्दी को बढ़ाने के लिए कदम उठाने चाहिए, कुछ पार्ट बी स्टेट्स हैं जहां अब तक हिन्दी में काम होता था लेकिन वहां आज क्या चल रहा है ? वहां हिन्दी के बजाय अंग्रेजी में काम चलता है और यह चीज उनको खलती है । इसलिए मेरा कहना है कि आप इन सब चीजों के बारे में सोचिए और इस बारे में कुछ न कुछ इन्तजाम जल्दी होना चाहिए । इसलिए मेरा अन्त में आपसे केवल यही कहना है कि अगर यह काम ठीक तरह से करवाना चाहते हैं तो फ़ौरन कोई रास्ता निकालिये जिससे हमारे लोगों को न्याय उचित व जल्दी मिले, लोग तो उम्मीद करते थे कि अब जबकि हमारा राज्य हो गया है तो हमको न्याय मिलने में जो देरी होती है, तकलीफ होती है, खर्चा होता है उसमें कमी होगी लेकिन आज हमारी आशा के विपरीत हो रहा है । आज वकील यहां क़ानून का एक अर्थ करता है और यहां से बग़ल में जब सुप्रीम कोर्ट में जाता है तो दूसरा ही अर्थ लगाता है । हमें न्याय को जल्दी सुलभ करने के लिए कोई न कोई रास्ता अवश्य निकालना चाहिए ताकि लोगों को अपने देहातो में ही न्याय मिले और जल्दी मिले और आसानी से मिले और कम खर्च से मिले इसका कुछ इन्तजाम सरकार द्वारा अवश्य किया जाय बस मेरी सरकार से यही विनती है ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There are a number of maiden speakers who have not made any speech from the inception. Therefore I would call each one of them and give ten minutes to each,

before I call the rest, irrespective of party affiliations.

Shri C. R. Mudaliar (Kumbakonam): I thank you, Sir, for the opportunity you have given me. I will be brief and I will confine my speech to certain aspects of the Budget. I appreciate the Finance Minister for taking courage to accept deficit financing instead of resorting to new taxation for implementing the Five Year Plan. Much has been said for and against the policy and it seems that critics have failed to make a proper assessment of the taxable capacity of the people. People are already overburdened with taxes imposed by the various State Governments and by the Central Government. It is impossible to have any further addition. I feel glad that our Finance Minister has realised this and avoided new taxation. I welcome the proposal to raise the exemption limit for personal income-tax. The estimated loss to the Central exchequer is negligible. But this confers considerable benefit on 70,000 families belonging to the middle classes. The middle class people are the backbone of our country and they are the worst sufferers during the past few years. Their interests have always been neglected. The rich people are always strong enough, the poor have their supporters in us, but the middle classes are without these both. I am glad that our Finance Minister has come forward to give some relief to this unfortunate and neglected section of the society.

Then coming to the import policy of the Government, I entirely agree with the Finance Minister that the import of luxury goods should be discouraged as much as possible. But I would go one step further and suggest that import of some luxury goods should be banned altogether. There are some luxury goods which have got the capacity of sending out huge amounts annually to foreign countries. Big luxury cars are of this type. In the financial interests of the country, I suggest that the import of these cars be banned altogether and permanently.

I welcome the proposal to increase the import duty on some luxury goods, but I am surprised to see that betelnut is included in the list of articles in respect of which the duty is proposed to be increased. This cannot be called a luxury article or even a semi-luxury article by any stretch of imagination. For many of us in this country,

it is next only to food. Chewing *pan-supari* is not the privilege of the rich, or of some selected few. It is the poor and common man that uses this article much. In my place, it is the constant companion of the poor and the working classes during work and rest. You know, Sir, that Madras is a dry State. This innocent and mild stimulant is all that is available to the poor labour class. To put a premium on it is not, therefore, good or desirable. The incidence of the increased duty will fall mostly on the poor. This is what pains me most. Further, this practice of chewing *pan-supari* is as old as our civilisation. From the health and hygiene point of view also, this practice deserves encouragement. I therefore request this House and the Finance Minister to give some serious thought to my suggestion.

I thank the Finance Minister and the Minister of Commerce and Industry for evincing keen interest in the development of cottage industries, especially handloom and *khadi*. In size, handloom is next only to agriculture and provides employment and livelihood to nearly a crore of people in our country. In Madras State alone there are five lakhs of families depending upon this industry for their living. I have seen the handloom weavers in my place at very close quarters: Their condition is precarious. If I were to describe it, it will be a woeful and appalling tale. The post-war period has affected them very badly. Some time ago, there was an acute shortage of yarn supply. Now, there is no demand for the cloth they produce. There is a slump in the market. Heavy stocks are lying idle without buyers. Thousands of families are thrown out of employment. They are deserting their village homes, and are found moving from place to place in search of work and food. Many of the towns and cities in Madras State are crowded with these unfortunate people, begging alms. The pedestrian platforms are their home. They, their wives and children are in a semi-starved and half-naked condition. The refugees here are much better than these handloom weavers. So, this handloom question is a serious one. It should not be treated merely as an industrial proposition. There should be a human approach to the problem. The demand for handloom cloth should be created both internally and externally. Regular supply of yarn at reasonable prices should be guaranteed. A portion of the Development Fund can be given as subsidy to keep down the price of supply of yarn supplied to the handlooms. The Stores Purchase Departments of both the Central and

State Governments should be advised to buy only handloom cloth for their requirements.

I now turn to the food position. In Madras, the food position is not as easy or encouraging as it is here. The area south of Madras is already in the grip of famine. There is scarcity everywhere. The purchasing power of the people has gone down. Therefore, I request the Government to take suitable steps to improve the food position.

Before concluding, I want to make a suggestion with regard to public health and rural medical relief. There is a proposal to create mobile medical units in the States to serve the rural areas. To some extent, this will be useful in serving the rural population, but I am of opinion that the revival of the Licentiate Course in Medicine will better serve the purpose, because thereby the number of medical men who can go and settle in the villages will be increased. I request the hon. Minister concerned to consider and implement this suggestion.

Shri E. Iyyani (Ponnani—Reserved—Sch. Castes): This is the first time, Sir, that I stand before this House to speak. I congratulate the Finance Minister, because the budgetary provisions are based on policies and principles which are intended for the betterment of the country. The Budget helps the poor as well as the middle class. Food has become less expensive in some parts. The index figure has gone down by 57.7 points. A number of raw materials also have shown a decrease of 25 per cent. in their prices. There has been no tax on small businesses. Many exemptions have been given. The handloom industry, which is receiving a subsidy, will help in reducing unemployment considerably. For the middle class, there has been relief in the shape of raising the income-tax limit from Rs. 3,600 to Rs. 4,200, and for undivided families also the limit has been raised from Rs. 7,200 to Rs. 8,400. I am also glad to note that a sum of Rs. one crore has been set apart for the uplift of the backward classes. The amount set apart for scholarships to scheduled castes and tribes has been raised to Rs. 40 lakhs from Rs. 17½ lakhs in 1952-53. This shows that the Finance Minister has realised the importance of this problem and has made an increased provision in the Budget. I request him to make a larger provision in the next year's Budget.

I would like to submit three points regarding the food position and the condition of Harijans in Malabar.

[Shri E. Iyyani]

Malabar is a thickly populated district in the country according to the latest census in 1951. The population is 47,58,342 and most of the people—42,50,367,—are living in the rural areas. This is the most deficit area in the Madras State in the matter of food. The district is entirely dependent upon import. The internal procurement of paddy will be about 80,000 tons in a year and the average off-take per month at the rate of eight ounces will be 20,000 tons of rice. So, the internal production of rice will last about two and a half or three months. In the last Kharif year, the second crop had failed and the prices of paddy had gone up considerably in the open market. Fair price shops are functioning in the rural areas of Malabar, and seven ounces of rice per adult per day are issued. So, there is no cause for anxiety. But due to the high price of U.P. rice, the ration shop price also has gone up. This has been communicated to the Deputy Minister of Food in person and he has agreed to advise the State Government to take steps to bring down the price.

If the ration quantity is raised from seven to twelve ounces, then there is every likelihood of the open market price falling down, and when the prices are stabilised, the off-take in the fair price shops will naturally come down.

In this connection, I have to submit that there is only one irrigation scheme in Malabar, i.e., Malampuzha project. This benefits only one taluk. The work is progressing. The Executive Engineer in charge of dam construction is very earnest and pushing, and he is putting through the work very quickly.

There is a large scope for minor irrigation schemes which can be taken up either for prevention of salt water or for irrigation. Sixty-two such schemes have been approved by the District Food Production Committee, out of which forty-three have been sanctioned. The remaining have been held up for want of funds. I therefore request the Government to sanction adequate funds for this purpose from the additional provision of Rs. 30 crores made by the Planning Commission.

As regards the condition of the Harijans in Malabar, I must say that it is far below than that of the Harijans in most other parts of the country. Most of them are illiterate and ignorant. It is difficult to find skilled labour. The number of people who are educated and have taken Univer-

sity Degrees can be counted on the fingers. People who are able to obtain jobs in Government or commercial service are very few. Even the quota allotted for appointment in Government service is not fully given to them. Very often the claims are ignored on some ground or other. I would therefore request the Government to set apart a large amount for education and giving training to them in skilled labour so that they will also come upto the level of the other people.

4 P.M.

In the report of the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Tribes for the period ending 1951 it is stated that, about 60,000 Scheduled Castes people in Malabar are doing agricultural labour under the semi-slavish condition in the fields of landlords to whom they are indebted and have no house sites of their own. In this connection I am glad to state that the Madras Government have realised the social disabilities of the Harijans and sanctioned a scheme to grant house sites at the rate of 15 cents per family for those who have no legal rights to the house sites under the occupation and who are houseless.

The last point I would submit to the House is, that the leader of the Communist group Shri A. K. Gopalan stated that the Congress could gain only two seats in the last General Elections. But I will like to draw the attention of the House to the fact that the Congress could get 31 per cent. of the total votes polled in the District Election. The other parties, such as K.M.P. and Communists have gained only ten per cent. and 18 per cent. respectively. Though the Communists and the other allied parties could get few seats in the General Elections by misleading masses, now the public has really understood the position and that has been evidenced in the recent Municipal Elections in Malabar. The village panchayat elections also have shown good result so far as the Congress party is concerned.

My hon. friend Mr. Muniswamy said that the washerman and barber community in Malabar should be included among the scheduled classes. In Malabar these communities are not suffering any sort of disabilities as the Harijans were suffering or are now suffering. Even now the washerman community are not washing the clothes of the Harijans. But now they want to come under the 'scheduled castes' and enjoy the benefits which Harijans

are getting. I submit to this House that those communities which have not suffered along with the Harijans should not be allowed to benefit by the amount set apart for the uplift of the Harijans.

Shri Ramananda Das (Barrackpore):
I thank you, Sir, for giving me the opportunity to make my maiden speech in connection with the General Budget. The Budget and the Five Year Plan are inseparably connected and you will therefore pardon me if in the course of my speech I were to lay somewhat great emphasis on the Five Year Plan. If the Five Year Plan be implemented fully, we shall be able to solve most of our problems of today. But I have great doubt about the success of the Plan on account of the corruption that obtains among the officials. Corruption is prevalent in almost all Departments of Government: it is almost nil in the Education Department, but is at the maximum in the Police Department. In the rural areas, when the poor villagers go to the police for protection, they are not even given a patient hearing, until and unless the police officers are paid either in cash or in kind.

We have of late been hearing of the several scandals: the jeep scandal, the fertiliser scandal, fabrication scandals etc. But the real offenders are not brought to book. More often than not only petty clerks at the bottom are penalised. I, therefore, appeal to the Government to take drastic steps to root out corruption from this country. Within two years of its coming into power the Peoples' Government of China eradicated corruption from the country. But in our country corruption is increasing day by day in all the Departments. Government should therefore make an earnest effort to root out this evil from the country by summary trials and drastic punishments.

The next point I would like to deal with is 'land for the tiller'. This is a very important reform which is immediately called for; but unfortunately the Five Year Plan has totally omitted this question. For the past four or five years have been importing crores and crores of rupees worth of food grains from foreign countries, but still we have not been able to solve the problem. The food problem cannot be solved unless and until you give land to the tillers and ask them to grow more food. I would impress upon the Government the urgency of giving

land to the tiller as has been done by Sheikh Abdullah in Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah has worked wonders in Kashmir. Overnight he abolished zamindaris and distributed the land to the actual cultivators without paying any compensation to the landlords. But here the actual persons to be benefited by the abolition of zamindari have been the landlords. The other day our Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, admitted that the condition of the landless agricultural labour is the worst. I would appeal to Government to take up the distribution of land among the actual tillers as an item of high priority under the Five Year Plan, and not allow the exploitation by the landlords to continue any more. Unless we do this the lot of millions and millions of agricultural labourers who are passing their lives in a wretched condition will not be improved and revolution will occur and the peace and tranquillity of the country will be at stake.

Then, I come to the policy of retrenchment. The slogan for some time past has been 'Produce more': but more production has been to the detriment of the labourers. Throughout the country organised industries like jute, tea, iron and steel, cotton textiles, etc., have been retrenching labour. In the course of the last two or three months 11,000 jute workers out of three lakhs have been retrenched in West Bengal and employers are thinking of reducing their labour further under the cloak of rationalisation. Government have given adequate protection to the manufacturers of jute goods by reducing the jute export duty to Rs. 80/- from Rs. 150 per ton. But the jute workers have not been benefited to the slightest extent and they are facing retrenchment and discharge. I would request Government to put a stop to the retrenchment: if retrenchment is to be resorted to at all it should be done in consultation with labour organisations and due compensation should be given to the affected workers.

Next, I come to the most important and serious problem that is facing the country, namely unemployment. From the statistics of the employment exchanges we find that there are about ten lakhs of unemployed in the country. The only way to solve this problem is to increase industrial activity. But there is no point in depending upon the private industrialists to achieve this purpose. Private capitalists are not coming forward to open new industries for fear of taxation and nationalisation. I would suggest that Govern-

[Shri Ramananda Das]

ment should raise a capital of about Rs. 100 crores, 50 crores from shares and 50 crores by loan, with which we shall be able to start about 200 industries throughout the country. These 200 industries will be able to absorb about ten lakhs of people and the present ranks of unemployed who are a liability can be turned into an asset.

I now come, to one of those industries which has immense potentialities. There are only very few motor manufacturing concerns in our country; but even they are facing a crisis, on account of the uncertain import policy of Government. The Hindustan Motor Company in West Bengal in the course of the past two years had to face two or three crises by strikes and lockouts. I appeal to the Government to stop the import of motor cars totally and encourage this key industry by subsidy. Otherwise thousands of workers would be unemployed and the industry will receive a serious setback.

Another important matter to which it is time we paid serious attention is the disparity in wages among the different people. Ours is a poor country. Before independence our Ministers were receiving a salary of Rs. 6,000 or Rs. 7,000. While now our Ministers have voluntarily agreed to accept a remuneration of Rs. 2,250 a Secretary working under a Minister still draws from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 5,000 a month. In the same organisation, employees like chaprassis and police constables receive a salary of Rs. 50 to Rs. 80 and clerks from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150. Naturally these poor Government servants are not contented. It is high time that this state of affairs is rectified. In England which is a rich country, the disparity between the lowest paid and the highest paid is not more than seven times. While the lowest paid person gets £ 100 the highest paid does not get more than £700. In Japan the discrepancy is six times; but in our country it is as much as 70 to 100 times. I would suggest to our Government that while the minimum salary should be Rs. 100 for the low-paid officers, the highest should not be more than Rs. 1,000; at any rate no officer of Government should draw more than the Ministers.

Then, I come to the question of prohibition. It has been one of the important objectives of the Congress even before independence to introduce complete prohibition in the country.

But after independence, for fear of loss of excise revenue, the Government is not coming forward to introduce prohibition in all the States. I congratulate the Governments of Bombay and Madras for having taken a bold stand in introducing complete prohibition in their areas. Unless we introduce complete prohibition the fate of the poorer people will remain as it is and their economic and social conditions will not be improved. I appeal to Government to take a lesson from Bombay and Madras and introduce complete prohibition throughout the country. To make prohibition successful we shall have to introduce temperance propaganda by means of cinema shows, lantern lectures and public propaganda to educate the people and to uplift them socially.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Prohibition is a State subject—unless it be that the hon. Member confines himself to prohibition in the Delhi State and the Centrally administered areas.

Shri Ramananda Das: But the Centre has got a right to give directions to the States so as to secure uniformity throughout the country, and it is in this connection I am suggesting that there should be temperance propaganda throughout the country uniformly.

So far as West Bengal is concerned, the Faraka barrage over the Ganges is very important. It has not been included in the Five Year Plan. I appeal to the Government to include this barrage in the Five Year Plan in order to make Calcutta port and the Hooghly river, which are neglected, navigable and useful for the trade and industry.

Lastly, I would like to refer to the problem of Harijans. There are about more than six crores of Harijans in this country and their condition is wretched. They are living like slaves in this country. Government have made provision for a period of ten years for their uplift, only so far as the legislature is concerned. But so far as their social, economic and educational conditions are concerned, Government is virtually silent on this point. I appeal to the Government to give due consideration to the problems of Harijan uplift. Unless you do that you will lose the sympathy of six crores of people. In Hyderabad and Madras and Travancore-Cochin Harijans have been exploited by reactionary political

parties for their party purposes. I appeal to the Government to do something constructive for the uplift of these classes so as to ensure for them a due share in the administrative services and other places, which they are not getting now.

Sir, I thank you for the opportunity you have given me for expressing my views.

