

apply with such variations and modifications as the Chairman may make;

that this House recommends to the Lok Sabha that the Lok Sabha do join in the said Joint Committee and communicate to this House the names of members to be appointed by the Lok Sabha to the Joint Committee; and

that the Committee shall make a report to this House by the 22nd April, 1958."

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): With your permission, Sir, I rise to announce that Government business in this House during the week commencing 17th March will consist of—

- (1) Further discussion of the Budget (General) for 1958-59.
- (2) Consideration of a motion for the concurrence of the House to join a Joint Committee of the two Houses on the Public Premises (Eviction of Unauthorised Occupants) Bill, 1958.
- (3) Discussion and voting of Demands for Grants in respect of Ministries of Commerce & Industry; Education and Scientific Research; and Health.

Time permitting, the Demands for the Ministry of Irrigation and Power will also be taken up for discussion.

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—Contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now resume further discussion of the General Budget for 1958-59. Out of 20 hours allotted for general discussion, 11 hours and 54 minutes have already been availed of. Eight hours and 6 minutes now remain.

Ch. Ranbir Singh may continue his speech.

Ch. Ranbir Singh (Rohtak): Mr. Speaker, yesterday I was saying that if reliance is to be given to the statistics mentioned by the Members of the various groups of the Opposition, the laymen in this country will be obliged to feel that everything is wrong with the Government. I do not claim that everything is O.K. with the administration but I must say that everything is not wrong with the administration.

I would like to mention some statistics to prove my contention. This is the seventh year of the Plan period. We started with an expenditure of Rs. 259.54 crores for implementing the Plan in 1951-52, while, according to the Budget estimates presented for the next year, 1958-59, the Plan expenditure is expected to come to about Rs. 1017 crores, which is almost four times the expenditure which was incurred in 1951-52, almost equal to 50 per cent of the expenditure of the First Plan.

Similarly, if one looks at the pace of net capital formation by and through the Central Government under direct and indirect heads, it was Rs. 511 crores in 1956-57 while it is expected to be Rs. 790 crores in 1958-59. The increase in net capital formation will be more than 50 per cent in the year 1958-59 in comparison to 1956-57. Similarly, if one compares the potentialities of the revenues of the Central Government, one will be amazed to find that in 1948-49, it was Rs. 371.70 crores while in 1958-59, it is expected to be of the order of Rs. 768.99 crores, which is more than double that of the year 1948-49.

As regards the pace of expenditure of the Central Government out of the Revenue Budget estimate, it was Rs. 320.87 crores in the year 1948-49, while it is expected to be Rs. 796 crores in 1958-59, which is also more than double that of 1948-49. It clearly denotes that the economy has expanded 100 per cent. more in the

[Ch. Ranbir Singh]

last 10 years. The total expenditure of the Central Government exclusive of the operating expenses of departmental commercial undertakings was Rs. 1091 crores in 1956-57 while the same is expected to be Rs. 1609 crores in 1958-59. Here also, the increase is more than 50 per cent.

The pace of development of the country and the success of the First Five Year Plan have created confidence in the people in the country and also in foreign countries which is clearly depicted in the response shown by the increase of net borrowings of the Central Government under the various loan heads. It was Rs. 186 crores in 1956 while the same is expected to be Rs. 537 crores in 1958-59. This includes a credit of Rs. 380 crores as foreign aid. The framers of the Second Five Year Plan expected external assistance of the order of Rs. 800 crores for the implementation of the Plan. A sum of Rs. 570 crores has already been committed as foreign aid for the Second Five Year Plan, leaving a margin of Rs. 230 crores which also, I believe, will be forthcoming. Many speakers, instead of being jubilant, developed a fear complex that probably the country may not be able to repay the loan according to the schedule. I am sure, not only the Planning Commission must have looked into the matter minutely, but the creditors also must have taken due care of their interest more than our critic friends in this House. I do not know why some friends here have started advocating the interests of the creditors rather than for the development of this country although the help is coming from different blocs of the world. The creditors must have advanced it after due scrutiny. I can understand the anxiety of the Members of this House for a proper expenditure of the aid while I fail to understand the other aspect, that is, the paying capacity of the country. It can safely be left to the creditors.