श्री बीरबल सिंह (जिला जौनपुर—पूर्व) : माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सन् १९५३-५४ का जो आयव्ययक माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने उपस्थित किया है उस का मैं स्वागत करता हूँ। स्वागत इसलिये करता हूँ कि पहले तो जो कि देश की आर्थिक स्थिति का चित्रण वित्त मंत्री ने अपने आयव्ययक में किया है वह सन्तोषजनक है। जिस समय एक साल पहले हम लोग चुनाव में भाग ले रहे थे उस समय देश की आर्थिक स्थिति बहुत ही खराब थी। कांग्रेस के ऊपर तरह तरह की बौछार डाली जा रही थी। दूसरी पार्टियाँ जो चुनाव में भाग ले रही थीं, उन का यह नारा था कि “रोटी दो और धोती दो, नहीं तो गद्दी छोड़ दो”। इस तरह की स्थिति उस समय थी। लेकिन इस समय उस स्थिति में बहुत कुछ सुधार हुआ है। जहाँ तक कि उत्पादन का सम्बन्ध है बहुत कुछ उस में वृद्धि हुई है। यद्यपि उतनी सन्तोषजनक नहीं है, परन्तु फिर भी पहले से स्थिति काफी सुधरी है। जहाँ तक भोजन की समस्या का प्रश्न है, यद्यपि अन्न का उत्पादन उतना अधिक नहीं बढ़ा है, फिर भी स्थिति में काफी सुधार हुआ है और बहुत कुछ नियन्त्रण में भी ढिलाई हुई है। नियन्त्रण की वजह से एक तो लोगों को काफी परेशानी थी और दूसरे इस की वजह से काफी भ्रष्टाचार भी बढ़ रहा था। इस में बहुत कुछ ढिलाई हुई है जिस से लोगों को कुछ राहत मिली है। और भी बहुत सी चीजों में उत्पादन बढ़ा है, जिस की वजह से आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार हुआ है

एक तो मैं इसलिये इस का स्वागत करता हूँ।

दूसरे में इस बजट का इसलिए स्वागत करता हूँ कि इस में कर के सम्बन्ध में कम से कम मध्यम वर्ग के लोगों कुछ को राहत मिली है। आमदनी के ऊपर जो टैक्स है उस में ३,६०० की आमदनी पर जो टैक्स लगा था उस को बढ़ा कर के जो ४,२०० किया है और कुटुम्ब के ऊपर जो ७,२०० से ८,४०० किया है, इस से मध्यम वर्ग के लोगों को बहुत कुछ राहत मिली है और इस से गवर्नमेंट को कुछ बहुत ज्यादा आमदनी भी नहीं होती थी। दूसरे जो और टैक्स बढ़ाए गये हैं वह इस तरह की चीजों पर बढ़ाए गये हैं जो कि विलास की सामग्री हैं, जो कि ज्यादातर धनी लोगों पर पड़ता है और जिन चीजों का इस्तेमाल गरीब लोगों के लिये होता है उन के टैक्स में कमी की गयी है। इस तरह से टैक्स जो बढ़ा है वह भी गरीबों की दृष्टि से अच्छा ही हुआ है।

तीसरी चीज जिस के लिये मैं इस बजट का स्वागत करता हूँ वह यह है कि यह बजट पंच वर्षीय योजना की पृष्ठभूमि पर बनाया गया है। पंच वर्षीय योजना हमारे लिये बड़े महत्व की चीज है। देश में स्वराज्य हुआ है, हम स्वतन्त्र हुए हैं परन्तु वास्तव में जब तक कि हम को आर्थिक स्वतन्त्रता नहीं मिलती, जब तक कि हमारे देश की आर्थिक स्थिति अच्छी नहीं होती, जब तक कि हमारा जीवन स्तर ऊंचा नहीं होता, तब तक स्वतन्त्रता का गरीबों के लिये कोई मूल्य नहीं है। यह पंच वर्षीय योजना जो बनी है इस का उद्देश्य हमारा जीवन स्तर ऊंचा करना है। इस दृष्टि से जो पंच वर्षीय योजना है उस का बहुत ही महत्व है, यद्यपि इस की सफलता के सम्बन्ध में यह सन्देह हो सकता है कि देश में इस के लिये लोगों में काफी उत्साह न हो। इस बात की इसलिये बहुत आवश्यकता है

[श्री बीरबल सिंह]

कि जनता में पंच वर्षीय योजना के लिये उत्साह पैदा किया जाय।

जो पंच वर्षीय योजना बनाई गयी है उस में जितने पैसे की आवश्यकता है, जैसा कि अनुमान के अनुसार उस के ऊपर २,०६९ करोड़ रुपये की जरूरत पड़ेगी, जिस से कि जो कुछ हमारा अनुमान है, जो लक्ष्य हमारे सामने है उस को पूरा किया जा सके। यद्यपि जो पहिली पंच वर्षीय योजना है केवल उस से ही हमारा उद्देश्य पूरा नहीं होगा, बल्कि इस तरह की कई योजनाएं, कई पंच वर्षीय योजनायें तैयार करनी होंगी और उन को पूरा करना होगा तब कहीं जा कर हमारा जीवन स्तर ऊंचा हो सकेगा और देश की आर्थिक स्थिति अच्छी हो सकेगी। पंच वर्षीय योजना में कहा गया है कि हमारे देश में प्रत्येक व्यक्ति की जो आमदनी है, उस को दुगुना करने में भी कम से कम तीस वर्ष का समय लगेगा। अतः जिस तरह की पंच वर्षीय योजना बनाई गयी है, उस तरह की कई पंच वर्षीय योजनाएं बनाई जावेंगी और पूरी होंगी तब कहीं देश का पूरी तरह से उद्धार होगा।

जहां तक पैसे का सम्बन्ध है, जो २,०६९ करोड़ रुपये की योजना बनाई गयी है, ऐसा अनुमान है कि उस में से कुछ तो जो हमारी बचत होगी, रैबैन्सू का सरप्लस होगा उस से पूरा किया जायगा। इस को देखने से यह पता चलता है कि ५ वर्ष के अन्दर करीब १६० करोड़ तो केन्द्रीय सरकार की रैबैन्सू की जो बचत होगी उस से पूरा होगा। १७० करोड़ के करीब रेलवे से और ४०८ करोड़ के करीब प्रान्तों की बचत से मिलेंगे। इस तरह से करीब ७३८ करोड़ यह होते हैं। ५२० करोड़ के लगभग क्रजों से या स्माल सेविंग से प्राप्त किया जायगा। इस तरह १२५८ करोड़ रुपये योजना पर व्यय करने

के लिये इस प्रकार से एकत्र किये जायेंगे। लेकिन इस समय जो स्थिति है, उस को देखने से पता लगता है और सन्देह होता है कि इतना रुपया मिल सकेगा या नहीं।

सन् ५० और ५१ का जो प्रान्तों और केन्द्रीय गवर्नमेंट का बजट था, उस में काफ़ी बचत हुई थी, लेकिन अब तो हम देखते हैं कि धीरे धीरे उस में डेफीसिट होती जा रही है और घाटे का बजट होता जा रहा है और यह सन्देह सहज ही उत्पन्न होता है कि इतनी बड़ी रकम कहां से आयेगी। तखमीना लगाने पर मालूम हुआ है कि करीब १५६ करोड़ की रकम तो बाहर से मिली है और २९० करोड़ के करीब डेफीसिट फाइनेंसिंग से हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय लगाने वाले हैं तिस पर भी करीब ३६५ करोड़ का घाटा रह जाता है। अनुमान किया जाता है कि इस कमी को या तो वह नये टैक्स लगा कर पूरी करेंगे या बाहर से कुछ सहायता ले कर या फिर देश में लोगों से कर्ज ले कर इस कमी को पूरा किया जायगा। इस तरह से हम देखते हैं कि सब मिला कर ६५५ करोड़ की कमी रहती है। जहां तक डेफीसिट फाइनेंसिंग का सम्बन्ध है, मैं कोई विशेषज्ञ तो हूँ नहीं लेकिन एक साधारण ग्रहस्थ के नाते मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम ने देखा कि युद्ध के समय जब ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट को किसी तरह से रुपया नहीं मिला तो उस ने करीब ११ अरब रुपये के नोट छाप कर अपना काम चलाया, उस का नतीजा यह हुआ कि देश में मुद्रा स्फीति हुई और चीजों के दाम बेतरह बढ़ गये और बहुत सी कठिनाइयों का सामना करना पड़ा। अभी तो हमारे वित्त मंत्री समझते हैं कि उन को २९० करोड़ रुपया डेफीसिट फाइनेंसिंग से पूरा करना पड़ेगा लेकिन मालूम ऐसा होता है कि उस से कहीं अधिक पैसे की कमी पूरी

करनी होगी। अब जो यह पंच वर्षीय योजना है, उस के लिए काफी प्रयत्न हो रहा है और उस में बहुत से इस तरह के काम किये जा रहे हैं जैसे दामोदर वैली प्रोजेक्ट आदि और अन्य प्रोजेक्ट्स हैं उन के जरिये से देश की आर्थिक स्थिति को सुधारने में बहुत कुछ काम होगा। एक बात और मैं इस सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता था। हमारे पूर्वी जिलों में रिहैन्ड डाम बनने वाला था, लेकिन वह इधर तीन वर्षों में नहीं रक्खा गया है, चौथे और गंघवें वर्ष में रक्खा गया है, उस सम्बन्ध में मुझे यह कहना है कि उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिलों की हालत बहुत ही खराब है और यह बहुत जरूरी है कि इस डाम पर काम शुरु होना चाहिए। एक बात की ओर और मैं आप का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। हमारे विधान में दिया हुआ है कि पन्द्रह वर्ष के भीतर हमारा सब काम हिन्दी में होना चाहिये, मैं उस ओर आप का ध्यान दिलाना चाहूंगा। यह खेद की बात है कि आजकल उस दिशा में अधिक काम नहीं हो रहा है, उस सम्बन्ध में भी तेजी के साथ काम होना चाहिए।

प्रो० राम शरण (जिला मुरादाबाद—पश्चिम): उपाध्यक्ष जी, आप ने मुझे जो आज समय देने की कृपा की उस के लिए मैं आप का अत्यन्त आभारी हूँ। वजत जो इस समय हमारे सामने है यह पंचवर्षीय योजना की पृष्ठ भूमि में बनाया गया है, ऐसी पृष्ठ भूमि में बनाया जा कर भी इस में कोई नया कर या कोई बढ़ा कर नहीं लगाया गया इस के लिए वित्त मंत्री धन्यवाद के पात्र हैं। असल में बात यह मालूम होती है कि प्राइवेट सेक्टर के कारण कोई नये कर की योजना इस में नहीं रखी गयी और उस का हम असर भी देखते हैं कि हाल ही में जो फेडरेशन आफ इन्डियन चेम्बर्स आफ कामर्स की मीटिंग हुई थी, वहाँ भी इस का स्वागत किया गया और

व्यापारियों ने उस कांफ्रेंस में पंचवर्षीय योजना को सफल बनाने के सम्बन्ध में एक प्रस्ताव भी पास किया। गो इस में कोई नया कर नहीं लगाया गया लेकिन कुछ करों में हेरफेर की गई है। इस हेरफेर के कारण बहुत सारे यहाँ के भिन्न भिन्न प्रकार के लोगों को कुछ लाभ भी हुआ। मैं सिर्फ एक कर के सम्बन्ध में वित्त मंत्री का आप के द्वारा ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ और वह पोस्टल रेट्स के बारे में है। पोस्टल रेट्स के बढ़ाने के विपक्ष में यह कहा जा सकता है कि यह टैक्स ज्ञान के प्रसार में बाधा डालेगा। अगर हम ध्यान से देखें तो मालूम होगा कि यह कर tax on knowledge है क्योंकि अगर हम कोई चीज मसलन एक छोटी सी किताब जिस का वजन पांच ताल ५ वी० पी० से मंगाते हैं तो उस में दा आने अब अधिक चार्ज देना पड़ेगा। यदि हम कोई बड़ी पुस्तक वी० पी० से मंगाएँ जिस का वजन तीन सौ तोले के करीब हो तो जो नया पोस्टल कर बढ़ाया गया है उस के मुताबिक हमें वी० पी० और रजिस्ट्रेशन आदि में १ रुपया, १५ आने अधिक देना पड़ेगा, यानी अगर उस पुस्तक की कीमत २५ रुपया हो तो पुस्तक मंगाने वाले को बजाय २५ के २७ रुपये देने पड़ेंगे, वित्त मंत्री, आशा है, इस तरफ ध्यान देंगे।

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA in the Chair]

बजट के देखने से यह भी पता चलता है कि व्यय और आय का जिस तरह संतुलन किया गया है, उस से व्यय हमारा बढ़ता ही चला जा रहा है, दोनों प्रकार का: फौजी तथा सिविल। आय, जितना हमारा व्यय बढ़ रहा है, नहीं बढ़ रही है। देखने से पता चलता है कि प्लानिंग कमिशन ने इस बात का विचार किया था कि इस वर्ष हम को २६ करोड़ की बचत हो लेकिन अगर यह करों में हेरफेर न होता तो हमें एक करोड़ से भी अधिक की कमी

[प्रो० राम शरण]

पड़ती, करों में हेरफेर करके भी हम यह देखते हैं कि सिर्फ ४५ लाख रुपये की बचत होती है, बचत होनी चाहिए थी २६ करोड़ की, लेकिन वह केवल ४५ लाख की होती है। उसमें भी जब हम यह देखते हैं कि हम को १८ करोड़ रुपया पाकिस्तान से आय के रूप में मिलना चाहिए और यदि वह नहीं मिला तो फिर आय बहुत ही कम हो जाती है और बजाय बचत के हम को बहुत ज्यादा डेफिसिट का सामना करना पड़ेगा। अगर हम कर न लगायें तो हमारी आय कम होती चली जाती है, ऐसी सूरत में हमको कर्ज की शरण लेनी पड़ती है। इस वर्ष १०० करोड़ रुपया ले कर हम पूंजी के व्यय की पूर्ति करेंगे, इस वर्ष के चालू बजट में हम ने २५ करोड़ रुपये के ऋज का प्रबन्ध किया था लेकिन किसी ब्याल से उसको नहीं लिया। कहा तो यह गया है कि स्टेट्स के लाभ को दृष्टि में रख कर उन के लिये क्षेत्र छोड़ कर भारत सरकार ने यह पन्चीस करोड़ रुपये का कर्ज नहीं लिया। जब इस वर्ष २५ करोड़ का कर्ज केन्द्रीय सरकार को लेने में कठिनाई हुई तो यह आशा करना कि अगले वर्ष उसको १०० करोड़ ऋण मिल जायगा, जरा कठिन मालूम होता है। इसलिये जब हम को ऋण मिलने में कठिनाई हो तो हम रे सामने दो ही मार्ग रह जाते हैं, या तो हमें बाहर के देशों से सहायता मिले या मिलने की आशा हो या डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग के जरिए धन मिले जिस से हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना का कार्य चल सके। इस बास्ते हम को डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग ही करना होगा और जैसा कि यहां बताया गया है कि पिछली लड़ाई के जमाने में गवर्नमेंट ने करोड़ों नहीं, बल्कि अरबों रुपये के नोट निकाले, तो इस वर्ष जब कि वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो बजट पेश किया है उस में १४० करोड़ रुपये की सब मिला कर

कमी है, रेवेन्यू और पूंजी दोनों का विचार करके १४० करोड़ रुपये की कमी रहती है। इस में से ३० करोड़ इस वर्ष के क्लोजिंग बैलेन्स से और ११० करोड़ रुपये को ट्रेजरी बिल्स के द्वारा वसूल करने का प्रबन्ध दिखलाया गया है। लड़ाई के जमाने में हम ने अरबों के नोट छाप छाप कर काम चलाया, लेकिन इस समय हम को डेवलपमेंट के कामों के लिए इस बजट में सिर्फ ११० करोड़ और आगे चलकर कुल २९० करोड़ की जरूरत होगी अगर हम उस पर कड़ी निगाह रखें और कीमतों के बढ़ने पर रोकथाम रखें तो कोई बजह नहीं है कि हम अपने कार्य को ठीक प्रकार से क्यों न कर सकें और सफलता प्राप्त कर सकें।

अब मैं दो तीन सुझावों की तरफ माननीय वित्त मंत्री का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं। एक तो यह कि अगर हम कर नहीं लगाते हैं और आय को वसूल करने में दिक्कत होती है तो हमें खर्च पर कड़ी निगाह रखनी चाहिए। जहां तक पब्लिक एंकाउन्ट्स कमेटी का सम्बन्ध है, चाहे वह रेलवे की हो चाहे वह जनरल फाइनेन्स की हो, उस ने कई बातों के सम्बन्ध में कड़ी आलोचना की है। उन सब में इस समय जाने की जरूरत नहीं है लेकिन मैं यह जरूर कहना चाहता हूं कि चाहे वह पोस्टल डिपार्टमेंट हो, चाहे रेलवे डिपार्टमेंट हो, चाहे दूसरे डिपार्टमेंट हों, उन पर जो खर्चा होता है उस के ऊपर कड़ी नज़र रखने की जरूरत है अगर हम खर्च पर नियंत्रण रखें तो चाहे आय कम भी हो रही हो, उस के द्वारा भी हम अपने बजट को संतुलित कर सकेंगे।

दूसरी बात जिस की तरफ मैं ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं वह यह है कि इस साल आयात कर कुछ चीजों पर घटाये गये हैं और कुछ चीजों पर बढ़ाये गये हैं। जिन

चीजों पर बढ़ाये गये हैं वह लगभगी गुड्स हैं। लेकिन बजट पेश होने के तीन ही चार दिन बाद कामर्स डिपार्टमेंट से इम्पोर्ट्स के सम्बन्ध में एक सूचना निकली, उस से यह मालूम हुआ कि बहुत सारे सामान जो अब तक हिन्दुस्तान में नहीं आते थे, जैसे कि काटन एंड सिल्क थ्रीस गुड्स, साक्स, स्टार्किंग्स, बूट्स, शूज अम्ब्रेलाज, बटन्स, इत्यादि, उन में से कुछ चीजों को तो दस पर सेन्ट तक का कोटा मिल गया है। कुछ ऐसी चीजें थीं जो थोड़ी मात्रा में आती थीं; उन का कोटा डबल कर दिया गया है और कुछ चीजों के कोटे को और भी बढ़ा दिया गया है। इस का एक तरफ तो फारेन एक्चेंज पर असर पड़ेगा, दूसरी ओर बढ़ा असर हमारे उद्योग धंधों पर पड़ेगा, उन चीजों पर जो चीजें हमारे देश में बनती हैं। यदि विदेशों से कपड़ा और दूसरी चीजें आने लगेंगी तो उन चीजों पर जो यहां बनती हैं और जो बाहर भी जाती हैं, बहुत बुरा असर पड़ेगा।

एक खास बात जिस की तरफ में ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं वह यह है कि हमारे देश की सब से बड़ी समस्या बेकारी की है जो बराबर बढ़ती जा रही है। बेकारी के जो आंकड़े हम को एम्प्लायमेंट एक्स्चेंज से मिलते हैं उन से यह मालूम होता है कि जितने आदमी नाम लिखाते हैं उन में से कुछ तीस फी सदी लोगों की ही काम मिल पाता है, और उन नाम लिखाने वालों में ऐसे भी लोग हैं जो टेकनीशियन्स हैं, उन को भी पूरी तरह से काम नहीं मिल पाता। तो अगर हमें अपने देश का निर्माण करना है, बजट तो एक साधन है दूसरे कामों के लिये, मीन्स टु एन एन्ड है और एन्ड हर एक स्टेट का, खास कर जो अपने को बेलफेयर स्टेट

कहती है, यह है कि हर एक मनुष्य को जो देश में रहता है, उस की शक्ति और योग्यता के अनुसार काम मिल जाय। इस प्रश्न को हमें हल करना है।

अपनी शिक्षा की प्रणाली में हम को आमूख परिवर्तन करने की आवश्यकता है। इस प्रकार की उसे बनाना है कि जो लाखों की तादाद में हर साल बेकार पैदा न हों। शिक्षा प्रणाली में ऐसा परिवर्तन करें कि बेकारों को उत्पादक कामों में लगा सकें। उन को रोजगार दिलाने का काम, लोगों की राय है, देश को इंडस्ट्रियलाइज करने से हो सकेगा, किन्तु यह खाली उद्योगीकरण से ही नहीं हो सकेगा। विदेशों की मिसाल हमारे सामने है। जिन देशों में बहुत ज्यादा उद्योगीकरण हुआ है वहां पर भी बेकारी है। इस प्रकार के लोग भी हैं जो समझते हैं कि बड़े उद्योगों के बढ़ाने से देश की बेकारी दूर न हो सकेगी। जब तक बैज्ञानिक तरीकों की खोज कर के हम अपने देश के छोटे छोटे उद्योगों का, देहात के उद्योगों का पुनरुद्धार नहीं करेंगे, और ज्यादा से ज्यादा लोगों को काम पर नहीं लगायेंगे तब तक देश का उद्धार नहीं हो सकेगा। यह हर्ष की बात है कि हमारी गवर्नमेंट ने अभी हाल ही में काटेज और विलेज इन्डस्ट्रीज बोर्ड बनाया है। प्रधान मंत्री ने उस के उद्घाटन के समय कहा था कि क्या अच्छा होता कि यह चार साल पहले बन गया होता। मगर जो अच्छा काम है वह देर से भी हो तो भी उस का स्वागत करना चाहिए। तमाम बातें इस बात पर निर्भर करती हैं कि इस बोर्ड की जो सिफारिशें हैं उन के ऊपर ध्यान दिया जाय। साथ ही यह भी हर्ष की बात है कि इस बोर्ड में देश के ऐसे मसलों के जानकार तथा अनुभवी लोग रखे गये हैं। आशा

[श्री० राम शरण]

है कि देश की आवश्यकताओं के अनुरूप ही उन की सिफारिशों होंगी। और यदि गवर्नमेंट ने उन सिफारिशों पर काम किया तो देश के अन्दर जो बेकारी फैली हुई है उस को हम बहुत हद तक दूर कर देंगे।

Shri Balakrishnan (Erode—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I was under the impression that our people's Government which is under the leadership of our respectable Prime Minister Pandit Nehruji can devote special attention to improve the condition of the depressed classes that are suffering for want of even the elementary rights of a human being. But after seeing the Budget and the allotments made therein, I was really disappointed. During the last year, Rs. 25 lakhs were allotted for the purpose, while this time, a few more lakhs have been provided. Even this small amount is being disbursed among many other communities,—backward classes, Adivasis, Hill Tribes, etc. Except Brahmins and a few other communities, practically all the other communities come under the category of 'Backward Classes'. So, this amount that has been provided becomes a drop in the ocean.

The Government of my State, namely the Madras Government, are spending nearly Rs. one crore for the welfare of the depressed classes. 300 hostels are being conducted by them for the students from the depressed classes. A separate Harijan welfare department was created under a separate Minister, to look after the welfare of the depressed classes. But the Centre cannot escape from their responsibility by saying that the State Government must do all these things. It is the duty of the Central Government to promote educationally, socially and economically the conditions of the depressed people.

Our Constitution has given assurances to the depressed classes, of equality of status. But all those assurances are only on paper. Even untouchability has not gone. Other social disabilities also are still prevalent. Every day I am receiving a number of complaints from the people belonging to the depressed classes, regarding the atrocities committed by the caste-Hindus. But police officers are not taking any proper action against the culprits. I request the Government to appoint special police officers for the enforcement of the Act in this connec-

tion. If there are special police officers, for prohibition, smuggling, customs and for many other purposes, then why have not some special police officers for the enforcement of these elementary human rights, for the depressed classes?

I would then like to say a few words regarding the famine conditions prevailing in Tamilnad. Unfortunately there has not been sufficient rain in Tamilnad for the last five years. This year, the monsoon was a complete failure. Cultivation could not be done in many parts of the area, and even dry crops failed. I request the Government to send some immediate relief to the ryots of Tamilnad. Seeds and manure should be supplied to them either freely or as loan. Taccavi loans and well subsidy should also be provided for them. This year a fodder loan was given in my district. About Rs. 100 was given per ryot, but out of this, the applicant had to spend nearly Rs. 25 for getting it. I would request the Government to give regularly taccavi loans to the ryots. I would suggest to the Government to start crop insurance system, so as to avoid damages due to famine, cyclone, crop diseases etc. and other such natural calamities.

I am very glad that our Government have launched a Five Year Plan, to improve the condition of the people, and to promote their welfare. In the near future, very many projects are going to be constructed. I am sure that after the execution of all these schemes, our country can well be proud of being self-sufficient in all respects. But there are many projects pending in Tamilnad, for a longer period. In Madura district, there are two schemes still to be undertaken—the Vaigai scheme, and the other the Palar-Pachaiyar scheme in Polni Taluk. I would request Government to undertake the execution of these schemes as early as possible, so as to eradicate famine in our Tamilnad.

Mr. Chairman: Tandonji. Not in the House. Shrimati Kripalani.

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani (New Delhi): At the far end of this debate, I do not feel inclined . . .

Shri Tandon (Allahabad Distt.—West): I am here, Sir, . . .

Mr. Chairman: I have already called Shrimati Kripalani.

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani: . . . I do not feel inclined to take much of the time of the House and therefore I will confine myself to a few points.

When the hon. Finance Minister presented his Budget I was listening very carefully to the speech with the idea of finding something in it that would inspire. But, the general tone of the Budget left the impression that the effort is to maintain the *status quo*. There is an anxiety not to disturb the economic situation as it prevails now. The Budget is within the framework of the capitalistic structure. Private capital has been reassured and some concessions have been given to them. What to speak of Indian private capital; even foreign private capital has received some protective attention in this Budget. In all other aspects, the Budget follows the old usual lines and the allocations follow the old pattern. The ratio of military expenditure is almost the same. The administration is top heavy as it was. I would like to remind that the hon. Finance Minister last year had assured us that he would appoint an Economy Committee to see how he could cut down administrative expenditure. This year, he has expressed his inability to reduce the military expenditure and he has not said anything about the civil expenditure. The only conclusion that I can draw is that it is not possible to cut down expenditure in the near future.

The Budget has created a favourable impression in the circle of private sector. The share market is happy. It has registered a buoyancy. I happened to meet some people in big business circles. They are very pleased with the Budget. I asked them, why are you happy? They said, we are pleased because we were fearing that some more taxes may be imposed on us; now we know we can carry on as we were carrying on without any fear. The policy to woo the private sector has been further confirmed by the speech of the hon. Prime Minister delivered at the Federation of Chambers of Commerce recently. It was an interesting performance. It was a performance of mutual compliments. The tone of his speech was very different from the tone of his previous speeches. I hope now a good adjustment has come about between the private sector in this country and the Government. They went out to reassure the Government of their co-operation regarding the Five-Year Plan. We have yet to see how they deliver their co-operation.

I do not see anything in the Budget which would prevent the accumulation of capital in the hands of a few.

An Hon. Member: They do not want to.

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani: We were looking forward to this year's Budget with a special interest. This Budget is of peculiar significance because this is the first Budget presented to the country after the Five Year Plan has received the seal of approval of the nation. I thought that in this Budget there would be some clear indication of the changes in the economic and social set-up as enunciated as the objectives of the Plan. What are the objectives of the Plan, or at least some of the objectives of the Plan? I would like to quote a passage from the Book itself. I know the Government fights shy of using the word socialism; but, in enunciating the objectives they have come to near socialism. Here, the very first sentence says:

"The central objective of planning in India is to raise the standard of living of the people and to open to them opportunities for a richer and more varied life. Planning must, therefore, aim both at utilising more effectively the resources, human and material, available to the community so as to obtain from them a larger output of goods and services, and also at reducing inequalities of income, wealth and opportunity. A programme aiming only at raising output might result in most of the increased wealth flowing into the hands of a few, leaving the mass of the people in their present state of poverty. It would thus fail to achieve wider social objectives."

Again, at a later stage it says:

"While in the initial stages the accent of endeavour must be on increased production—because without this no advance is possible at all—our planning even in the initial stages should not be confined to stimulating economic activity within the existing social and economic framework."

Mark these words, please:

"That framework itself has to be remoulded so as to secure progressively for all members of the community full employment, education, security against sickness and other disabilities and adequate income."

I do not want to take up much of the time of the House. On page 17, under the heading, 'Reduction in Inequalities', the same sentiments have been expressed. Here, they go even a step further. They anticipate a social revolution, even though a non-violent revo-

[Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani]

lution. One of the methods by which they want to do away with inequalities in income is by the imposition of direct taxation. I can quote many other such ideas expressed in the objectives of the Five Year Plan. The question is how far we have tried to follow these objectives enunciated in the Plan.

The only concession to the lower income group has been the raising of the exemption limit in Income-tax to Rs. 4,200 in the case of individuals and Rs. 8,400 in the case of joint families. We welcome it. It will be a good relief to the very greatly oppressed middle classes. The hon. Finance Minister has been very plain about it. He has said that the relief is not merely to the tax-payer, but it is a relief also to the tax collector, because it takes away 70,000 assesses from the total of eight lakhs. We also welcome the appointment of the Taxation Enquiry Commission. Regarding the capacity of the people to pay taxes, views are divided. We hold that there is yet enough scope for direct taxation. I do not want to elaborate on this point for want of time. Yesterday our hon. friend Mr. Gadgil elaborated this point. We agree with him. On the other hand, the higher income group thinks that there is no scope for direct taxation, and the Government has increasingly fallen victim to the propaganda of the higher income groups. My hon. friend Mr. Hiren Mukerjee quoted certain figures by which he showed that gradually the balance has shifted from direct taxation to indirect taxation. So, we are gradually taxing more and more the poorer sections. That is why it is welcome that this matter should be gone into properly and scientifically by the Taxation Enquiry Committee and we may know the correct position as it stands. Then we would know where we stand and how we should raise the finances.

The deficit that will be caused by the raising of the exemption limit in Income-tax is proposed to be made up by the imposition of import duties on luxuries. We heartily approve of this. Not only is this a right way of taxation, but this will help to check the inflow of useless consumer goods which compete with our own manufactures. We also welcome the relief that is given to the indigenous betel-nut growers. We also appreciate the new items of allocation and larger allocation to social projects like education, village industries, etc. Regarding village industries, I should like to say a few words. We are very happy to see that at least the

Government thinks that it is worth while to give some attention to village industries, *khadi*, etc. You know, Sir, that *khadi* and village industries formed a basic part of Gandhiji's economic theory of decentralisation of production. We all hoped that when the Congress came into power, the details of this theory would be worked and implemented, because we believed that the best way of solving the unemployment problem in this country was by the development of village industries. We were greatly disappointed by the attitude of the Government immediately after they came into power. The attitude of the Government was one of indifference. They gave lip-service to the theory; but in actual practice, they gave no protection to these industries. I must say that there is now a welcome change in the attitude of the Government during the last few months. In the Plan they have admitted that the village industries should form the centre of programme of rural development. I am very happy to see that phrase. But, I do not know whether the planners realised the full implications of what they were saying. If village industry is to have a central place in the programme of rural development, it means that, as 90 per cent. of our people are living in the villages, village industry must form the central part of our national economy. In the Budget, do we see that revolution? What is adumbrated here means almost an economic revolution. But what do we see here? We see there is some goodwill. They have tried to give some subsidy to the cottage industries. But the importance of their statement is not reflected in their action. I am happy that some subsidy is being given to *khadi*. I will talk about *khadi* because I know something about it. *Khadi* has declined after the attainment of freedom. Why? Because *khadi* is losing its market. *Khadi* had a protected market. So what we want for the development of *khadi* is not a subsidy so much—we can do with a little subsidy—as a market for it. We want Government patronage. We want the Government to purchase *khadi* and help in selling and popularising the goods. We want a protected market. Then we want spheres of demarcation—what types of cloth—*khadi* or the cottage industries can produce and what can be produced by the mill industry. Then in areas where certain types of cottage industries produce are manufactured competitive mill products should be banned. I will give a very small example of which I have experience.

I have been seeing during the last few years the utensil making industry—utensils made of brass and copper—which was fairly flourishing in the country. We found so many people doing this work, but gradually during the last 15 years or so we have seen these beautiful brass and copper utensils being replaced by shoddy, cheap-looking aluminium and mill-made vessels and other stuff imported from the cities. So not only that industry has gone down but the art connected with that industry is also finished. Therefore, if we want to develop these cottage industries, we must ban the entry of certain types of goods—mill produced goods. I am sorry there is very little time. Otherwise, I would have gone into detail. Therefore, I think that if we really want to protect these cottage industries, we have to give them a protected market, we have to demarcate the spheres and we have to eliminate the competition of other goods. The factories should act as feeders to this industry. For instance, factories can supply yarn to the weavers in the villages. So what is needed in order to bring about the decentralisation of production, in order to give employment to our millions in the villages is not merely some kind of subsidy to this cottage industry or that cottage industry; what is needed is an overall integration of large and small-scale industries into the national economy. Unless that is done, unless an overall picture is before you, unless you make an over-all adjustment, these little things cannot go far enough. They are just like quack remedies; they bring some relief on the surface, but they do not cure.

When I was reading about it, I was reminded of one personal incident. About a year and a half ago I had a terrible accident. My car fell and I had a spinal fracture. They got hold of a quack doctor from the village. He came and saw my injury. Without realising that I had a spinal fracture, he painted my back with tincture iodine. So this reminds me of that. Applying tincture iodine on the surface when the spine is fractured is no remedy. The fractured spine has to be attended to.

Therefore, if we really believe in decentralisation of production, if we really believe that the unemployment problem is to be solved, then this method will not do; we have to integrate small-scale and large-scale industry properly in our national economy and give those industries protection.

Now, regarding the relation of the Five Year Plan to our Budget, I have to say something more. The Congress budget needs to be studied in relation to the Plan. We have to see how far the objectives and programme set forth by the Plan have been realised in practice.

Mr. Chairman: I do not like to ring the bell. But I would request the hon. Member to conclude. The hon. Member has already taken 15 minutes. There are very many others on the list who are very anxious to speak.

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani: I will take five minutes more, Sir. For Leaders of Parties . . .

Mr. Chairman: Leaders of Parties took their turn in the early two or three days. Just now . . .

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani: I was told I would get the first chance today. Yesterday I was ready to speak, but I had to give place to somebody else.

Mr. Chairman: I would only request the hon. Member to conclude as early as possible.

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani: I will be as brief as possible, Sir.

Now, I was speaking of the relation of the Five Year Plan to the Budget. We have to see how far the objectives and programmes set forth in the Five Year Plan have been realised in practice. In the Budget, we find no satisfactory answer. The budget papers supplied to us do not state the amounts actually spent in the first two years or the amount budgeted for the third year or the results achieved so far. When the Five Year Plan was introduced in November, we expected to get this information. At that time this information was not available. Now at least at the time of the Budget we thought this information would be available so that we would be in a position to assess the achievements of the Plan and see how the money has been spent. The Finance Minister just referred to it in his speech; I am glad to note that. But I do not see why, when the first year of the Plan is over and nearly a year has since passed, we cannot get a report of the first year of the Plan now. If that report had come to us, then we would have known what amount had been spent and Parliament would have got an opportunity to discuss both the achievement as well as the expenditure incurred.

I wanted to go on to deficit financing, but I am skipping it because of shortage of time and also because that matter has been referred to by many others. So I would take up something else.

[Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani]

There is one more point. In the Budget certain concessions have been made to foreign firms who are operating in India through their Indian subsidiaries. As far as this 'limited' question is concerned, I do not want to go into it. But I would take this opportunity to say something on the larger question involved—the question of foreign trade in India. We have been of late wooing foreign capital into India. We are told that we cannot develop our industries unless we get sufficient foreign capital. Well, there is difference of opinion on this point. Certain sections of people have grave misgivings about receiving too much foreign capital. But for the time being I will refer to trade. Why should we need foreigners in our trade, I do not understand. Trade does not require large capital, nor any special technical ability. Therefore, why do they encourage foreign incursion in the sphere of trade? There has been a tendency of late for some foreign firms to build integrated organisations. They are both producers and sellers and as a result, they are encroaching more and more in the field of Indian trade. In this matter I am very happy to note that I am not alone and I am in agreement with an august Member who occupies the Government Benches on the other side. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari in his speech at the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta, in December, 1952, has expressed the same fears which I have. He has said:

"While we welcome fresh foreign capital generally and encourage the existing concerns who are financed with foreign capital to continue their operations, Government do not propose to allow an unlimited field for foreign capital in the trading section. Speaking for myself, I am rather alarmed at the increasing tendency on the part of existing concerns to build up integrated organisations which do both the manufacturing and trading. There was a time when trading was largely left in the hands of Indian interests and this new feature is naturally very disconcerting to them. In the trading field, capital required is not so great, nor is technical ability of a high order needed. Government would naturally feel that under these circumstances, they ought to be left to indigenous enterprise and initiative."

So we share Mr. Krishnamachari's fear that we are allowing more and more foreign interests to encroach

5 P.M.

upon the sphere of trade. In this connection, I would like to remind the Government of their old promise regarding the nationalisation of the Imperial Bank. There was a complaint that the Government has failed to utilise the prestige and resources of the biggest commercial banking institution for implementing its policies and aiding Indian trade interests. Complaints have also come that in spite of the Indianisation of the Bank this Bank shows preference to foreign interests rather than to Indian interests. Mr. Shanmukham Chetty, the then Finance Minister promised to nationalise this Bank. I know that the Government has not accepted the over-all policy of nationalisation of banks and insurance companies. But they did make this specific promise regarding the Imperial Bank; yet nothing has been done. This Bank has at its disposal Rs. 250 crores. This money can very well be utilised for the Government's development purposes; it can be utilised for helping Indian trade and industry. Therefore, I do not know why there has been so much delay, in a matter in which the Government had promised.

One word more and I finish. The Finance Minister before completing his speech referred to the question of public co-operation. He says that without public co-operation nothing much can be done. I whole-heartedly agree with it and I feel that public co-operation is not forthcoming to the measure that the Government wants. The Five Year Plan is a tremendous venture. This tremendous venture cannot be successfully worked out without the co-operation of the people. I think that public co-operation is, perhaps, even more necessary than money for the working of these projects. Why is public co-operation not coming? Is it because the Indians are not willing to develop their country? They do want it. But public co-operation is not forthcoming in spite of repeated requests on the part of the Government because of something else. I would like to ask the Government Members to indulge in a little introspection and see whether instead of asking for public co-operation they could co-operate with the public and then see the change. We have got a national government. But in spite of the national government, the people do not feel, the man in the street does not feel that he is a citizen of a free State and that there is a national government. What is the attitude of the bureaucracy? The attitude of the bureaucracy towards the public is one of contempt, suspicion and not friendly. It is the

attitude of the superior to the inferior. No one would like to take co-operation from an inferior. You take co-operation from an equal. If the Government wants the co-operation of the people, the attitude of the bureaucracy must change. If you want the co-operation of the people you cannot get it by show of lathi, by the show of bullets. You cannot get it by curbing the civil liberties. You have to protect the citizens, and let them feel that you are here to lend a helping hand. Then I am sure co-operation will come in full measure for all your development projects.

Shri Jaipal Singh (Ranchi West—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): Sir, I want to raise a point of order. When the Chair calls an hon. Member to speak and he is not present in the House, what is the procedure? Does he or does he not lose his turn?

Mr. Chairman: I do not think there is any rigid rule that when a person is called and he is not present, then when he comes he loses his chance.

Shri S. S. More (Sholapur): Is the practice of calling the names of persons who are not present in the House correct? We should discontinue it.

Mr. Chairman: It is right that the Member must be present here when his name is called. I was thinking that when he has sent a chit, he must be present in the House. He instantly came here. I do not know why he should lose his right when he came in when the other Member had not even started the speech.

Shri S. S. More: I have nothing to say to Tandonji. On the contrary, I welcome some speech from him.