Any way, I may submit that we would be paying something about

Rs. 23 crores in the year 1958-59. The peak year in this respect is expected to be 1961-62 in which we will be required to pay Rs. 123 crores. God willing, the country shall cross that hurdle also as we have already crossed many hurdles in the past in our development era.

It is complained that the Government have resorted to deficit financing to the tune of Rs. 1,076 without any proper authority. I would like to present this fact in a slightly different way. I feel that it shows the soundness of the financial condition of this country as inflation has not been allowed to creep in spite of the deficit financing to the extent referred to above. Personally I feel that the limitation of the expansion of the currency should not be allowed to stand in the way of progress, and deficit financing will not harm the interests of the people at large provided agricultural production and cottage industry production expand with the required speed.

The agricultural sector or the cottage industry sector does not require much foreign currency. I am sure the agriculturists of this country will not lag behind as they have already shown their potentialities. The agriculturists made this country surplus in wheat, rice, cotton, jute, sugar etc., to the extent that at one time it became a problem to the country to maintain the reasonable price levels of these commodities. The Government, I think, reluctantly had to resort to a price support policy in order to safeguard the interests of the growers.

I am sure if the required cheap credit is provided and a reasonable price level is guaranteed by the State, the agriculturists and the artisans will not allow the evil of inflation to spread even though the country may resort to deficit financing to more than double the extent envisaged in the Second Five Year Plan.

I do not know the reason why road development and social services are not expedited with the speed and to

the extent that people demand today in the rural areas.

As regards agricultural credit, I would like to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to the demand made by the conference of Central and State Ministers of Agriculture held at Mussoorie in 1956. The conference demanded that an additional credit of Rs. 116 crores be placed at the disposal of the agriculturists to achieve the desired target of agricultural production. The agriculturists of the country are pained that the country which advanced Rs. 1,300 crores for import of foodgrains cannot afford the necessary credit facility for the agricultural sector. On an average we have been spending Rs. 130 crores every year for import of food. Even today, I am fully convinced, if the Government decides to advance Rs. 200 crores credit a year, the country will need no further import of foodgrains.

The credit requirements of the agricultural sector is about Rs. 750 crores a year for the existing level of productive operation. The peasant is obliged to accept finance even at about 30 per cent. interest under the existing system. You can easily imagine how one can increase production with such dear capital and with the primitive methods prevailing.

The country will have to resort to more intensive utilisation of land in order to increase production, that is through better seeds, more water, more fertilisers, better techniques of cultivation, which will require extra finance in addition to Rs. 750 crores. About Rs. 250 crores finance has been allotted for the agricultural sector in the Second Five Year Plan. I am surprised to note that the borrowings from the Reserve Bank by the State co-operative banks on the last Friday of December, 1957 was only Rs. 34.66 crores, and the total advances by the State co-operative banks was also Rs. 41.27 crores, while in a totalitarian country like China the target of agricultural finance for their First Five

Year Plan was Rs. 640 crores, and Rs. 560 crores had been loaned out by August, 1956. Not only that. The total outlay of government expenditure by way of loan and other investment in the agricultural sector has been kept at Rs. 1,680 crores in the First Five Year Plan in China, while the corresponding figure in a democratic country like India was only Rs. 758 crores in the First Five Year Plan. One can easily imagine the limitation of the Indian agriculturist.

It is very easy to fix the target for production, and it is also very easy to blame the agriculturists for not reaching the targets, or to complain against Nature or the environments in which he lives, but I am sure that if the facilities which are provided under totalitarian rule in China are provided to the Indian agriculturists, they will not only come up to our expectations, but will also place the financial condition of the country on a sound footing and increase the potentialities of development to a higher pitch than envisaged in the Second or the Third Five Year Plan.