Mr. Chairman: There is no point in the objection raised and the position is clear.

श्री टंडन (जिला इलाहाबाद—पश्चिम) :
अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरे बोलने के सम्बन्ध में थोड़ी सी चहक उठ गयी। मुझे वह अच्छी लगी, इसलिये कि एक अवसर मुझे मिला कि मैं आप का और इस भवन का ध्यान एक कार्यक्रम के सम्बन्ध में यानी पार्लियामेंटरी प्रोसीड्योर के सम्बन्ध में दिला दूँ। साधारण रीति से कुल जगह विधान सभाओं और संसदों का यह नियम है कि कोई आदमी जब तक वह खड़ा नहीं होता, बुलाया नहीं जाता। मैंने बाहर जा कर आप के पास स्लिप भेजी।

मैं बूढ़ रहा था कि मुझे कोई आदमी मिले जिस की जरिए वह स्लिप भेजू। जब मैंने विधुप महोदय को बूढ़ निकाला तो उन के हाथ में मैंने वह पर्चा आप की सेवा में उपस्थित करने के लिए दे दिया। उसी समय एक सज्जन मुझ से खड़े २ बातें करने लगे, विधुप महोदय ने कहा कि आप तुरन्त अन्दर जायें। मैं तुरन्त अन्दर आया, तो मालूम हुआ कि मेरा नाम पुकार लिया गया। आज मुझे इस बात के कहने का अवसर मिला कि यहां जो यह पर्ची देने का क्रम चल रहा है, वह ठीक नहीं है। अगर यह बात न उठी होती तो शायद मैं इस तरफ आप का ध्यान न खींचता। मैं बजट पर बोलना चाहता था, लेकिन इस समय उचित है कि मैं इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ जरूर कह दूँ। मुझ को इन सभाओं का काम कैसे होना चाहिए इस का कुछ अनुभव है और अपने उस अनुभव के भरोसे पर मेरा निवेदन है और बहुत नम्र निवेदन है कि यहां जो क्रम है कि लोग बैठे हुए हैं, खड़े भी नहीं होते और स्लिप मात्र दे कर बैठे रहते हैं, उन का नाम बुलाया जाता है, यह तरीका संसद के उपयुक्त नहीं है।

उचित रास्ता यह है कि जिस को बोलना हो वह खड़ा हो, पर्चे या सूची का असर केवल यह होना चाहिए कि आप समझ लें कि अमुक दल के लोग अमुक को बुलवाना चाहते हैं। परन्तु जो खड़ा होता है उस का फिर से नाम पुकारा जाता है, यह साधारण विधान सभाओं का और ब्रिटिश हाउस आफ़ कामन्स का, जिस से कि हमने बहुत शिक्षा पाई है, तरीका है। वस, मैं इस विषय में और अधिक नहीं कहूंगा। अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं जानता हूँ कि यह आप के हाथ में नहीं है मगर मैं आपके द्वारा इस भवन के जो मुख्य स्पीकर हैं उन तक अपनी आवाज पहुंचाना चाहता हूँ कि आज के क्रम को मैं बिल्कुल गलत समझता हूँ। यह उस प्रकार का

[श्री टंडन]

हैं जैसे किसी स्कूल के दर्जे में लड़के बुलाये जायें और कहा जाय कि अब वह बोले और अब अमुक बोले। यह क्या है? यह उचित नहीं है। उचित तो यह है कि दोनों पक्ष के लोग अपने-अपने स्थानों पर खड़े हों और जिस को आप के जी में आये उस को बोलने के लिए कहें। यह साधारण क्रम है और इसी क्रम के अनुसार यहां पर काम होना चाहिए। अब मैं इस पर और अधिक न कह कर बजट पर आना चाहता हूँ।

यह जो अनुमानपत्र (बजट) आपने उपस्थित किया है, उस पर मुझे कुछ थोड़े से अपने विचार प्रकट करने हैं। जैसा कि स्वयं फ्राइनेंस मिनिस्टर (वित्त मंत्री) ने स्वीकार किया है यह अनुमानपत्र पंचवर्षीय योजना की छाया में बनाया गया है। इस बजट पर उस योजना का पूरा प्रभाव हो, यह स्वाभाविक है, ऋण लेने की बात इस में आई है और बड़ी बलपूर्वक आयी है। हमारा देश अपनी योजना की पूर्ति के लिये कर्जा लेगा और जो कुछ कर्जे लिए गये हैं वे भी सामने रक्खे गये हैं। मुझे उस विषय पर अधिक दूर तक जाना नहीं है, मगर ऐसा मुझे लगता कि बाहर से कर्जा लेने में ब्याज बहुत बढ़ा दिया गया है, आप ने चार रुपये चौदह आने तक की दरें खोली हैं, इस ब्याज की दर पर बाहर से आप को रुपया आया है, मुझे वह बहुत ज्यादा लगता है। जहां तक मेरी जानकारी है कोई भी सरकारी लोन (ऋण), जो इस समय देश में प्रचलित है, इस दर पर नहीं है। पुराने समय की बात में नहीं कह रहा हूँ, बहुत पहले हम ने इतना ब्याज दिया है, परन्तु इस समय जहां तक मुझे को याद पड़ता है देश में प्रचलित सूद की जो दर है वह कम है और यह चार रुपया

चौदह आने का ब्याज जो आज लोन लेने के लिए दिया जा रहा है अब तक की ब्याज की दरों से बढ़ कर है। यह कहां तक उचित है कि बाहर से तो ऋण प्राप्त करने के लिये आप इतना ब्याज देने को राजी हो जायें लेकिन यहां देने में इतनी सख्ती करें? वित्त मंत्री स्वयं इस विषय में काफी चतुर हैं। इस बड़ी हुई ब्याज की दर को मंजूर करने में कुछ कारण तो हैं ही। मैं भी अनुमान करता हूँ कि इस के लिए कुछ कारण हो सकते हैं। हो सकता है कि वह ऐसा समझते हों कि हमें रुपया बाहर से लाना चाहिए, क्योंकि अगर हम यहां से रुपया घसीट लेंगे तो दूसरे व्यापारियों को कठिनता होगी, या वह समझते हों कि अगर यहां साढ़े चार या पीने पांच देंगे तो सिक्युरिटीज के भाव गिर जायेंगे। वह तो गिर ही जायेंगे परन्तु गिराव चढ़ाव तो लगा ही रहता है। जब हम ब्याज नये ऋण पर कम देंगे तो पुराने ऋणों का भाव चढ़ जायगा और जब कुछ ज्यादा भाव पर नया लोन निकालेंगे तो पुरानों का भाव गिर जायगा, यह बराबर चला आया है। लेकिन इस समय हम बाहर तो बहुत ब्याज दें और अपने यहां सख्ती करें, इस का एक परिणाम यह हुआ कि जो जो आप ने लोन निकाले उन में कुछ बहुत सफलता नहीं मिली। मेरा अपना अनुमान है कि हम कुछ ब्याज बढ़ा देते तो बहुत अधिक रुपया आ सकता था। पर अनुमान पत्र में जो ब्याज की बात आई है पीने पांच रुपये और चार रुपये चौदह आने की, उस में कुल साढ़े पच्चीस करोड़ रुपये आप को बाहर से मिले हैं, करीब ५१ लाख डालर। मेरा तो अनुमान है कि यदि यहां के ब्याज की दर बढ़ा दी जाती तो यहां भी इतना रुपया आ जाता। लेकिन मुझे इस ब्याज के प्रश्न पर बहुत अधिक नहीं कहना है। मेरा विशेष निवेदन दो तीन और विषयों में है।

पंच वर्षीय योजना पर वित्त-मंत्री जी ने ठीक ही बल दिया है। उन का कहना है :

“The fulfilment of a programme of planned economic development depends not merely on the laying down of policies and making the finance available but on efficient administration and public co-operation.”

यह दो शब्द “पब्लिक कोआपरेशन” और “एफिशिएंट ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन” हीं कुंजी हैं इस योजना की सफलता की। पब्लिक कोआपरेशन अर्थात् सार्वजनिक सहयोग आप को तभी मिलेगा जब आप जैसा अभी कुछ भाईयों ने भी कहा, जनता से अधिक सम्पर्क फैलायें, जनता का स्नेह खींचें और जनता में भरोसा पैदा करें। एफिशिएंट ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन अर्थात् अच्छा प्रशासन उस विश्वास को आकर्षित करे। मेरे ऊपर असर यह है कि एफिशिएंट ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन की कमी है। जो बात कि ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में सब जगह चाहिये, मेरी बौछार किसी एक के ऊपर नहीं है, वह नहीं है। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि केन्द्रीय विभागों में रुपये की बचत के लिये खर्च में जितनी रोक थाम चाहिए उस की भी कमी है। मैं ने उस दिन उदाहरण दिया था उस विभाग का जिस का काम है कि वह दूसरों की जांच करे, यानी जो आडिट ऐंड ऐकाउन्ट्स का विभाग है। उस ऐकाउन्ट्स विभाग में किस प्रकार से जाली चेक एक कार्यकर्ता ने बनायी और उस ने यह कहा कि चाहे जितने रुपये का चेक हम से लो, मैं दे चुंगा, हिन्दुस्तान के किसी भाग में इम्पीरियल बैंक के ऊपर ! कैसे उस को हिम्मत बड़ी ? मुझ को तो आश्चर्य हुआ। त्यागी जी ने मुझ को फाइल दिखालाई। मैं उन को धन्यवाद देता हूं। प्रधान मंत्री जी ने उस दिन एलान किया था कि वह फाइल दिखायागे। मैं ने उसे देखा। फाइल

देखने के बाद मुझे कुछ नयी बातें अवश्य मालूम हो गईं। लेकिन मेरे ऊपर यह असर नहीं पड़ा कि मुकदमा उठा लेने की जो आज्ञा दी गई थी वह सही थी। इतना मुझे पता लगा कि उस आज्ञा में वित्त मंत्री जी का हाथ नहीं था, त्यागी जी का हाथ नहीं था, सेन्ट्रल रेवेन्यू वालों ने उसे नहीं दिया था। परन्तु आज्ञा दी गई, और जैसा मैं ने उस दिन कहा कि यह बड़ी अजीब आज्ञा थी। ऐसे जालसाजी के मुकदमे में आज्ञा दी जाय कि मुकदमा उठा लो, बिना उस आदमी का ब्यान लिये हुए, मुझे बड़ा अद्भुत लगा। उस आदमी का ब्यान होता तो कुछ बातें खुलतीं कि क्या हुआ, कौन उस में शरीक है, और वह स्वयं कैसे उस में शामिल हुआ। कहा गया कि वह बेचारा बीमार पड़ा है, त्यागी जी ने ब्यान दिया था कि नहीं मालूम वह जिन्दा भी है या मर गया है। मैं त्यागी जी से निवेदन करूंगा कि उस के घर से पुछवा लें कि उस के स्वास्थ्य का क्या हाल है। मैं ने सुना है कि वह बहुत तगड़ा है। यह जो उन्होंने समझा कि वह खाट पर पड़ा हुआ मरने वाला है, और हमारे गवर्नमेंट के विभाग को करुणा आ गई, वह ठीक नहीं था। वह करुणा शासन के योग्य नहीं थी। जब भीष्म पितामह घर शंया पर पड़े थे तब शासकों को एक सलाह उन्होंने दी थी, कहा था कि जो दुष्टों के ऊपर दया करता है और जो दीनों की रक्षा नहीं करता यह दोनों नर्क में जाते हैं। यह एक जीवित उदाहरण था जो मैं ने सरकार के सामने ला कर धरा था, ऐसा तो हर एक को मौका भी नहीं मिल सकता। मैं आप से कहता हूं कि केन्द्रीय गवर्नमेंट की छाया में भ्रष्टाचार बहुत बढ़ा हुआ है। जो राज्यों की गवर्नमेंटें हैं वहां भी खूब फंला है, मगर केन्द्रीय शासन से जिन लोगों का सम्बन्ध है, उन में बहुत अधिक फंला है। चेतावनी की आवश्यकता है।

[श्री टंडन]

म वित्त मंत्री जी से और क्या कह सकता हूँ ? वह तो सब जगह पहुंच नहीं पाते । लेकिन कड़ाई की जरूरत है, सोचने की जरूरत है । त्यागी जी ने बड़ी चतुरता से सोच कर रास्ता बनाया कि जो छिपे हुए इनकम टैक्स हैं उन को निकालें । मैं उन को बधाई देता हूँ । वह यह सोचें कि यह भ्रष्टाचार जो लोगों के भीतर घुसा हुआ है उस से वह कैसे अपनी रक्षा करें ।

जो बात इस योजना के सम्बन्ध में उस दिन जेदी जी ने कही थी वह मुझ को अच्छी लगी थी । हमारा सम्पर्क जनता से इस प्रकार से होना चाहिये कि हम उन की आवश्यकता को देख कर अपनी योजना बनावें बजाय इस के कि थोड़े से आदमियों ने यह तय किया कि हम ऊपर से कुछ योजनायें जनता पर ला दें । उस से अच्छा यह होता कि हम जनता के सहयोग से योजना बनायें । मेरा खुद यह ध्यान रहा है कि हमारी योजना के मुख्य कामों में हमें गांवों की तरफ ज़्यादा ध्यान देना चाहिये । यह जो बड़ी बड़ी योजनायें हैं वह अंत में आ कर शायद कुछ लाभ करेंगी परन्तु चाहिये यह था कि हम आरम्भ में ही जनता के उत्साह को बढ़ाते, गांवों के अन्दर जा कर उन के लिये रास्ता निकालते, उन के लिये उद्योग सोचते । कितनी बेकारी चारों तरफ फैली है, लोगों की यह बेकारी बढ़ती जा रही है, लोग गांवों को छोड़ छोड़ कर शहरों में आ रहे हैं । इस को रोकने की आवश्यकता है । पहली योजना यह होनी चाहिए थी । गांवों को ऐसा बना कर आप बड़ी बड़ी करोड़ों रुपयों की स्कीमें बाद में सोचते । पहले गांवों में जा कर कुछ आदर्श गांव बसा देते । हर राज्य के अन्दर, और हो सके तो हर जिले के अन्दर दो-दो चार-चार ऐसे गांव बसा दें सन्दर गांव । अ.ज

के गांव गन्दे हैं । घर ऐसे हों कि उसके साथ बागीचा हो । मैं ने एक विचार पहले दिया था, फिर उस को रखता हूँ, हर घर बाटिका-गृह हो, देखिये तो कि इस से कितनी सुन्दरता फैल सकती है । ऐसे घर न बनने दें जिन में आधी एकड़ भूमि न हो । आधी एकड़ भूमि के साथ हर घर बनाइये, देखिये कितना सौन्दर्य फैलता है और देखिये कि किस तरह से लोग इस की तरफ खिंचते हैं । आज हमारे घर गन्दे हैं, गांवों में जा कर ठहरिये तो थोड़ी देर में भागने की आवश्यकता मालूम होती है । गांवों को सुन्दर बनाइये । स्वास्थ्य की समस्या को हल कीजिये । आज दवा लिये हुए लोग पुकारते फिरते हैं कि टीका लगवा लो । व्यर्थ की बात है । उन से कोई स्वास्थ्य सुधरने वाला है ? यह तो चौपट करने वाला है । यह रास्ता नहीं है । गांवों को स्वच्छ बनाइये, यही स्वास्थ्य रक्षा का मार्ग है ।

अब मैं थोड़े से शब्द उस विषय पर कहना चाहता हूँ जो हमारे भाई डा० महमूद ने छेड़ा था । बड़ा अजीब विषय उन्होंने छेड़ा । जब विभाजन हो रहा था, हमारे भाईयों की मालूम है कि, मेरी कठोर ध्वनि उस के विरुद्ध उठी थी । मैं ने विभाजन का घोर विरोध किया था । मैं जानता था कि कांग्रेस क्विग कमेटी ने उस के पक्ष में राय दी थी, गांधी जी से मेरी बातें हुई । गांधी जी ने मुझ से कहा कि वे इस को ठीक नहीं समझते, वह इस के विरुद्ध है । मैं ने निवेदन किया कि बापू जी मैं आप के साथ हूँ । उन्होंने तय किया कि वह उस का विरोध करेंगे । परन्तु मैं तो दिल्ली से चला गया था । फिर जब आल इण्डिया कांग्रेस कमेटी की बैठक हुई और उस में वह प्रश्न आया तो उन्होंने कह कि

में क्या करूं मैं नई वर्किंग कमेटी कहां से लाऊं। यह कह कर उन्होंने इस को छोड़ दिया। परन्तु उस विषय को मुझे यहां नहीं लेना है। पाकिस्तान बन गया। मैं इतना ही कह सकता हूं कि बहुत बड़ी भूल हुई, कांग्रेस की, जिस में मैं भी शामिल था, यद्यपि मैं ने कठोर विरोध किया था और मैं ने कहा था कि गांधी जी भूल कर रहे हैं और मेरा हृदय आज भी कह रहा है कि गांधी जी ने भूल की, कुल वर्किंग कमेटी ने भूल की। परन्तु अब वह हो गया। आज उस को छोड़ना व्यर्थ है। डाक्टर महमूद ने उस विषय को छोड़ा और कहा कि पाकिस्तान और हिन्दुस्तान कुछ विषयों में मिल जायें। मैं उस का स्वागत करूंगा, इस समय मैं इतना ही कह सकता हूं। उन्होंने यह विषय छोड़ दिया तो मैं यह कहता हूं कि मुसलमानों को इस विभाजन से बड़ा फायदा नहीं हुआ। अगर वह साथ रहते तो अच्छा था। लेकिन मैं इस विषय को यहीं छोड़ता हूं। मैं इस का स्वागत करता हूं और मैं समझता हूं कि गवर्नमेंट भी इस का स्वागत करेगी कि अगर सम्भव हो सके तो डिफेंस के मामले में और कुछ और मामलों में हम मिल कर काम करें

इस के अतिरिक्त मुझे कुछ शिक्षा के विषय में भी कहना है। आज की शिक्षा के विषय में कई बार डाक्टर राजेन्द्र प्रसाद यह मत प्रकट कर चुके हैं कि इसे बदलना चाहिए। कई मंत्रियों ने भी यह विचार प्रकट किया है कि यह शिक्षा उचित नहीं है, इसे बदलना चाहिए। मैं देखना चाहता हूं कि किस प्रकार का परिवर्तन होता है। आवश्यकता यह है कि जो लड़के हजारों की तादाद में हर साल निकलते हैं वह इस लायक बनाये जायं कि वह अपनी जीविका कमा सकें। ऐसा न हो कि वह गांव छोड़ कर शहरों में आने का प्रयत्न करें। स विषय में मुझे केवल इतना ही कहना है।

एक विषय और है। वह है हिन्दी का विषय जो मुझे प्रिय है। मैं जानता हूं कि कुछ मिनिस्टर्स का उस तरफ ध्यान है। मेरा एक सुझाव है। शिक्षा विभाग ने एक हिन्दी समिति बनायी है। मेरा सुझाव है कि एक ऐसी योजना बना दीजिये, त्रिवर्षीय या पंच वर्षीय, कि वह समिति हर साल इतने ग्रन्थ निकाला करे। मैं चाहता हूं कि यह समिति कम से कम पचास ग्रन्थ हर साल छापे।

श्री स्यागी ; किस सिलसिले के ग्रन्थ ?

श्री टंडन : उन विषयों के जिन की आवश्यकता आज हमारे देश में है। यह ग्रन्थ भिन्न भिन्न विषयों पर होने चाहिएं, जैसे अर्थ शास्त्र पर, राजनीति पर, वैज्ञानिक विषयों पर, रसायन शास्त्र पर, और रसायन शास्त्र के भिन्न भिन्न अंगों पर, पदार्थ विज्ञान के भिन्न भिन्न अंगों पर, इलेक्ट्रिसिटी पर, साउंड पर, लाइट पर। इन विषयों पर ऊंचे ऊंचे ग्रन्थ होने चाहियें। अगर आज आप इलेक्ट्रिसिटी पर कोई ऊंचा ग्रन्थ निकालें तो उस की बहुत आवश्यकता है। ऐस्ट्रानामी पर, गणित पर, गणित के एक एक विभाग पर ग्रन्थ निकालिये इन विषयों पर हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन के परिश्रम से कुछ ग्रन्थ निकले हैं। लेकिन किसी भी संस्था के पास अधिक रुपया नहीं है, उस के पास रुपये की कमी है। आप के पास रुपये की कमी नहीं है। आप एक करोड़ रुपया ग्रन्थ छापने के लिये अलग रख दीजिये, यह कोई बड़ी रकम नहीं है। यहां तो अरबों का खेल है। पैनी वाइज और पाउंड फुलिश न बनिये। यह आपको बहुत बड़ा ब्याज देगा। आप यह काम उस समिति के सुपुर्द कीजिये और उस समिति में पार्लियामेंट के सदस्यों को रखिये, केवल सरकारी नौकरों को नहीं। कुछ

[श्री टंडन]

ऐसे लोगों को रखिये जो जाने हुए विद्वान हैं, जिन में यह ज्ञान है कि किन किन विषयों पर ग्रन्थों की आवश्यकता है। और इन ग्रन्थों को तेजी से लिखाइये। जिस अच्छे लेखक का पता चले उस को रखिये। मैं ने सुना है कि आप के यहां एक डिक्शनरी बनायी गयी है। मैं ने सुना है कि यह एक छोटा सा कोष है और उस पर हजारों रुपया, खर्च हो गया है। हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन ने भी बहुत स कोष बनाये हैं परे हमारा इतना रुपया खर्च नहीं हुआ। हमारे भी लगभग ३० हजार रुपये खर्च हुए मगर गवर्नमेंट का सा खर्च नहीं हुआ। हम ने कोई १४ या १५ कोष छपवाये हैं। मगर आप का इस में खर्च बहुत हुआ है, पूरी देखभाल नहीं है। मेरा सुझाव है, कि इस ओर अधिक ध्यान दें।

दूसरे मेरा उन मंत्रियों से जो यहां बठे हुए हैं यह निवेदन है कि वह हिन्दी को अप विभागों में चलाने का यत्न करें। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि संविधान के विरुद्ध ऐसा किया जाय। मैं वैधानिक हूं। मैं संविधान के विरुद्ध आप से कुछ नहीं कहूंगा। मेरा कथन है कि वित्त मंत्री जी का भाषण हम सामने है। क्या यह भाषण हिन्दी में भी नहीं छप सकता था? माननीय लाल बहादुर जी ने अपना भाषण हिन्दी में भी छपवा दिया था। मेरा निवेदन है कि आप अंग्रेजी में रखिये, किन्तु जो आप का सरकारी साहित्य निकले वह अगर हिन्दी में भी आवे तो इस से भी हिन्दी बढ़ेगी। मैं मानता हूं कि इस में कुछ ज्यादा रुपया खर्च होगा। मेरा तात्पर्य इन थोड़े से पन्नों से ही नहीं है, यह जो आप बड़े बड़े पोथे छपवाते हैं, यह जो चार वाल्यूम में आप ने बजट डिमांड छपवाये हैं, इन को अंग्रेजी के साथ साथ हिन्दी में भी छपवा सकते थे।

श्री स्वामी : बहुत देर लगती।

श्री टंडन : यह ठीक है। लेकिन क्या आपको मालूम है कि हमारी उत्तर प्रदेश, गवर्नमेंट ने कई वर्षों से यह कर के दिखा दिया है। वहां वर्षों अंग्रेजी में और हिंदी में भी बजट छपा है, और मेरा अनुमान है कि आज भी हिन्दी और अंग्रेजी दोनों में वहां बजट छपता है।

श्री सी० डी० बेशमुख : विधान के अनुसार तो वह रोमन में होना चाहिए।

श्री टंडन : जी नहीं ! आप थोड़ी देर के लिये भूल गये। आप को याद नहीं है। विधान नहीं संविधान के अनुसार वह नागरी में छपेगा, नागरी अक्षरों में, परन्तु आप विलायती अंकों का प्रयोग कर सकते हैं, उसमें यह है कि नागरी अक्षर होंगे, हिन्दी भाषा होमी, परन्तु आप अंग्रेजी अंकों का प्रयोग कर सकते हैं। इस के लिए भी संविधान में यह शर्त है कि आप राष्ट्रपति से आज्ञा ले कर जिस के अर्थ आप खुद हैं, अर्थात् गवर्नमेंट से आज्ञा ले कर नागरी अंकों का भी प्रयोग कर सकते हैं। मैं आपको सुझाव देता हूं कि आप इस को हिन्दी भाषा, नागरी अक्षरों और नागरी अंकों में छापें। नागरी में अंग्रेजी अंकों की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। क्योंकि जो हिन्दी नहीं जानते हैं उनके लिये आप अंग्रेजी में छापते ही हैं। आप उस समय संविधान सभा में नहीं थे। शायद इसलिये आपको यह याद नहीं है।

श्री स्वामी : मैं तो आप के साथ ही लड़ा हूं।

श्री टंडन : यह जो अंकों का प्रयोग है यह तो एकाउंटेंट जनरल के भाषण को बजट से उठा था। उस समय यह ख्याल था कि अगर नागरी अंक आ गये तो उन के दफ्तर

में मुश्किल पड़ेगी। लेकिन जो चीज़ अंग्रेजी में छपती है अगर उस को हिन्दी भी छपा जाय तो इस तरह का झगड़ा नहीं पड़ सकता। यह थोड़े से खर्च की बात है। उस दिन मैं ने रेलवे विभाग को इस विषय में सुझाव दिया था। आज मैं और सारे विभागों को यह सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ। मैं बराबर देखता हूँ कि हर विभाग का जो भी साहित्य हमारे पढ़ने के लिये छपता है वह अंग्रेजी में छपा है। इस को आप १५ वर्ष तक अंग्रेजी में छारें लेकिन कृपया हिन्दी में भी छापें। आप देखेंगे कि इस से हिन्दी का प्रचार बढ़ेगा। यह मेरा आप को सुझाव है। इस तरह आप अपनी ओर से हिन्दी को चलाने में सहायक होंगे।

Shri S. S. More: I propose to be as brief as it is possible. This Budget, Sir, I should like to describe as a budget of defeat and distress. I call this budget, one of defeat because Government started their policy of appeasing the big industrialists in 1948. Since then so many concessions have been made to the industrialists and even in this Budget some more concessions have been made to the industrialists. Deficit financing is nothing else but a device to appease big industrialists who have thus defeated the Government. I call it also a budget of distress because the indirect taxes are going up, mounting up, and it is elementary to know that when indirect taxes go on mounting up they add to the distress of the common man, the family man, who has not sufficient means to stand these indirect taxes, and whose standard of living is automatically depressed.

In the Five Year Plan, it is stated that the object of the Plan is to enrich the life of the common man. That is the declaration, but the performance is in the opposite direction and therefore, the proportion of indirect taxes has gone up. My hon. friend Mr. Gadgil yesterday made a very good speech. He spoke for the masses. Unfortunately, when he was a Minister he was speaking in a different strain; but the moment he became an ex-Minister he started taking up the cause of the common man. All the ex-Ministers are, so to say, on the side of the Opposition and all the present Ministers are on that—treasury—side!

I would request the Prime Minister to increase the production of this commodity, the ex-Ministers. The better it will be because they will be speaking in our favour. I do support some of the statements made by Mr. Gadgil. But I have not the time to go into detail about the different items.

Now, there are many Members who are hoodwinked by the so-called, ostensible, concessions made by the Finance Minister to some persons in the lower income group. The minimum limit of Income-tax has been raised as far as the individual is concerned to Rs. 4,200 and in the case of undivided families it is raised to Rs. 8,400. What is the amount that has been given by way of this concession? Rs. 82 lakhs. and as far as the Central Government is concerned only Rs. 40 lakhs have been conceded by the Central Government.

But there is the indirect taxation. What is the tune of the indirect taxation? There is a rise in import duties which will bring to Government a sum of Rs. 3.5 crores. There is a rise in postal rates which will bring to the Government a sum of Rs. 1.9 crores. I should like this House to consider in all earnestness from whose pockets all these indirect taxes will be coming to the Government.

Toilet articles have been taxed. I do not know why the Finance Minister should be so much against these toilet articles. Particularly he has hit hard at the ladies. If he wants to have the co-operation of the general public, by imposing import duties on these toilet articles he is alienating the female section of the populace. I believe no lady will be coming forward to co-operate, because our ladies will not have sufficient powder, lip-stick and other blandishments. Possibly those who are married recently may know the usefulness of all these things, but I do not know. I ask: why these duties on toilets? In the case of middle class families, in the case of our daughters going to schools and colleges, and even in the case of our wives, these toilet articles have become a necessity. If they are given the option whether they would purchase milk or powder—I am not talking about milk-powder but face-powder—then they will go in for powder and not for milk, because this has become an article of necessity.

Then I come to the postal rates. Who is going to pay these high postal rates? Book posts will bear the tax. Just as the taxes on toilet articles are a tax on beauty, these postal rates to some extent are a tax on knowledge. It is

[Shri S. S. More]

the middle class people who are interested in books. The publishing houses are there, but all these rates will be coming indirectly from the pockets of the middle class people, the educated classes.

The clever Finance Minister, trying to appease some section, has said: well, I am giving you concessions of Rs. 82 lakhs by reducing Income-tax. But he will be drawing at the same time something like rupees four crores and 05 lakhs mostly from the middle classes. That is a fact which we should not miss, and many speakers have missed it.

Then, deficit financing has been resorted to. I believe that deficit financing is the last resort of a government; it is the last device which a government should use in order to supplement their resources or finance their schemes. But before embarking on that a vigorous drive for economy ought to have been made. I believe the Finance Minister said last year that he was in search of economy and he did not find economy. Even this time he said that the search for economy is a continuous process. You know, Sir, of the golden deer that Ram went after in order to shoot it down; but it eluded him all along with the result that Sita was lost to Ram. The same thing is happening here. Economy, like the golden deer, is eluding the Ram of our Finance Minister. I do not know what he will lose—possibly the Sita of public sympathy will be lost. My question is: is there not any scope for economy? I have no time to go into details. But what about the salaries of our high officials? I am not going into that aspect at this stage. But we are importing so many foreign experts, and what is the salary we are paying to them?

With your permission, Sir, I may give some facts. For the river projects forty-one American experts have been imported. And at what rate? I am giving you a classified list. On 7,200 dollars per annum, one officer, 7,500 dollars net per annum, one officer, 6,400 dollars per annum, one officer. Then on 9,000 dollars per annum, fifteen officers. Then 10,200 dollars per annum, ten officers—ten thousand and two hundred dollars for each individual. Then 10,500 dollars, six officers. 11,000 dollars per annum, one officer. 11,700 dollars per annum, four officers. 13,600 dollars per annum, one officer. And on 50,000 dollars, one officer. This is net. In addition to that, they are given some other allowances. One officer is given 200 dollars

net per month. What is the description of that allowance is not given. Then 30 dollars per month car allowance. Then 25 dollars per month for storage of personal effects. I cannot understand this. Possibly the Finance Minister will be in a position to explain. In addition to these, these specialists are being allowed an addition of Rs. 100 per month per child sent to school in India (other than in Nangal Township); for every child Rs. 100 per month.

What are the qualifications of these forty-one experts? According to the statement supplied by Government in reply to a question in the Council of States on the 26th February, out of these forty-one officers only eight officers have some university qualifications and thirty-three have no qualifications; they have acquired all the expert knowledge by going through every stage of actual working in the factories, or somewhere else where they got all this knowledge. Some of them have been shown as "B.S.". I do not know what B.S. means. (An Hon. Member: An American degree.) I interpret it as *Bekar* (unemployed) Scientists.

I want to quote Mahatma Gandhi in this connection. He went to the Round Table Conference as our emissary. And when he was speaking before the Federal Structure Committee he said—they were then discussing the Supreme Court—he addressed the Britisher and said: "you are a financial giant, we cannot afford to pay the salaries that you think of, we are in terms of wealth dwarfs". In India there is ample talent which is prepared to place itself at the disposal of the country's cause for no payment or a pittance of a payment for bettering the life of a common man. We are forgetting Mahatma Gandhi's previous words. Mahatma Gandhi is only useful to us for the purpose of showing his *Samadhi* to foreigners and placing bouquets. Even Sardar Patel, when he presided over the Karachi Congress said that we could not afford to think of paying high salaries in India and that there would be lot of people who would be prepared to serve the country at the rate which this poor country can afford to pay. Still these foreign experts are being imported.

In this context I want to refer to the Taxation Enquiry Commission which has been announced by the Finance Minister. What is its personnel? Dr. John Matthai. I have nothing to say personally against him. He is a great

and eminent economist I know but he is one of the capitalists. He was one of the parties to the Bombay Plan. Then, who else? The present announcement is of the same pattern of the Todhunter Committee of 1924, exactly the same replica. It had only one foreign expert. I have no time to refer to that. Now the Finance Minister is more generous. He says two foreign experts will be associated with this Committee. Is not the Finance Minister himself one of the eminent experts of this country?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: No.

Shri S. S. More: Why should we have foreign aid and foreign experts? Do these foreign experts assimilate the life of the people? Sir, you are looking at the clock. I am trying to conclude. These foreign experts, so-called foreign experts, have no idea about the life of our people. I refer you to an article just appeared in the 15th February issue of Shankar's Weekly over the signature of 'Magnus'. He refers to one Dr. Finch who has been appointed the Head of one of our great National Laboratories at Poona. Some pressmen assembled at Poona had gone to see this great institution and had some talk with this great expert—he had gone out of employment some 15 years back but we revived his scientific knowledge and imported him here. He says to the pressmen, "Stop production of jaggery and start sugar mills everywhere. You stop *ghani* mills and start oil crushing mills everywhere". Then he says, "If you want to win the heart of the villager, go to him with a fishing rod and a shot gun". That is his idea about the Indian mind.

I have not got the time. I would like to say that before we resort to deficit financing, we must make an all-round drive for economy using indigenous intelligence is one of the measures of economy. Pandit Nehru was devoting all his life to the country's cause without receiving a pie. So many other Congressmen are also there. I have left the Congress. But I have not lost my regard for those Congress people who were very vigorously, and for no monetary gain—serving the cause of the country. Therefore, I plead "Give Indians a chance". We built the Taj Mahal. We built so many other irrigation projects. No American expert was imported when Taj Mahal was built. Give every chance to the local intelligence.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member should conclude now. He has already spoken for 17 minutes.

526 P.S.D.

Shri S. S. More: When we are discussing a budget going over Rs. 430 crores, 15 or 16 minutes are not enough. I would plead here and particularly request the Finance Minister—he holds the purse in his hands, I know it is not Nehru who is really ruling, it is not Nehru's democracy, it is Deshmukhocracy, I say we are under Deshmukhocracy because he is ruling the purse—to give a chance to the Indian talent. I know he is one of the eminent sons of this country. He is not out to serve like any other men. He is going with a placard on their forehead saying "intelligence on sale for the highest price". He has, I may say, the best of motives for this country and I would say that when you are taking up irrigation projects, employ indigenous talent at the cost that we can afford. In the initial stages we may make some mistakes. Our Sardar Patel had said that we must have the freedom to commit mistakes. It is only by the method of trial and error that a country can go forward bringing discipline, prosperity and happiness. That is what I wanted to submit.

Pandit Fotedar (Jammu and Kashmir): Yesterday, Col. Zaidi, while offering his estimate on the financial statement presented to the House by the hon. Finance Minister, observed that we are having these discussions under the shadow of the Five Year Plan, but here I would like to supplement his observation by saying that these discussions are strictly in accordance with the provisions of the Five Year Plan but it is a fact that we are having discussions under the shadow of what happens in the world today. Today we are discussing the budget at a time when many things of grave import are fashioning themselves in the world, when the whole world which goes by the name of the two power blocs is almost arrayed in war formation, when the entire atmosphere around us is saturated with a feeling of insecurity, with anxiety and with fear. In our own country, the great Republic of India, I find once again ugly forces of communalism and reactionarism and anti-national and anti-social elements are raising their head in some parts of India, particularly in the metropolis. These forces are directed towards disturbing and disintegrating the society and to subvert authority if possible and to make all progress, which we design to achieve through Five Year Plan impossible. It is interesting to observe that these acts of communal frenzy, and disruption have diabolically conspired to manifest themselves simultaneously both in Pakistan and in India and it is an interesting coincidence. I feel the time

[Pandit Fotedar]

has come when all the patriots of this country, all those who love progress, who love their country much more than their lives, who have suffered in the struggle for all these decades and who will suffer in the years to come in order to establish India and the cherished high ideals it stands for, our own country, based on certain fundamental basis and on certain human values, should take stock of things around them and can ill afford to look on with equanimity on what is happening, because I feel something full of dangerous potentialities is happening in India today. Pakistan became a reality. The authors of Pakistan were very jubilant that they got Pakistan and got India divided on the basis of communal frenzy. Then they were ringing their bells but today they are having it in their neck and they are wringing their hands. The whole defect was in the way they approached a certain problem. They taught hatred, communal frenzy and are having it back with dividend. Even amongst the Muslims, there are Ahmedias and Qadians and who knows what more? I would like to pose this question to the Parliament of the teeming millions. Are we going to have that same thing which happened in our country in 1947, the great tragedy that descended on our country, this great India of *Rishtis* and *Munis* of yore, when millions of our countrymen were put on the move penniless, helpless, homeless and breadless, when people indulged in activities, which would degrade even the brute. Should we repeat that very thing, which shattered the economy of our country and threatened the territorial integrity and completely disrupted our social order. Should we not make a headway? There are many elements at the present moment in our country who in the name of democracy, in the name of Hindudom, in the name of Bharat, have raised a slogan and given a challenge to the entire Congress, to those sacred principles of secularism and the like for the establishment of which the whole nation suffered and struggled. But then what has been made the base? For the achievement of such a sinister, and insidiously dangerous objective Jammu has been made both a base and a pretext. Jammu, I may assure the House, is only a sort of a link in a great chain of political conspiracy, which is there to subvert authority, which is there to make us play into the hands of, who knows, which external force, which master mind or which resourceful brain. Who knows which indigenous or foreign brain is at the bottom

of this trouble and behind the scene? Who knows what efforts are being made at the present moment to make India once again a creature of some imperial domination of this or that power bloc? But unfortunately, we take all these things very lightly. There may be something wrong about the Budget. We may have objections about deficit financing, we may have objections against foreign loans, and we may have objections against the taxation, and the Budget not being according to our own requirements. There may be omissions and lacunas and other things. But in a country where there is no peace, a condition pre-requisite towards all kinds of development, where there is fissiparousness, and where all sorts of things are allowed to go on unhampered and unchecked, how can we have peace and take strides towards progress and economic regeneration and how can we raise this great sub-continent of ours to the legitimate position in the comity of nations, which it deserves?