Many friends have complained against the lowering of the minimum of the taxable income. I would like to submit that this country is composed not only of wage-earners, officers, shop-keepers and industrialists. More than 80 per cent. of the people depend on land. The principle of taxation 80 per cent. of the population is different from the principle of taxation the 20 per cent. How long this discrimination will continue, and where it will end, I do not know.

The agriculturists on the one hand are obliged to pay land revenue, even if they do not get Rs. 100 from their holdings; they are not allowed to get more than Rs. 3,600 income under our reorganised contemplated scheme, while on the other hand, the taxable minimum for the rest of the population is Rs. 3,600. One might say that land revenue is a rent, or it is a State subject, but I would like to submit that in a Republic no one can call land revenue as rent. It is a tax. Every

[Ch. Ranbir Singh]

one living in this country has the same rights and privileges as anybody else. The Punjab and Andhra Governments expressed their desire to exempt land revenue to the extent of Rs. 5 and Rs. 10 respectively, but I am told that the Planning Commission of the Government of India has not allowed them to do so. It is really very strange that on the one hand every pie, or even less, is being taxed while on the other hand people complain of the lowering of the minimum taxable limit. I am sure the country will have to rationalise the land revenue system on the income-tax basis at some stage or other. We can no longer depend on the outmoded system of land revenue.

According to the report of the Taxation Enquiry Commission, the income from land revenue used to be 69 per cent. of the total revenues of the Centre and the States in 1793-94. It came down to 8.6 per cent. in the year 1953-54. The percentage of the receipts from land revenue to the total tax revenues of the erstwhile Part A States used to be 54.8 per cent. in the year 1922, while it has dwindled down to 26.6 per cent. in the year 1954. I am sure the Planning Commission can remove this discrimination in the principle of taxation of income from land and other sources if it makes up its mind to do so. I would urge the Planning Commission and the Government of India to help the State and the Central territories to remove this discrimination in the principle of taxation of the agricultural population and the rest of the population.

Acharya Kripalani (Sitamarhi): I am sorry that so far I have been absent from the discussion on the Budget. My absence was unavoidable, under doctor's instructions. Not that there is anything the matter with me, but I did not know that, as it often happens in politics, so also it happens in medicine that the doctors themselves become the disease.

I speak at a time when the Budget has been thoroughly discussed. I will

not, therefore, trouble the House with figures. I want to point out and to ask what the main problem before us is. It is, as I take it, the poverty and the unemployment of the people. There are other problems like ignorance, disease, low vitality etc., but I submit that all these flow from the poverty of the people and their unemployment. To these, what is the answer that Government have given? They have given the answer of the Plans. And we have today the Second Five Year Plan. What are its objects? The objects are increased industrialisation and increased agricultural production.

As soon as the Plan began, there cropped up many difficulties. I am not going into the administrative difficulties and the difficulties caused by expert services, but I will only speak at present of the financial difficulties and of how we propose to solve them.

The Prime Minister has said that the people have to bear extra and heavy taxation burdens in order to make the Second Five Year Plan a success. But I find from the Budget that nowhere do the taxes touch the Plan. Every increased taxation is swallowed up by civil and military administrative services. And it is not only that, but even in the revenue budget, there is a deficit of about Rs. 26 crores. Then, how do we want to finance the plan? We are told, by inflation, by foreign borrowing, by internal borrowing and by small savings.

Now, let us analyse each of these propositions. I have followed from the press the debate on the Budget and I find that my esteemed and learned colleague, Shri Asoka Mehta, opined, or at least the papers say so that he did not mind deficit financing, and that deficit financing exists in every country in the East and in the West excepting Switzerland. I am sure that he is conscious of the fact that whatever deficit financing exists in Western countries has its effect neutralised by increased production. There is not a country in Europe that

has not only not repaired the losses which were sustained during the war, but has also not got its production increased indefinitely. Not only is there increase of production, but there is, whether in the East or the West of Europe, no unemployment worth the name. The wages of the people are rising, and their security and their social services also are advancing, so that whatever inflation there is is compensated by these trends in the economy of Europe.