I would say one thing, that Muslim communalism divided India. But today, the Hindu communalism is out to disrupt the country and to have Balkanisation and to see that everything is lost, which Indians had achieved through years of suffering, sacrifice, turmoils and all sorts of hardships. Today, about Jammu, many a thing is said. But why? The answer is not far to seek. Opportunists of the type of the present day communal and reactionary leaders, who are out today for personal aggrandisement at the expense of the country's larger interest and unity, were the people who after the transference of power by the Britishers crept in to Treasury Benches and remained held on to the apron strings of the Government, when it suited them. Then there was nothing wrong with the policy of the Government of India followed in Kashmir. But when the elections came, they appeared in their true colours and measured strength with the Congress, believing that the Congress had lost the confidence of the people. They were completely routed. At the Centre, the Congress formed a majority and a stable administration. In 25 out of 28 States, the Congress got the Government. Now, their question is how to undo all that? They could not achieve their objective, through constitutional methods and the vote of the people. They want therefore to arouse the sentiments of the Hindus on religious basis, so as to smash completely the fabric which it has taken several years to build up and thereby to subvert

authority and if possible to capture the administration.

I have not got much time at my disposal, though I would like to speak many a thing about Jammu, about how Jammu is being made a pawn on the chessboard of power-politics, about how Jammu has been made the cat's paw to play into the hands of foreigners and imperialists. The time will come when the whole nation will agree with me that there is the positive hand of one power-bloc or the other, in this whole conspiracy, which is out to disrupt the whole nation. I would sound a note of warning at this hour of this country's trial, at this hour of the country's economic, social and political development, that we should take stock of things around us and act properly, wisely and courageously. Otherwise, we shall have to repent, and posterity will be compelled to record a decree that their forefathers committed a political suicide, while of an unsound mind.

Shri Jaipal Singh: So many people have already felicitated the hon. Finance Minister, that I hope he will not take it amiss, if I go straight to what I have to say to the Treasury Benches. Once again, I make a very serious grievance against the Members of Government, for the most indifferent, almost contemptuous way, they treat this House, when there is a general discussion of the General Budget. Today, just now, for example, only two Cabinet Ministers are present, whereas the discussion has to cover the full ambit of general finance. This is a very very serious matter indeed, and that brings me on to the main theme which I hope to develop in the few minutes you have given me to hold out my views.

I do believe, now that we are independent, we must get away from the British shackles and the British procedure that were adopted in those Treasury Benches, when the nationalist strugglers on this side were shouting to get information about Defence. Everything then was a matter of State. Even in this Parliament, again and again, whenever questions have been asked of the Minister of Defence, either the present officiating Defence Minister or his young deputies have been giving bluffing and evasive answers and incorrect information. It may be that the same old game is being played by the Minister of Defence to Members of Parliament, who have a right to get correct information. After all, the M.Ps. are the elected representatives of the people. Nearly half the General Budget is spent on the

Ministry of Defence, for the matter of national security. When it comes to the question of defence of the realm, I am not prepared to accept the rosy picture that the Treasury Benches have given to the country. Fully accepting that the requirements of national security do set the limit to expenditure on Defence, I feel that we, in this House, who are responsible for voting the Demands for Grants, are entitled to a correct picture of the question of defence. I fully appreciate the fact that there are some things which are secret, and, which cannot be given out in the open forum. If there is such a thing, then surely this Parliament can sit in Committee or *in camera*, but, nevertheless, whatever be the position, this Parliament is entitled to the fullest information about the state of our defence in this country.

Shri Tyagi: What information has not been given? I am surprised.

Shri Jaipal Singh: I would ask my hon. friend Mr. Tyagi to be a little patient and listen to what his own boss has stated on the floor of the House, during his budgetary performance only a few days ago. He said that there can be no question of any large-scale reduction in the size of the armed forces, so long as there is any danger to the country's security. Then, my hon. friend Mr. Tyagi's boss goes on to say:

"While this over-riding consideration exists, I can hold out no hope of any substantial reduction in defence expenditure in the immediate future."

Mark the words, 'I can hold out no hope', and 'substantial reduction:..... in the immediate future'. He has let the cat out of the bag. I am not thinking in terms of our security being endangered, but the blunt truth is there, that at the present moment, our Defence is not all wonderful. I shall take for instance, only the Indian Air Force, on which I shall have plenty to say, when we come to the voting of the Demands for Grants. I shall give the details, and let my hon. friend Mr. Tyagi challenge my figures. He must remember that there are some people who are more interested in the actuality of the effectiveness of our defence, than in the sort of bluffing replies we get from the Treasury Benches.

6 P.M.

From this Budget, I find that Rs. 522 crores were not spent last year, through non-receipt of supplies. I would like to know from my hon. friend the officiating Defence Minister, what we did not get. Was it fighter-aircraft,

[Shri Jaipal Singh]

was it tanks or what was it? How is it that we were unable to get the supplies? And how is it that we were not able to spend that Rs. 5.22 crores? This Parliament, and this House are entitled to detailed information on things like that. I do not want any secrets. If my hon. friends from the other side are foolish enough to believe, that there is anything secret in this country, well, I would only say that they are living in a fool's paradise. That is all that I can say. I will give the figures to the Minister of Defence, when the discussion comes on, and let them challenge my figures, if they like. I am not the person who goes about the Secretariat, trying to get figures. These figures are matters of public knowledge. Now, take the question of the Indian Air Force. At the time of the partition, the Air Force assets that were distributed were in the ratio of 5 or 6 to 1. What is the ratio today? It is 2:1. My hon. friend the Finance Minister tells us that the Navy and the Air Force are expanding services. In the overall total allocation between the three Arms, according to his own figures, which I find he has subsequently changed in the list of the Demands, the Army gets 80 per cent., the Navy gets six per cent., and the Indian Air Force, according to his own original figures gets only 14 per cent. Now, between his first speech the other day and the printed Demands, he has changed these figures. Take the Indian Air Force. I am only instancing to prove my case. According to the original Budget, it was 25.2 crores. Now, he has chopped off 1.56 crores and the amount is 23.64 crores. Coming to the Ministry, I do not want to go into more details. But, I do plead with the Treasury Benches that the time has come when this House, at any rate, must be taken into full confidence because there are enough scandals within the Ministry of Defence. I am not talking of the Ministry as such; but I refer to the amount voted. We have already heard of the Jeeps scandal, the ammunition purchase scandal. I shall give some facts to prove this horrible sealands scandal about which the other day rank falsehood was given as answers on the floor of the House.

Some Hon. Members: What scandal?

Shri Jaipal Singh: Sealand scandal. Perhaps, if you will allow me one minute, I can explain what it is. Hon. Members seem to be anxious to know what sealands are. It is only one of other scandals. There was a Captain Renald who was in our employ: not an

Indian national. He entered into a contract without the knowledge or consent of the Financial Adviser to the Ministry for the purchase of ten amphibian sealands, built by Shorts. Only the other day I asked a question to which we were given stupid answers, not only ignorant, but completely false answers. They entered into a contract saddling this country with an amount of £320,000. That is a matter of 50 lakhs of rupees for ten sealands which are worthless. I asked the young Deputy Minister of Defence to tell me whether any Navy in this world had accepted them. He said he did not know; perhaps somebody did! It is not as if things are being given as gifts. It is not a question of a loan or anything. When we give hard cash, surely, this House is entitled to see that we make proper purchase of things that would be useful to us and not aircraft that has already been rejected by every other Navy in the world, which comes to us, which is not fit for the purpose for which it was originally intended.

In any case, to end up, what I say is this. I would plead with my hon. friend the Finance Minister that the Defence expenditure should be treated on a par with Railways. That is to say, that this House should shed away the previous practice and have a full dress debate on Defence alone, because Defence by itself takes away from the general revenues very nearly half the amount. If the Government feel that this cannot be in a public forum where all facts and figures cannot be given, then, certainly, let this House sit in a Committee. I am prepared to prove my case. Now that I am challenged by the other side, I will give out facts and figures that the defence strength of this country is not the wonderful thing as my hon. friends make us believe from the other side. Vast sums are being scandalised away, thrown away and rotten material is passed on to us. If they want these facts, let them have them. But, they must give us answers on the floor of the House.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: They cannot.

Shri Jaipal Singh: They can. I am not saying that they are erring or blundering or squandering in every direction. But, there are certain techniques that we must pursue. In other words, it is a question of a change that my hon. friends over there have brought about in the relationship of the Ministry of Defence and the Army, Navy and Air Headquarters. If we

examine that, straightaway we find where the deterioration, how the rot has set in. I do not want to take any more of the time of the House. But, I do repeat my pleading that my hon. friend the Finance Minister, as also the Leader of the House must, for a change, become Indians and not get stuck in the same old rut, treating this House with contempt, and talking of Defence of this country as though it was something sacrosanct to themselves alone, which could not be shared with the others. We do want to know whether this country is safe in their hands or not. We are willing to vote all the money that they want, but, we must know that the money is being properly spent and in the right direction, and not being thrown away in Jeeps or ammunition or even amphibian aircraft of no use to this country.

Shri Gopala Rao (Gudivada): I rise to speak on the General Budget at the fag end of the debate. On a careful study of the Budget, if I were to put in a nutshell my reactions, it is like this. This is a Budget of relief to the rich and poverty to the poor. That is the principle on which the proposals are proposed. Look here, sixty per cent. of the Budget is covered by either the Defence expenditure or the top heavy administrative expenditure, privy purses for the Princes, and reliefs and reduction for the big business people. In this way 60 per cent. of the total Budget has been allocated. How can one call that this is a popular Budget. By a popular Budget I mean that the people must be benefited. The prosperity of the country can be brought about by increasing the purchasing power of the people and not by the profits of a few individuals who used to exploit the people with the help of the administrative machinery also. Many of our friends have substantiated how in the last few years, the rich people and the British capitalists are being given relief after relief and concession after concession. I need not go into the details. Take the present Budget proposals. For example the reduction of the export duty on jute sacking. In what way are the Indian people going to be benefited by this reduction? Are the jute growers benefited by this? Are the Indian consumers benefited by this? Who are going to be benefited by this are the leading British jute bosses. I ask the hon. Finance Minister whether Government had made any investigation into the profits earned by this jute industry in the last two decades, for example, how many crores are being exploited from the Indian Jute growers, from the inception of

the jute industry. What justification is there for the reduction of the export duty? I know that the leading financial magnates of the jute industry are avoiding sale of jute sacking to foreign countries with less profits. It is a question of less profit, not a question of loss. What is the loss that they expect this year as against the big total of so many crores that they have made? The reduction of the export duty on jute sacking is unwarranted. Take, again, for example the provision in the current Budget in the name of compensation to sugar factories. There is completely no justification for this when millions of sugarcane growers are rotting like anything. From personal knowledge I know a single factory in the last six or seven years has made a profit of eight million rupees. If you take the real calculation, can the Finance Minister say how many crores of rupees of loss the sugar mills have incurred? No. They may take less profit. It is a question of less profit. In the name of national interest, in the name of protecting industries, they are giving relief to the big business, they are giving relief to the foreign capitalists; but they are not at all giving relief by these budget proposals to the common man. In this way, I can say the Government is too ready to respond to the desires of British capitalists and British big business. I could go further but I need not give too many examples on this.

Taking the second point, every Minister of the Government repeats a slogan, that there is all round improvement and all round progress in the country. In the words of the Finance Minister, 'there is marked improvement in the country'. I do not know what 'the marked improvement' means. But you must see the reality—whether there is improvement in the economic condition of the nation and the country. It is not a theoretical proposition. It is a living reality. Look at this agrarian population, for example. Take agricultural labour. The total agricultural labour population comes to 25 per cent. of our total population. Do you know how these people are suffering—no jobs, no land, no houses, no employment—nothing whatsoever? Look at how they are suffering. In what way are they benefited? Can we see any improvement in their condition? I challenge the Minister to prove that agricultural labour have been benefited during the last five years of the Congress regime. Look at the handloom industry. The handloom industry is passing through an unprecedented crisis today. The handloom workers are thrown out of work.

[Shri Gopala Rao]

They are driven to starvation and misery, having no employment. Stocks are accumulating like anything. There is no use paying lip-sympathy. Something must be done in this behalf.

As far as the food question is concerned, it is audacity to say that the food position has improved while famine is spreading from province to province. Yesterday I have received so many letters from my province. In Rayalaseema itself and in Anantapur and Cudappah districts, there are big demonstrations demanding opening of gruel centres and employment and jobs to workers; otherwise, they would starve like anything. The Government is not at all changing its food policy to solve the food crisis. I do not know if they have a consistent policy for the successful solution of the food problem. The hon. Ministers say they accept the control policy so far as the food problem is concerned. But a number of definitions are being given of this policy. Recently the hon. Prime Minister defined it in a peculiar manner. 'Control' means not a multitude of controls; control means control in a broad sense. This very much pleased the Birla Bros. and others, because by this interpretation of the hon. the Prime Minister, by this nominal control, they can do things in the manner they like. In this way, the failure of the Government is complete. We have experience at least of how after decontrol prices shot up, and the people have to pay abnormal prices and how the situation is deteriorating day by day so far as the food problem is concerned.

As there is not sufficient time to tackle so many other problems, I come to the problems of my own province. They are apparently provincial, but I can say that they are of national importance and of a national character. For example, in the background of famine, take the Krishna River Anicut. It is a century-old Anicut which feeds one and a half million acres for the last 100 years, but due to the negligence of the State Government its base is completely shattered. We do not know; at any moment it may be washed away completely. In the background of famine, you see 15 lakh tons of food going to nothing. We do not know how the new projects are going to come into existence and how long they will take. If the Central Government is prepared to spend simply two and a half crores to construct a 'road regulator'—it can be strengthened by the construction of a 'road regulator'

—it will help in solving the food problem to a great extent. I hope the hon. the Finance Minister will think over the matter; in view of the deteriorating food situation, certainly this proposal can be reconsidered.

Mr. Chairman: I propose to call two Members more.

Shri Gopala Rao: I have the honour to represent the Andhra people here. In the Five Year Plan, the Nandikonda, Siddheswaram, Gandikota project, which is of great importance to us, is not being included. In the same way, the only radio station we have—the Vijayawada Station—has almost become ineffective due to its lower power. It has to be converted into a high power station. Our people are expecting that on March 16, the Telugu New Year Day, our aspirations will be fulfilled. But the constitutional procedure is not yet completed. The Wanchoo Report has not even been made public. Due to undue delay on the part of the Government, there is scope for suspicion and apprehension in our minds. I believe the Government will come forward with the necessary measure.

One more point. The Andhra province, though politically advanced, is industrially backward. Recently some electrical development works were taken up, but to the astonishment of our people the State Government has all of a sudden stopped the work. As a result, 2500 workers have been thrown out of employment both skilled labourers and manual labour. It is detrimental to the advancement of Andhra people. I hope the Central Government will take up the matter and do justice for us.

Shri N. Somana (Coorg): Sir, I am thankful to you for having given me this opportunity of addressing a few words on the General Budget. I feel that at this stage it is rather unnecessary for me to go into the high principles that are outlined in the budget. I therefore confine myself to a few suggestions I wish to make in connection with the proposals that have been placed before us.

Generally it has been expressed that so far as the raising of the exemption limit of income-tax is concerned, it has been rather quite satisfactory. The exemption limits have been raised to Rs. 4,200 for individuals and Rs. 8,400 in the case of joint families. But there is still a large section of the people who feel that it should rather have been raised to 5,000 and 10,000

and that in the case of higher income groups the rates should be raised. Anyhow probably at this stage it would be somewhat premature to make any suggestion of this sort, in view of the fact that the hon. the Finance Minister has proposed the appointment of a Taxation Inquiry Commission which will go into all these details. In my humble view it is a matter which should be considered—whether the tax on higher income-groups should be revised suitably.

In connection with the Five Year Plan, I have to say a few words. We have been somewhat disappointed that the details of this Five Year Plan which has been in operation for the last two years have not been placed before us to assess as to what has actually been done. The hon. the Finance Minister has stated that so far as some States are concerned, there has not been the enthusiasm that was expected of them. Unless we all know exactly how the Five Year Plan has been working, we will not be in a position to state what we should do and how we should proceed further.

One of the matters which have come to my notice and which I wish to place before this House is this. I learn that so far as the plans that are submitted by the State Governments are concerned, the Planning Commission now says that all the new works that are undertaken by the States should be considered as part of the Plan and they should be taken as subjects that have to be dealt with by the Plan. My own humble submission is that if that is the case, I feel that many States would not be in a position to pursue their work without proper assistance from the Centre. So, it is necessary, as I stated, that a complete review of the whole situation is made and to see how exactly the Plan is working. I fear with all the hope that I have, that most of the States will not be in a position to work up to our aim and therefore it is absolutely necessary at this stage to review all this. The House would be very grateful to the Finance Minister if he could possibly give us a six monthly report of the working of the Plan so that we could know how far we have kept up to the time limit, how we can be enabled to fulfil all the objects of the Plan within the period.

One important matter to which I should refer is this. As has already been referred to by some hon. Members, we have been spending or we have to spend nearly 50 per cent.

of our resources on Defence. While, I am fully conscious of the fact that we have to maintain the high efficiency of our Army, it is for consideration and it is for serious consideration, whether part of the time of our Army could not be utilised for nation-building activities. After all, it is time we look into our resources. We want man-power. How are we going to have man-power from the poor and hungry people. We want labour. Can we get it from hungry people? Here is a body of men who are fed and paid well and I do not think why we should not be in a position to utilise their services for nation-building activities as has been done in many of the advanced countries today.

One suggestion which I want to submit is this—and this is also a matter which has been referred to by some hon. Members—the privy purse to the rulers. Instead of saying that the whole privy purse should be cut off, I think it is a case in which the Government should invite the rulers to make a voluntary cut of 50 per cent. In such a case, I think, there will be a good amount forthcoming for the development plan. I do not see any reason why we should not take such a step, when hon. Ministers have themselves been generous enough to make a voluntary cut in their salaries. I suppose this suggestion may also be taken into consideration, and proper attention given.

I have to thank the hon. Minister for Agriculture for his kind assurance that a scheme for investigating into the disease of citrus plants will be launched; and a research plant will be located in the southern part of our country which will go a great way in alleviating the hard conditions that are existing today. My humble prayer is that this plant may be located in my State which, of course, is the largest orange producing State in the South, so that this disease which is now rampant may be remedied and there may be increase in production. I therefore feel it my duty to thank the hon. Minister for Agriculture for having acceded to my request which I made in this House last year.

Sardar Lal Singh (Ferozepur-Ludhiana): I have so far always confined my talk to the subject of agriculture because I feel that the good of the country lies in the rural development and betterment of the agriculturists who have been suffering for long and who have been the victims of economic bondage. Today also I had a mind to speak on this subject

[Sardar Lal Singh]

especially with regard to the Community Projects. But, I must depart, because of the most explosive situation that is fast developing in the Punjab and Pepsu which may lead to general conflagration. And, I feel it is the moral responsibility of those like me who want to avoid this conflagration, to speak at this time and advise the Government to follow a policy that would lead to peaceful atmosphere. The policy adopted by the Punjab Government in consultation with the Central Government, involving the arrests of a large number of Sikhs, followed by the imposition of thundering sentences of imprisonment and fines and also the unprecedented and unconstitutional suspension of the Constitution in Pepsu, at the same time, the equal determination of the Akalis not to submit to any humiliation, point to a gloomy future for this country.

The immediate cause of the struggle in the Punjab is the ban on religious meetings. In this connection, I feel every fair-minded person should not forget five or six important or salient points. Firstly, it was a religious gathering, held in memory of about 200 martyrs who were burnt alive at Nankana Sahib only about 30 years ago, which is still too fresh in the memory of every Sikh, who in the morning and evening prayers remembers them;

secondly, it was not a new political stunt. It was an annual gathering or meeting which takes place year after year not only at Amritsar but in almost every place where Sikhs reside;

Thirdly, it was held on due dates, that is one or two days this side or that side to suit the convenience of the people and organizers;

Fourthly, the announcement of meeting was made with the beat of drum a day earlier with the written sanction of the Additional District Magistrate;

Fifthly, to show that there was no question of defiance—they had actually applied for permission—to the District Magistrate; and

Lastly, the meeting was held at a place which is the property of the Gurdwara and which had never been used before for political meetings and it was never the intention to use it for political purposes, so much so, that even the C.I.D. reports in the Court proved that it was a religious meeting.

In the face of these facts, I am certain that every fair-minded person would realise that the ban was an ill-advised step on the part of the Government; and I am equally certain that it will evoke the sympathy of even those people who do not see eye to eye with Master Tara Singh in politics and in this matter they are likely to side against the Government and consequently, I respectfully ask the Government to withdraw this ill-advised step.

So far as the Sikhs are concerned, let me analyse the position. Although forming only one and a half to two per cent. of the population of India, they had undergone enormous sacrifices in the struggle for freedom which was far more than could be expected from a small community like the Sikhs. Even now they are prepared to shed the last drop of their blood for the sake of the country; and in the partition of the country, it was the Sikhs who had to suffer the most; forming only one and a half per cent. of the population, but the loss in the form of property and life may be easily about 50 per cent. The Sikhs naturally expected a great deal of sympathy from their national Government. And what are they asking? They are not asking for the moon. In fact, sometime back, when I discussed the matter with a gentleman of the position of Mr. R. K. Patil, he said, these so-called demands of the Sikhs are too reasonable to be refused by any right-thinking person. He said there must be something else; there must be some misunderstanding. Otherwise these so-called demands are no demands; they are too legitimate.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

What are the demands? The Sikhs say that two sons of a father of a Scheduled Caste should be treated alike, whether the one calls himself a Hindu and the other a Sikh. Is this not in keeping with our ideal of secularism? Number two: they allege that Sikhs in the Punjab and elsewhere are being victimised. I do not wish to argue now whether this allegation is true or baseless. But they say, "Appoint a Commission to investigate". I am certain that any Government, caring for its reputation for fairplay and justice, would, of its own accord, appoint a Commission to show to the world that its hands are clean. If there is injustice, it should be set right, as expected of a national Government. If there is none, Government will be able to say, "Here is a document to disprove the allegations". Is

this an unreasonable demand? Number three: they say that Punjabi should have been treated as the State language, as has been done in the case of other regional languages. Is this anything unreasonable? Even the *Tribune*, which by no means is considered very sympathetic to Sikh feelings, in an editorial about Punjabi being the State language, said something like, "If a man can disown his language, he may as well disown his mother". Is the demand for the Punjabi language being made the State language, therefore, an unreasonable demand?

Then they say that if PEPSU, which is a full-fledged State by itself, having a population of about thirty-five lakhs, wants to have its own University, why should there be any hitch on the part of the Central Government? There are many States abroad with this much population which have several Universities each. Even in India take U.P. It has probably ten Universities. So, why should PEPSU not be allowed to have its own University?

Then there is the question of parity. In Punjab, there has been parity between the Hindus and Sikhs in the Cabinet ever since the partition. This parity in the Punjab Cabinet has been thrown to the winds by the present Chief Minister on the plea of doing away with communalism. He did not realise that both the Chief Minister and the Governor, as also almost all the High Court Judges and all the Financial Commissioners are Hindus besides a preponderance of Hindus in most Departments. Where was the justification for disturbing the parity in the Cabinet?

If he wanted to demonstrate that he did not believe in communalism, he could have easily done this by putting one extra Sikh in the Cabinet. Nationalism surely does not consist in running down a minority at every step. It is a misconception of the whole idea. In all countries of the world, it is the majority that tries to win over the confidence of the minority by fair and just treatment. Why should it be otherwise here? The Sikhs are not asking for the moon. I am certain that any fair-minded person would see their reasonableness. Let half a dozen gentlemen even from the Congress Benches be appointed as a Committee, and I am certain that they will find that the Sikh demands are quite reasonable. It is the lack of understanding

of the problem in true perspective which has brought about all this trouble. I am one of those who believe that unless both Hindus and Sikhs live like real brothers, inseparable like flesh and bone, and enjoy a common culture, a common heritage, a common tradition, a common language, the Punjab will not be worth living in. It is this spirit that I advocate. (*An Hon. Member*: But they are living there now.) And remember, it is *not* the pious wish that can bring about this happy situation. It is the will to face the facts in a realistic manner that can bring it about. I again repeat that it is not the policy of divide-and-rule; it is not repression; it is not press propaganda, that will pay in the long run. It is sincerity, broad-mindedness, the will to do justice, that will bring about inter-communal solidarity which is so badly needed in the Punjab. I appeal to my hon. friends on the opposite side to realise the situation before it becomes too late.

Let it not be forgotten that Punjab and PEPSU are border States, and we have not got too cordial relations with Pakistan. Trouble may arise at any time. People living in Punjab and PEPSU are men of martial spirit, men of sentiment, and they require to be handled very tactfully. The more repression you adopt, the worse would be the results. Therefore, there should be complete communal harmony. Any kind of disturbance in Punjab is bound to prove harmful to the interests of both the Hindus and the Sikhs in the country at large, which we cannot afford today. I am one of those who believe that the Congress ought to be the nearest choice to the Sikhs in the Punjab, but today it will be the height of dishonesty, perversion of truth, to say that the Congress enjoys the confidence of any large portion of the Sikh community either in Punjab or PEPSU. The intelligent class of people, the patriots, the men in the High Command, should find out the causes of the discontent and try to remove them, rather than get irritated and resort to methods which will not bring peace. I do not want to take more time, and I would only appeal to my hon. friends on the opposite side to realize that it is statesmanship of the highest order, generosity, broad-mindedness, that will bring about a happy situation, and not the methods that were followed by foreigners. It is our national Government, and we expect a national outlook and national solution—a solution which will bring about happiness for the whole State.

श्री सी० डी० देशमुख : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे यह सुझाव दिया गया है कि कम से कम मेरा भाषा वक्तव्य हिन्दी में दिया जाय। हिन्दी को प्रोत्साहन देना यह सब का महत्वपूर्ण कर्तव्य है, यह मैं मानता हूँ। परन्तु मैं समझता हूँ कि इस दिशा में कुछ मार्ग काटना सम्प्रति समुचित नहीं है। इसके कारण अभी मैं एक श्लोक कहने वाला हूँ, उस में इस विषय को निर्दिष्ट किया गया है। वह श्लोक यह है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : संस्कृत में या हिन्दी में ?

श्री सी० डी० देशमुख : सभापते ! यद्यपि भारतीयाः, विदितं हिन्दी सकला न सम्यः तत्त्वानुबोधाय यदांगभाषी, वक्ष्यामि तत्त्वं श्रुणुया : क्षमावान् ॥

श्री उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : हिन्दी में अनुवाद करना चाहिये।

श्री सी० डी० देशमुख : सभापते यद्यपि भारतीया, सब सदस्य भारतीय हैं, तथापि सकला सम्याः हिन्दी न विदन्ति। अगर अर्थ-संकल्प जो है उस का अनुबोध होना चाहिये तो आंग्ल भाषा का आश्रय ले कर, तत्त्वानुबोधाय यदांगभाषी। वक्ष्यामि तत्त्वं श्रुणुया : क्षमावान् ।

Having discharged my duty a little bit, I shall now proceed to make the rest of my speech in English.

As usual, this debate has ranged over a very wide field, and a large number of interesting points have been raised. On the whole, I should say that the proportion of bouquets has been slightly larger on this occasion than the proportion of brickbats, although brickbats were greatly in evidence in some other connection recently. I am very grateful to those Members who have given their understanding support to the Budget, and I also appreciate the moderation of those who have thought it fit to criticise or to oppose the Budget generally. I am

even struck by the moderation that distinguished the speech of the Deputy Leader of the Communist Party. I notice that out of many malodorous words that he is fond of using, he has used only one and that is "putrescent". I wonder why he has not used "foul-smelling", "noisome" or "loathsome", or why he has avoided the use of "old", or "fetid" or "putrid", but I think, if I may be prophetic, some time or other he would use the word "mephitic". Some other hon. Member from the other side used the words "fantastic nonsense". I suppose he used it in a spirit of reprisal—in a kind of vicarious reprisal, if I may say so,—and I am not hurt by it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Minister means evidently "borrowed".

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I would not use that word, because I do credit them with a lot of originality, although on the wrong side.

The opposition benches a lot of originality, although on the wrong side. The Opposition benches seemed to be governed by a kind of class moroseness which I would describe as 'Moreocracy'. It will not be possible for me to join issue with all these hon. Members. I am very glad to note that on the opposition benches there is a little greater belief in some elementary study of statistics. But I hope to be able to show in the proper place that there is a great deal to be desired yet in their use of statistics.

Hon. Members have made various points which in addition to principles go into details. There was, for instance, the point in regard to the Defence Services. I am not now armed with big enough guns to join battle with them. Since, I think, a day and a half is going to be allotted to the Demand "Defence", may be some one better competent to deal with the matter will deal with it. Then there were very many interesting points. There was one hon. Member who was bamboozled by the bamboo-like appearance of rice. That also is a matter which I must leave to my other colleague here.

Then there is one general point which I should like to make. I am not quite clear if the House of the People take judicial notice of what views one of their Members—and that can only be a Member of the Treasury Benches—says in the Council of States. But I find that various observations that

I make there are sometimes overlooked and the same criticism which I thought I had dispelled is brought forward again in the course of subsequent debates in this House. I am under the impression that if one has dealt with a point at some length in the Council of States, then it would be in the public interest for the Finance Minister not to expatiate on that point in the House of the people. I do not need a ruling, but I hope to get some guidance in course of time.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The usual practice is statements of policies made by Government Members in one House can be referred to in another House, not with respect to debatable points or debated points. With respect to others, generally, it is not the practice or the convention to use or quote her speeches made by any other Member there, or *vice versa*.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I raise this issue because in one of the speeches made by the opposite side, criticism was levelled at what I had said in the Council of States, as a sort of continued controversy.

I should like first to deal with certain points which have been raised by some hon. Members about the form and presentation of the Budget. My hon. friend Mr. Tulsidas Kilachand complained that the capital budget was not clear enough. In the last two or three years we have been trying to amplify the information given in the Budget so as to make it more informative to the House. This is more or less a continuing process and I can only assure the House that I shall have the problem of making the capital budget more easily intelligibly examined, so that any change that may be considered necessary may be made in the next year when it is presented to the Parliament.

More than one hon. Member raised the question of focussing attention on the provision for developmental expenditure in the Budget. Now it is not possible for us to do much in this direction in the present budget, because we have not got the relevant information. It is true that one year of the plan period had already elapsed so as to make available the full account. On the other hand, the Plan itself has only been recently published. Therefore, the question of relating the actual expenditure to what is in the Plan presents some difficulties. It is for this reason that we have not been able to give information even in regard to the first year of the Plan in the form in which it is desired by some of the

hon. Members. A review of the progress made is under preparation in the Planning Commission. I believe it was in the middle of January that State Governments were addressed to furnish information and I think that a review would be submitted to the House before the session is either adjourned or prorogued. I expect that this review will be ready in about six weeks' time, that is to say, certainly before Parliament rises. I am also considering whether along with the budget in future a statement showing the progress of expenditure at the Centre on the implementation of the Five Year Plan should not be circulated for the information of hon. Members, although in view of the wide scope of developmental expenditure and a number of Ministries that this expenditure straddles, it may not be possible or even desirable to put all this expenditure in one demand.

My hon. friend Dr. Krishnaswami mentioned a few points of detail about the figures in the Budget. He asked why the revenue estimate under income-tax was shown 'nett' after excluding the States' share while the Union excises were shown 'gross'. Now, this reflects the constitutional position. Under article 270 of the Constitution, the States' share of income-tax does not form part of the Consolidated Fund of India, and has, therefore, to be excluded and treated as a reduction of revenue. But all Union excises remain part of the Consolidated Fund and under article 272 the States' share has to be paid out of the Consolidated Fund and in consequence provided for as expenditure. Then, Dr. Krishnaswami also asked why details were not given of the entry of Rs. 53 crores shown as "Miscellaneous expenditure" on page 3 of the Budget Statement. Now this part of the statement is only a summary of the total, while group heads of the accounts details by individual heads are given in Part B of the statement covering pages 9 to 12 of the Budget statement. Various individual heads cannot obviously be explained in the budget statement itself, but my hon. friend will find the explanations in the explanatory memorandum and a breakdown of the figures in the various Demands for Grants covering the expenditure under this head. Therefore, this item is not quite as bad as the 'Miscellaneous item' in the accounts which both he and I sent to our parents in our young days.

He was also puzzled by the fact that while the statement of expenditure showed the expenditure on privy purse

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh]

as Rs. 4.76 crores, the Demand for Grants gave a figure of Rs. 5.48 crores. Now there is really no discrepancy, because he was comparing the gross figure with the net figure after allowing for certain recoveries from Part B States. If he turns to page 148 of the explanatory memorandum he would see the reconciliation of this discrepancy. Now, I have some sympathy with hon. Members in the difficulty they experience in going through the budget documents—although, as I said earlier, we have been doing all we can to make them more easily understood—but if any hon. Member has any specific suggestions for improvement I shall be very glad to have an informal discussion with him and with my officers so that we can make such changes as are practicable, in the coming year's budget.

Some friends criticised my action in taking credit in the Revenue Budget for the sum of Rs. 18 crores expected from Pakistan next year as repayment of the debt instalments. As the repayment is by equated instalments, the bulk of the recovery in the earlier years represent payment of interest and is correctly classifiable as revenue, because interest charges on our loans are met from the Revenue Budget. The question whether the capital portion of the revenue should be taken to the Revenue Budget and used for amortisation of the debt, or taken to the Capital Budget and treated, in effect, as a reduction of borrowing will be considered in subsequent years. But I think for the present the classification between Revenue and Capital is not a matter of any grave consequence. There was another point—and a major point—in regard to the possible recovery of this debt. And I do not know whether what I said in the Council of States is a statement of policy or is a statement of detail or a matter of controversy. I take it that it would be regarded as falling under the last category. Briefly I would say that I certainly think it within the bounds of possibility that we should be able to arrive—I mean Pakistan and ourselves—at some settlement satisfactory to both sides in regard to this limited sphere, whereby we might be able to recover these two instalments. I must warn hon. Members that so far as cash payments are concerned there is a sum which would be payable to Pakistan, not necessarily on behalf of the Government of India, but as part of the assets of the Reserve Bank corresponding to the residuary note liability which now has been

taken over by them and therefore we have to transfer the assets to them. The matter has remained in the sphere of controversy for some time because we were not quite certain whether all the notes returned represented notes in circulation at the time of Partition; and therefore whether the assets to be paid—they certainly are payable—should be paid as part of the Reserve Bank assets or as part of the exchange to be shown in the form of credit in favour of the State Bank of Pakistan in the accounts of the Reserve Bank of India, are matters which have to be considered. Then there are various other issues, not involving such large sums, arising out of the settlement between the two Punjabs and East Pakistan and West Bengal. As against that we have to settle the provisional amount which Pakistan owes us as share of the debt, as the capital, on which equated payments have to be calculated.

The view that I had put forward at one time—and it seems to have been accepted in principle by the Government of Pakistan—is that it might be possible to arrive at a provisional figure on the basis of which equated instalments could be calculated. They themselves have given an indication of their view of it by the inclusion of Rs. five crores, which means Rs. 7.4 crores in Indian money, in their budget; and we by including Rs. nine crores. So the gap is not very large. That will leave a residue in respect of which adjustments would have to be made at a later stage. And I fear it is this latter part which will take a very long time. In the case of India and Burma it took nearly three years before the accounts were finally closed. But I do not think that that should be a matter of any great concern to us.

Some Members, both here and elsewhere (in the other House) were exercised by the improvement of Rs. 36 crores in the Revenue surplus for 1951-52 over the revised estimate for that year. I must say that to me also it came as a pleasant surprise. It was mostly due to factors which could not have been anticipated at the time I framed the revised estimates, which was some time in December or January. Income-tax collections in the closing months of the year were Rs. 13 crores more than were expected—largely accounted for, I imagine, by each of the one thousand odd Income-tax officers spread all over the country doing his little extra bit for the Department! We also had a short-fall of

Rs. ten crores in Defence expenditure—I see the hon. Member is paying great attention to this part—due to the non-receipt of certain stores expected during the course of the year.

Shri Jaipal Singh: What stores?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I have indicated that a fully documented account, so to speak, will be given during the course of the budget, because the hon. Member was not here. But I am not big enough to join issue with the big guns, except at long range! Other minor variations under individual heads account for the balance.

Now I come to questions of policy. Here I think I am in order in referring to the observations which I made in regard to taxation policy about the relation between direct and indirect taxation. Now, here it is that I think one of the hon. Members opposite has gone wrong, in that he has just calculated his percentages from the figures given in the budget, which are figures that do not take into account the Income-tax which has been transferred to the States. Now, that is one feature. The other is that the high yield of export duties in the last two or three years has, I think hon. Members will be prepared to concede, somewhat distorted the picture. In considering the proportion of direct to indirect taxation it should also be remembered that a substantial amount of indirect taxation like customs duties on luxury and semi-luxury items and excise duties on higher-priced cigarettes, tobacco, and so on do not affect the poorer sections of the community and cannot be considered as a burden upon them.

There has been some criticism about reduction in the direct taxation in the last four years. Now, these, I may mention, were not made to pamper the rich—such a charge is very easily made—but only to reduce the tax burden to a level which would not destroy the incentive which was supposed to have been destroyed by the very controversial Budget of 1947-48. Now, the Business Profits Tax and the Capital Gains Tax were abolished because they were relatively small yields and because of their adverse effects on saving and investment. Even so, the level of direct taxation in this country is higher than in most countries of the world with the possible exception of the United Kingdom and the United States. The rate on the higher slab in this country is 82 per cent., which is exceeded only by the United Kingdom and the United States where the rate is 97.5 per cent. and 91 per cent. respectively.