Can we say the same thing about our economy that our production is increasing rapidly, that unemployment is diminishing and that the wages and also the social services are proportionately increasing? The deficit financing here creates a problem. Another thing which we seem to forget is that we began our Independence with inflation ranging from 400 to 500 per cent during the war years. Europe suffered very much on account of the war. But that suffering was so apparent that anybody could see it. But I believe that we suffered more by this 400 to 500 per cent of deficit financing. And instead of taking away that burden, we are progressively adding to it, and I believe that if we go on like that, this deficit financing would be very injurious to the economy of the country.

Then, we are very happy that we are getting some loans from foreign countries. We naturally and legitimately thank those countries that give us these loans. But loans are a dangerous thing, because soon we will have to pay interest on them and by instalments we will have to pay them back. The Prime Minister or the Finance Minister or the combination of the two has given us figures. These are that in 1958-59, we will have to pay an interest of about Rs. 23 crores, but in 1960 and 1961 these Rs. 23 crores would be enhanced to Rs. 123 crores. We are told that afterwards there will be a decline and we have to pay less and less. If I mistake not, the Prime Minister said that we would be able to pay by the excess of steel

that we produce and the excess of agricultural produce that we have. Shri Asoka Mehta has opined that we will need all the steel that we may be able to produce; as for agricultural produce, it would be a long time before we can be self-supporting ourselves, with our increasing population, which increases at the rate of 50 lakhs per year. So, a suggestion has been made by my friend Shri Asoka Mehta again, that we must meet the interest charges and also the instalments of our loans by fresh borrowing. It seems to me a strange remedy. It appears to me like the Mundhra deals, one deal paying for another deal.

As for internal borrowings and small savings, I am afraid the figures in the Budget are grossly exaggerated.

I think there will be a shortfall of 80 to 100 crores of rupees. I deduce this from what has been the condition of these two resources in the last year. Small savings would not be possible because there is inflation and because also the taxes have been rising. The purchasing power of the people is low. Though there is a little respite so far as foreign exchange is concerned, yet he would be a brave person who would be satisfied with this respite, because we have yet to spend a good deal of money, for which we would need foreign exchange.

Then, how are we to fulfil this Plan or the core of the Plan or the hard core of the Plan? What it is is yet unknown. I submit in all humility that I have certain suggestions to make, and if those suggestions are seriously considered and given effect to, we may yet be able to fulfil the Second Five Year Plan. These suggestions are: First we have to inquire why there is diminishing production in our economy. We can say that production is diminishing from our best organised industry, the cloth industry. In the textile industry, not only is production less, but I hear that about 22 mills have stopped production. I also believe, subject to cor-

[Acharya Kripalani]

rection, that even in the public sector, our industry is not working to the full capacity of the installed plants. We are told the Sindri Fertiliser Factory produces what it wants to produce. But we have yet to learn the capacity of that factory. We do not know. Other sectors of small industry, cottage industry are also facing a crisis.

You will not mind, Sir, if I give my personal experience. In this House, I am known to be a politician, but I am in charge of the khadi organisation of the whole of U.P. and Delhi. We produced through the Gandhi Ashram khadi worth Rs. 1 crore year before last. On account of the Ambar Charkha, in one year we raised our production to khadi worth Rs. 1½ crores, and we are faced with the yarn that will be coming, and our production will have to go up to Rs. 2½ crores. But we find the difficulty about markets. So we can introduce no more Ambar Charkhas in our organisation.

Something should be done about these matters. How can it be done unless the Government, the authorities, sit with those who manage all these sectors of our economy and find out what difficulties, central or local, stand in the way of higher production, because we are told that higher production is the only way towards a socialist pattern of economy and that if we have no higher production, we will be only distributing our poverty, though I feel that it is better even to equalise poverty than to have great wealth and great poverty and misery.