In considering the yield from direct taxation, particularly from the angle of making the richer classes pay more than the poorer classes, the House may find the following figures of some interest. Altogether the number of assesseees is 6,37,000. This is statistics of 1951-52. The income-tax is Rs. 67,66,00,000 and the super tax is Rs. 36.34 crores, giving a total of Rs. 104 crores. Now, of the total number of assesseees 95.20 per cent. fall within the first grade, i.e., up to 25,000 where the super-tax level comes in and they account for 26 per cent. of the demand. The next class is four per cent., i.e. from 25,000 to 70,000 and that accounts for 26.4 per cent. And then we get into the other classes which account for a number of assesseees as 35 per cent., 30 per cent. and 15 per cent. So, apart from the psychological value of this, I do think that one ought not to allow our attention to be diverted from our main objectives, namely to get work done. Since we have elected to operate a mixed economy in this country, we ought to make sure that we do not do anything which will interfere with actual performance.

7 P.M.

There is a very special reason why no fundamental changes should be made in the scheme of taxation and that is why a Committee has been appointed to go comprehensively into this matter. I have mentioned two years as the period which the Committee might take but that is really to avoid any possible risk of extension of the time allotted to them. I myself have hopes that by 18 months from April, they should be able to submit at least the main recommendations, and that within a year or so we ought to have some indication of how their mind is working on the various issues that might at least have some bearing on the budget of the Centre and, perhaps, maybe the budgets of the State Governments.

Some of my friends opposite appeared to me to be unduly perturbed by what they consider the post-budget balances of the stock market and they have drawn the quite unwarranted conclusion that this indicates that the budget is a rich man's budget. It is not here a question of a red rag to the bull but the bull appearing to the red flag. I have been in close touch with market quotations and while it is true that there was a certain amount of rise in prices in Bombay, the Calcutta markets reacted less sharply while the Madras stock exchange showed hardly any reaction. A very great deal of equanimity that side. The

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh]

improvement in the equated value of the Bombay market is nothing more than an indication that business circles take a confident view of the future. This, I suggest, is all to the good and very different indeed from suggesting that big business or anyone else is getting away with the budget to his liking. After all the budget does not give any relief in direct taxation except to a very limited extent and perhaps the market was grateful for the fact that there was no fresh taxation. I was myself amazed at my moderation. If the business community takes a confident view of the future, I see no reason why I, as a tax gatherer, should feel any cause for misgiving. After all business means increased production, increased income which will, I hope, partly flow back into the exchequer and lastly increase employment.

An Hon. Member: Poverty.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: The hon. Member might come to morose conclusions.

It is also quite possible to exaggerate the effect of these matters on the stock exchange and in assessing the import of changes in the market. The interpretation of stock exchange reactions and of the psychological economy underlying them is a very difficult matter.

Now, I would venture, Sir, to give a quotation from Keynes.

"The day-to-day fluctuations in the profits of existing investments which are obviously of an ephemeral and non-significant character tend to have an altogether excessive and even an absurd influence on these markets. The operators on these markets are concerned not so much with making long-term forecasts of the probable yields of various investments but with.....market is likely to take all these various investments a short time ahead. The valuations which emerge therefore reflect of the average....."

It goes on to say:

"Professional investments may be likened to these newspaper competitions in which the competitors have to pick out its prettiest faces from a hundred photographs, the prices being awarded to the competitor whose choice must nearly correspond to the average preference of the competitor's

soul so that each competitor has to pick not those faces which he himself finds prettiest but those which he thinks likeliest to catch the fancy of the other competitors."

All of whom are looking at the problem from the same point of view. So, it is not a case of choosing those which to the best of one's judgment are really the prettiest nor even those which average opinion genuinely thinks the prettiest. Therefore, if the stock exchange takes a good view of the budget, it means that the public takes a good view notwithstanding what Members of the Opposition may say.

More than one hon. Member referred to the need for economy in public expenditure and rightly so. I am never tired of hearing these criticisms. I have frequently made it clear that in the matter of avoiding wastage of public money, we are continuously in search of economy. On the Defence side, we have had a Re-organisation Committee which is more or less continuously functioning. The recommendations of this Committee have been accepted by Government and are certain to lead to significant economies in expenditure although not much of it may be immediately reflected in the estimates for the coming year but I am confident, on the whole, they will assist in maintaining the Defence expenditure at about the figure which the Planning Commission had provided in the Five Year Plan and that is a matter of great moment to us.

Turning to civil expenditure, I think it would be useful if I give the House a broad analysis of this expenditure and the scope for economy available to us. The total civil expenditure for the coming year is estimated at Rs. 239 crores of which Rs. 37 crores will be on debt services, Rs. 3.6 crores on pensions, Rs. 4.76 crores on obligatory payments like privy purses, Rs. 48.58 crores on payments as grants-in-aid to States for various purposes, Rs. 16.49 crores for payment to the State Governments on account of the share of excise duties, Rs. 12.67 crores on displaced persons, Rs. 1.95 crores on the payment of certain pre-partition liabilities mostly to third parties and Rs. seven crores for transfer to certain funds from revenue. Now, excluding these items for economy in which there is very little scope, the remaining expenditure is of the order of Rs. 100 crores, of which Rs. 15 crores is spent on the maintenance of Government buildings and roads and the transfer

to the Road Fund, Rs. 34 crores on social and development services, leaving only about Rs. 40 crores of what one would call contractable expenditure. Even this would include a substantial element of basic expenditure which, however much one may dislike it, has got to be incurred. This would leave only a limited field in which there is scope for substantial economy. My purpose in giving these figures is not to say that there is no room for economy or that we should do nothing about taking steps to get rid of unnecessary and avoidable expenditure. We have laid down more or less continuous scrutiny of civil administrative expenditure by a team of officers, and we are doing all we can to cut out the deadwood and avoid wastage. But the economies thus secured are inevitably, I am sorry to say, overborne by increased expenditure on developmental and other desirable services, which would not have been undertaken otherwise. I think the House would appreciate the dimensions of the problem, as I have tried to set before them, and I can assure them that the search for economy will be maintained, although I cannot promise in the context of our having to implement a large development programme, that these economies are likely to be reflected in any significant reduction of the budgeted expenditure. I do not think, that taking out all the obligatory and inescapable items, the optimum margin for economy is likely to be more than, say, five per cent. of the contractable expenditure of Rs. 40 crores, which I have mentioned earlier. And while every bit would help, this by itself is not going to affect the problem of finding resources for implementing the Plan.

I had more than one complaint about the so-called positive provision in the Central Budget for social services. Now this criticism seems to overlook the basic point that the bulk of these services fall in the State field, and except through the volume of assistance provided in the Central Budget for the States by way of devolution of revenue and grants, no provision for these would appear in the Central Budget except for Centrally administered areas and Centrally run institutions and departments. But I may mention that the total devolution of revenue and grants to States in the next year's Budget amounts in all to Rs. 125 crores out of the total gross revenue of Rs. 494 crores. In other words, the Centre is paying four annas out of every rupee it collects as revenue, to help the States to run their administrations and provide welfare

and other services for its citizens. In addition, the Centre is also incurring an expenditure of the order of Rs. 2-43 crores by way of direct expenditure in Centrally administered areas, grants to institutions, maintenance of research laboratories and institutions and scientific services, the benefits of which accrue to the country as a whole. I suggest that in view of all this, it is somewhat misleading to say that the Centre does not do enough for the promotion of welfare services in the country.

That leads me to another point which was made by various hon. Members that the Centre is not spending enough for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. I can assure hon. Members that no one could be more sympathetic to the problems of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes than myself, as well as the rest of the Government. But I have a certain special interest in this. My difficulty, however, is to deal with a problem in the general way in which it has been presented. I think the hon. Member opposite, Shri Rajabhoj, said that there ought to be good locations for the houses of the Scheduled Castes in the villages. I find it very difficult to fit that in with the arrangement of the Budget here. As far as I can see that, primarily it must be a problem for the State Governments concerned. But if there is a problem which concerns us, as for instance education or special scholarships, I think we have as good a showing as our resources permit and anyway as the circumstances require. Altogether, for education, Part A and B States spend Rs. 235 lakhs, while Part C States Rs. 30 lakhs, making a total of Rs. 265 lakhs which includes Scheduled areas in Assam. And then there is a special provision for backward classes, of Rs. one crore. Then there are scholarships of Rs. 40 lakhs. It is true that the percentage of scholarships which has been allotted to Scheduled Castes is slightly lower this year than last year, but on the other hand, the total sum provided has been raised from Rs. five lakhs one year, to Rs. 17 lakhs another year, and to Rs. 40 lakhs this year, and I have given a general undertaking that I shall see that no Scheduled Caste boy, who deserves a scholarship goes back emptyhanded for lack of funds, and as far as I can see, I have studied the details. I think last year, all the Scheduled Caste boys who were found fit, received scholarships.

The Minister of Agriculture (Dr. P. S. Deshmukh): Almost every boy got it.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: That is still better. I hope they are careful in choosing them.

Shri Sarangadhar Das (Dhenkanal—West Cuttack): No girls?

Shri Tyagi: Boys means girls, here.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: The General Clauses Act governs that.

Shri Jaipal Singh: Regarding one matter, I just want a clarification of what the hon. Minister said. He said that he has earmarked Rs. one crore for the backward classes. Do I understand therefore that the backward classes will be taken out of these scholarship schemes that now obtain. This Rs. 40 lakhs was meant for scholarships for the Scheduled Castes and other backward classes. Now that Rs. one crore has been earmarked for them. Do I take it that the backward classes will be taken out of the other thing?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I think this is for a different purpose. The Rs. 40 lakhs does include the backward classes, but this is some special allotment.

Now, I shall deal with certain criticisms regarding the provision of resources for financing the expenditure on development particularly in the fields of the State Governments. The Plan assumes a provision of certain resources by the States partly by the liquidation of their investments, and partly by the raising of fresh resources, and partly by economies in expenditure. Now, as I myself mentioned in my Budget speech, in the first two years of the Plan, some of the States have been unable to or have not taken adequate steps to raise the resources expected of them. Now I would not wish to generalise about this. Some States have striven to raise the resources expected, while others are in the process of doing so. Some of them had been faced with additional commitments arising out of famine, and scarcity, while there have been here and there increases in non-developmental expenditure. Some of the States have leaned more—and this is important—in the early years of the Plan, on the liquidation of their investments, than on raising fresh resources. But taking the picture as a whole, I do not think that there is any room for pessimism in our being able to put through the Plan. We have still three years before us, and if, as I hope, the States will use this period for a purposeful effort in raising the balances of the resources expected of them, there

would be no difficulty in implementing the programme of development.

Shri S. S. More: What about public co-operation?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I shall come to it in about ten minutes' time.

While I sympathise with the feeling of caution felt by many people in this House and outside in regard to this, I do not think that there is any justification for any serious misgiving.

Now, I would like to deal with a small matter, of external borrowings, and something about the American loan. Hon. Members, including the hon. Member who spoke some time ago, Shri Tandon, expressed some doubt about the propriety of the rates charged by the International Bank on the loans made to us. The figures are these. We have borrowed 50 crores from the International Bank. Altogether we have borrowed 95 crores from the United States Government. In addition, of course, we have received some assistance which is not a loan, not only from the U.S.A. but also from some other countries. The total would be about 50 or 60 crores up to now. On the 95 crores which we have borrowed for the wheat, the rate of interest is two and a half per cent. On the other hand, the International Bank, being a business institution of a co-operative kind, has to raise its funds in the market; and as the loans are largely dollar loans, in the American market, rates of interest have been going up in recent years. They have had to pay in recent years three and 3/8 per cent., which is comparable to what we have to pay in our own markets. To that they add one per cent. as their commission, that is, for the purpose of creating a reserve against any possible losses. Hon. Members may not remember, but you, Sir, will remember that we had great misgivings about joining this International Bank. You were a Member of a Committee in 1946.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: A separate Committee was appointed by the Legislature.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh:in which we discussed this question very thoroughly. At that time we feared that most of the loans were going to be made to the war-damaged countries of Europe and that the money might be lost. Indeed, that was the reason which influenced some of the Members of the Committee in opposing our joining the International Bank. I was able to give some assurance at that

time, having been associated with the drawing up, of the establishment and inauguration of these two Institutions, that I did not think that bad loans would be made. I am glad to say that my anticipations have been fulfilled and that the loans so far made have proved to be good loans. Indeed some loans have already been returned now. It is our expectation that after a little while it would be possible for us to urge on the International Bank that they reduce their percentage of commission. If sufficient resources have been accumulated against any possible failure, then, there is no purpose served in charging high rates and making borrowing there more expensive to Member countries and thereby handicapping their development. All I can assure hon. Members at the moment is that we have not been singled out for any discriminating treatment, and that the latest loan which was taken by Yugoslavia on 11th February, 1953, which is a loan for 25 years like our second D.V.C. loan, carries the same rate of interest, namely four and 7/8 which is really three and 3/8 plus one per cent. plus one-fourth per cent. which is called handling charges. The rest is for reserve. On the whole, these loans are given for productive industrial purposes and considering the return that is expected* on this, I do not think that these rates could be regarded as too high. Any way, I would like the House to remember that the larger part of the money which we have secured from outside has been at rates of interest which are much smaller.

Then, there was another question about the American Wheat Loan. My hon. friend opposite, Mr. V. P. Nayar made some caustic, and I may add, wholly misleading comments on what he called the infamous American Wheat Loan. I looked into this matter again, because I believe in the Marathi proverb:

निदकाचें घर असावे शेजारी

which means, it is necessary to have a censorer living next door. I can assure my hon. friend and the House that there is no justification for any complaint of manipulation of prices. The bulk of the purchase was made in open market by the India Supply Mission and the Credit Corporation of the U.S. Government, and only market prices were paid. There was no stipulation that 50 per cent. of the wheat will be carried in American shipping. The shipping position was tight at that time and to make shipment possible.

526 P.S.D.

the American Government re-conditioned some of their moth ball fleet to supplement the commercial shipping supplied by the India Supply Mission. Freight was paid only at the ruling market rates. I think I have in the course of an answer to a supplementary question made a statement that to the best of my knowledge, these rates do not compare unfavourably with the rates which were taken for the calculation of the price of the wheat supplied by the U.S.S.R.

Now public co-operation. The question is asked within the House as also outside, what precisely is implied in asking for public co-operation in the implementation of the Plan, how in concrete terms such co-operation can be given. As hon. Members are aware, the Five Year Plan, in so far as the proposed outlay of 2069 crores is concerned, is a programme of expenditure for Central and State Governments. A large part of this outlay is absorbed by the expenditure on irrigation and power schemes, Railways, industrial development, etc., in relation to which the scope for direct public participation is certainly relatively limited. Here we can only ask for public interest rather than co-operation in the progress of the various schemes, helpful criticism for improvement, especially from those who have special knowledge of them and not the least, appreciation by the people of the great effort relative to our resources that is being put in. Members of Parliament as well as others have a duty to explain to the people the significance of projects like the Damodar Valley or Bhakra Nangal or the Hirakud, the Chittaranjan Locomotive factory, Sindhri Fertiliser factory, etc. There are also several aspects of the Plan which need to be explained: the reasons why a country like ours with limited means and many pressing demands on it, has to concentrate at this stage on the most important problems. In other words, it has to work in terms of defined priorities. This means inevitably that certain schemes of development and of extension of social services, have to wait for a while, however promising they may be in themselves. The more the basic reasoning behind the Plan is explained by those who are equipped to do so, the more will grow that climate of public opinion which is necessary for the implementation of a Plan of this nature.

For more direct public participation, the Plan has some provisions though we cannot claim that they are as much as we could have liked them to be. The community projects which have

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh]

been started in almost every State are a field in which the people in those regions as well as from the neighbouring regions can give fruitful and helpful assistance.

Shri Sarangadhar Das: Are they coming?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Yes, Sir. I have a Press release here which gives an account, which is faithful, of the response of the public. I do not know whether there is time for me to refer to it. But, the matter is of some importance and I would like to refer to it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House seems to be in a good mood to hear.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: As you are aware, Sir, on October 2, 1952, the Community project programme was started in 81 development blocks in 55 Project areas all over the country. In line with the general conception of the programme, the fields of activity included agriculture, irrigation and animal husbandry, education, health, sanitation, roads, communications, social education, village arts and crafts and recreational facilities. During this period, scores of miles of village roads have been constructed, dozens of Co-operative societies and *panchayats* have been formed, agricultural extension service has taken root in the project areas, a number of schools and health centres have been opened, extensive veterinary services concentrated mainly on the protection of cattle against disease have been undertaken, thousands of compost pits have been dug, and a number of agricultural demonstration centres started. All this work has been done with the maximum amount of public co-operation. Indeed, I feel justified in saying that the people's participation in these projects has been beyond all expectation. Any one who doubts this is welcome to go and visit any of these Community projects and form his own opinion. As the number of these projects grows the scope for such participation will also grow. - In addition—this again is another important point—there is a provision in the Plan for local work and in this budget we have set apart about Rs. three crores for the same, the total being about 15 crores, the condition being for any group of persons in a locality to get together and formulate schemes for rural water supply, rural roads, buildings for educational institutions or for any other felt need in the locality and to ask for

assistance out of this allocation. The procedure to be followed for this purpose is being worked out and will be announced shortly. The condition of the assistance being given for such schemes for local development is that they must include a measure of contribution from the public in the form of labour or of money. The idea underlying the programme is that something must be made available as an activating or energising agent to draw forth local resources for schemes which the people in the locality feel as of vital importance for them.

Apart from this provision for public participation in schemes of local development, the implementation of the Plan depends very vitally on the co-operation, help and enthusiasm of the public in regard to one very important matter—and that is public savings. The Government is being called upon to do a large number of things and the need for additional resources is great—it is almost a platitude to say so. The small savings movement has been gathering momentum in the last few years. But the more it can be stepped up the better. In fact, one might even say that the progress of small savings is the index of public interest, understanding and co-operation in the Plan. Recently some of the women's organisations have come forward to help in the small savings movement and they are to concentrate initially on a few chosen centres. If more organisations in different areas come up in this way, then the work of implementing the Plan will be greatly facilitated. Here indeed is a very concrete and fruitful field for public co-operation.

Lastly—lastly means about public savings—I would draw the attention of the members to some of the paragraphs in the Planning Commission's Report, referring to the provision in the Plan for social services. The Report says that the needs in this sphere are so large that what can be achieved to finance investment by public authorities would be limited in the initial stages of planning. I do not think I will quote it because it is all given in the Planning Commission's Report. The Planning Commission has also stressed the need for promoting the co-operative movement in different spheres. Therefore, people with the requisite experience and knowledge can take the initiative in organising, for instance, consumers' societies, in the localities in which they live. In these and many other ways which can be worked out in the light of local

circumstances and needs, public co-operation and participation in the implementation of the Plan are called for and have to be organised.

I shall now deal with two other matters: one is deficit financing and the other is unemployment. I do not know whether you like me to continue now or whether.....

Hon. Members: Now.

Shri K. P. Tripathi (Darrang): Today.

Hon. Members: Tomorrow.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am not able to catch the unanimity of the voices. The guiding factor is the strength and capacity of the hon. Minister also to continue.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I can continue, Sir, for another half an hour. I can hold on (*Interruption.*)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All right. Let it stand over till tomorrow.

The House then adjourned till Two of the Clock on Thursday, the 12th March, 1953.