The next step I venture to suggest, which I have suggested many times in this House, is that if we want to fulfil the Plan and its targets, we have got to be very careful about our resources and we must exercise the utmost economy in our administration. Therefore, I suggest—and I have suggested before—that all superfluous institutions, organisations and offices must be forthwith abolished. Not only that, but I believe that big Committees that we appoint, that periodi-

cally meet in the cool climate of Kashmir or in the hill stations of northern or southern India, must be brought to proper proportions, and they must not meet in distant places.

I suggest—this also I have suggested often in this House but to no purpose—that we must see that there is honesty in the administration, that our taxes are paid, that there is no defalcation. Unfortunately, even when there is defalcation, the names of persons who are responsible for it, the names of such persons or such firms, are not published. Not only that, but the defalcators are the first persons to get the patronage of the Government, to get loans, to get capital to enhance their business.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): Shame!

Acharya Kripalani: I also submit that our administration must not only be honest, but efficient. We believe, and I believe, that many of our high officials are of high integrity. How is it then that the lower ranks are full of corruption? If an officer is honest, it must also be his duty to see that his subordinates behave honestly. Otherwise, it is only a very defective honesty in the Heads. I believe that if the Heads try to take proper measures, there will be also honesty in the lower ranks. Also, they must be efficient.

It is necessary that our administrators be re-educated. I submit that they need re-education. They have not been educated to the tasks facing us. They are clever people. They are intelligent people. But, I submit, they have not been re-educated to the new tasks that the Five Year Plan or the planned economy imposes upon them. They have got to be re-educated. I see that there is no provision for the re-education of the administrators in the tasks that lie before them, which they have to fulfil immediately.

I would also submit—and this is a very delicate point to which I have to refer—we had believed that in a non-violent India, the last thing that the Government would contemplate would be the enhancement of the military budget. But I am sorry to say, and I think it would disturb the soul of the Father of the Nation, that in recent years there has been an increase of about Rs. 100 crores in the military budget. Last time, it was Rs. 50 crores more than in the previous year and then in the Supplementary Demands there was an increase of Rs. 14 crores. Again, this time there has been an increase of Rs. 13 to Rs. 14 crores in the defence budget.

May I ask—why are we increasing our military establishment? Have we any designs on any country? I am sure we have declared from the house-tops that we have no designs on our neighbours or on any distant lands. We have also declared that, disadvantageous and tragic as has been the division of the country, when both parts have suffered, when India and Pakistan have suffered, we have no intention of even cancelling this partition by means of arms. We have declared that we believe in Panch-sheel. We have declared that we believe in co-existence. Nobody in the world believes that we have any intentions upon any territory of our neighbours.

Then, who are our enemies? I do not suppose that many nations on our borders have any designs on us. For instance, Ceylon cannot have any design on us nor can Burma have, nor can Nepal have. Now, there are other big countries that are our neighbours, from where there might be likely danger. But let us see China. China is a big country and it is militarised. But with China we have the relation of हिंदी चीनी भाई भाई and they have accepted the Panch-sheel; they have accepted our idea of peaceful co-existence. The same is the case with Russia—

रूसी हिंदी भाई भाई—and they have also accepted Panchsheel. They have also

accepted this peaceful co-existence. So, we have no fear from them.

Shri M. P. Mishra (Begusarai):

They have also accepted सत्यमेव जयते ।

Acharya Kripalani: So, the only country which is threatening us is Pakistan. Are we afraid of Pakistan? No, we are not afraid of Pakistan. Whatever revenue of its own Pakistan may spend on its armaments, we have no danger. Wherefrom the danger comes? The danger comes from the fact that Pakistan gets military help from America. But will America give the line clear to Pakistan to attack India? We have the example of Egypt. Those who were engaged in the excursion of Egypt were better allies of the United States of America than Pakistan. They were the French, the English and Israel and yet the United States of America opposed that excursion in Egypt. I do not believe that the United States of America is going to give the line clear to Pakistan to attack India with the arms that are provided by the United States of America. I personally would think that they give their word for it and I think we should take their word for it and we should trust them. I really do not see how even America can allow Pakistan to use its arms against us unless it is prepared for a third world war. So, I see absolutely no danger from any quarter which should oblige us to increase our armaments.

Then, what are our professions? We say, the world is suffering from distress, from fear, from war neurosis, and what are we doing ourselves here? We are suffering from those very complexes which we denounce day in and day out and we stand before the world as harbingers of peace. But what are we doing ourselves? When I was in Europe recently and when I talked about Gandhiji and his message of non-violence, I was asked "What is your country doing? Why are you increasing your armaments?" I had no reply to give. I could have said that this Government does not represent the people who follow

[Acharya Kripalani]

Gandhiji, but I did not want to say that. I had no reply to give and we were accused of hypocrisy, of talking one thing and doing another thing, of preaching fearlessness to the world and also preaching that there should be even unilateral disarmament, but what are we doing ourselves? We preach to the world that there should be no nuclear tests, no use of nuclear weapons. But we go on increasing what are called the orthodox weapons. If anybody suggested to us that we leave the orthodox weapons because they are more destructive and take to swords and arrows, would we listen to such an advice? How can we then advise the people who have sharper instruments of destruction to leave them? How can we ask Europe not to be afraid of Russia, when we are afraid of Pakistan? How can we ask the Russian people not to be afraid of United States of America? It is an impossibility and I believe that we are giving an impression that we do not mean business.

I say that today there is a very good opportunity to talk even to Pakistan. So long we have talked to the politicians of Pakistan. This time we talk to the people of Pakistan. Recently what has appeared in a paper shows that they are themselves feeling the burden of armaments. They are also feeling degraded that their country is being subordinated to the policies of a foreign country like the U.S.A. They have begun to write in their papers and even the most rabid communal paper, *The Dawn*, has come out criticising the present Prime Minister of Pakistan for his utterances.

I say that even America is being disillusioned because, rightly or wrongly, they think that the Prime Minister of Pakistan is indulging in bluff and he has indulged in bluff once too often. He said that if he is not helped by the United States of America in his designs on India, he would join perhaps the communist bloc. So, America knows who is the enemy of Pakistan or whom Pakistan considers

its enemy; not Bolshevik Russia, but India, and I do not suppose that Russia is going to allow them to embark on that excursion against India.

It is also said that the bone of contention between Pakistan and India is Kashmir. I submit that if we have to save Kashmir, we have to rely upon the people of Kashmir. Have we tried to help them to get good Government? Have we tried to help the citizen to have his fundamental and civil rights guarded? I am sorry the Prime Minister had not the patience to listen me out today, but I hope that what I say will be carried to him. I do not want him to answer my arguments. He is a seasoned politician and a debater. He can give argument for argument and if that will not do, he can have a joke at my expense and the Congress Members would laugh and the argument will be conclusive.

13 hrs.

But, apart from that he will have the final word.

Mr. Speaker: There may be exceptions in the Congress benches.

Acharya Kripalani: After all, Sir, you cannot deny nor the House can deny that he has the last word.

Shrimati Renuka Ray (Malda): Why should he not?

Acharya Kripalani: Therefore, Sir, I will humbly appeal to him to give consideration to what I have said. Let him not brush aside that I am talking like a visionary and dreamer. Thank God, throughout our lives we have been visionaries and dreamers; and thank God, that some of our dreams at least have been realised; and, thank God, Sir, that some of us yet remain dreamers and visionaries, visionaries of a happier India.

Therefore, I will appeal to the Prime Minister to lead the country to greater unity, to greater enthusiasm, to greater devotion to constructive work for the prosperity and happiness of this land. But, I want him

to do these things, not in words as he has often done but in deeds, through his Government and through his party, through the Congress to which, not long ago, in happier days, many of us had the honour to belong and to whose ideals we did not only subscribe then, but I claim that we subscribe even today, because those ideals were set by the Father of the Nation. That has also led us in the path of human brotherhood, of goodwill and of peace on earth. The fulfilment of these aims was the proud legacy left to us by the Father of the Nation with his indomitable faith in non-violence and truth.

Sir, the world is weary; it is weary of war, of war preparations and war tensions. The world is weary of war unto death, of maintaining armaments, of nuclear tests and of nuclear weapons. It wants an example, an example of unilateral disarmament. And, who can give that example but the land of Gandhiji? And, the world is looking to that land of Gandhiji to give this answer. We have to show to the world that India does not suffer from suspicion: it does not suffer from distrust; it does not suffer from fear or from hate, and we must show them that we believe in neighbourly love, in good fellowship and in co-operation, that we put our faith in these and not in suspicion, hate and fear.

This is a historical mission to which our Prime Minister and his people are called. This is for them a historical opportunity. May God give him the grace as also the strength to fulfil our expectations and our hopes.

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): Sir, enough has been said about the foreign exchange gap in our plans and also in the Budget. I, therefore, need not dilate on it. I had no intention to speak; but, since the Prime Minister has been plucking every day the brightest from our benches and drawing them to his side, it has been left to men prosaic like me just to push forward whatever we have been thinking about.

Shri Geray (Poona): Until you are plucked.

Shri Tyagi: Previously, in the Plan, a gap of Rs. 1,100 crores was envisaged and now it is said that the gap in our foreign exchange position is about Rs. 2,200 crores. So, it has been doubled already.

Loans are, no doubt, welcome; and I am sure they are without strings as it is said. They are without strings; but, my fears are that they lay moral rings about us. These loans are bringing about an atmosphere in India which, I am afraid, may not be quite congenial to the ideology of our establishing a socialist pattern of society in India. These loans have to be repaid ultimately; and, I think, it is unfair to go on heaping loans without taking into account the situation in which the other generation will have to repay them. These have to be repaid only after a few years. And, I think the Third Plan will have to suffer the incidence of all loans we are incurring merrily today and thanking the creditors.

My request to the Finance Minister is that he would kindly place on the Table of the House the plans which the Planning Commission has made for the repayment of these loans. What are the methods and the avenues through which they will repay the loans when the demand will come? I hope the House will be taken into confidence, for, in the whole literature pertaining to the Budget, there is not much to explain this.

I think this was also a point, a constitutional point which was raised on the floor of this House. Will this House or might this House permit any Government to go on incurring loans without having the consent of this House, because loans are worse than expenditure and every pie of expenditure has to be sanctioned by this House? Loan is expenditure by mortgaging our future credit. In the matter of loans, the House must be consulted. And, since the House has already approved the Five Year Plans which envisaged these loans, I take it

[Shri Tyagi]

that the loans have been sanctioned by this House. But, then, its repayment plans must also be sanctioned by the House. We must know the methods by which these loans will be repaid.

I think the Planning Commission has duly considered this position and will soon place a statement on the Table of this House. (*Interruption.*) Loans are not bad so long as moneys are invested in productive pursuits. But, when loans go into consumption—for instance, from Rs. 130 to Rs. 140 crores go towards foodgrains—they are difficult to repay, because foodgrains after being consumed will not produce anything except manure and there is nothing to pay back. Therefore, I am afraid that these loans which go directly into consumption are a serious matter.

The only way by which loans could be repaid ultimately is by reducing imports. Very lately, the Government has taken a decision to restrict imports to a great extent. This very action is proof positive of the fact that till last year they were sleeping about it. I want the Government to explain to this House why they carelessly allowed these imports in the past and why this wisdom did not dawn upon them then. How is it that they are trying to lock the stable when the horse has been stolen away?

Take, for instance, food, drink and tobacco. We had imported into India in 1955-56 to the tune of Rs. 34.42 crores. In 1956-57, it was Rs. 39.04 crores. On cutlery and hardware it was Rs. 22.57 crores and in the next year it was Rs. 28.43 crores. I do not know what these items actually contain but I am afraid quite a large part of these items is not essential for our requirements and perhaps we can do without any import of these items. I welcome the curtailment effected. That alone will not, however, help us in repaying the loans. We have to export outside because it is only by means of exports that foreign loans could be repaid.

For the purpose of exports, there is a foreign exchange earner, the biggest, probably, tea. We earn about Rs. 149 or Rs. 150 crores every year. Tea is exported outside. Now, let us take tea—for discussion. There are three types: Darjeeling, Upper Assam and the other common. Darjeeling tea is superior; Upper Assam is medium. The common tea is the ordinary tea. The duty imposed on all these qualities is at the rate of six annas per lb. Now, I shall take the last quality. The cost of production of common tea is 14 annas per lb. The export duty is six annas. The other transport charges, etc. come to three annas. In all it comes to Rs. 1-7-0 per lb. in India. If it is sent to U.K., the freight charge, etc., comes to another seven annas. In U.K. market our tea costs Rs. 1-14-0 per lb. The East African tea is selling in competition at Rs. 1-6-0. Our common tea suffers by a high price to the tune of eight annas per lb. Whether we get any revenues or not in India, we must export tea outside. So, I hope the Government will look into it and see in what manner the cost of tea could be reduced so that it can compete fairly in the foreign markets. Otherwise, we stand to lose Rs. 149 crores of our foreign exchange every year.

Then, let us take jute. It earns foreign exchange to the tune of Rs. 126 crores. Immediately after partition, we were faced with a shortage of raw jute and our mills were closing down. Willynilly, our Food and Agriculture Ministry agreed to divert some of the fields which used to grow rice towards jute because that was a very important foreign exchange earner. Now India is practically self-sufficient in raw jute. I am told that 55 lakhs of bales are produced which includes Mista and Bimla qualities. There are seven lakh bales of cuttings and there are some other sources in Bengal which yield 4 lakhs or so bales. So, it is about 66 lakhs bales. That is the total average yield every year. 62 lakhs bales are consumed and there is a little surplus. On account of this

surplus the producer is having only Rs. 12 or 14 per maund as the price of jute. If it continues the cultivation of jute will stop and we shall again be faced with the problem not only of foreign exchange but also of unemployment. In Japan this very type of jute earns Rs. 16 or Rs. 18 per maund. Why is it that the surplus jute was not allowed to be exported to Japan? These are important matters—which the Ministers are required to look into. They are answerable to Parliament. We should be told as to why this loss has been incurred. They have confessed it on the floor of this House that raw jute was in surplus. Why was it not allowed to be exported? There must be some price fixed for the producer.

Then there is another commodity—sugar. Unfortunately, the cost of sugar in India is £53 per ton whereas in foreign countries it is £37·8. How can we sell our sugar outside? It is impossible. These are the various avenues by which we can repay the foreign loans.

Enough has been said about cotton fabrics. A socialist State, a welfare State must express itself in giving additional employment to people. It is only then that people can be enthused into action; their enthusiasm can be whipped up. What is the test of the socialist pattern and the welfare State?

Today, it is not 22 but 26 textile mills that stand closed. What is this Budget? It must give an indication of the social activities in the economic field. It must be a true replica or reflection of society. We must take lessons from this Budget and the previous Budgets. How is it that 26 mills have been closed down during this short period? We export Rs. 80 or Rs. 81 crores worth of textiles to foreign countries. These mills are closed. 40,000 men have gone out of employment. It is not an ordinary problem. It is not a matter over which anybody can gloat or be proud about. What have they done? I want the Treasury Benches to explain as

to what specific action they have taken to tackle this problem.

13:18 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Not only that. 80 other mills have reduced their shifts.

They were having two or three shifts. I am told that there are other reasons too but that is for the Government to enquire. Even if the owner closes down the mill, the responsibility lies on the shoulders of the Government to see that the mill is duly worked. The incidence of duty has told adversely on some mills in Kanpur. Bombay has always been very lucky. I hope now our Minister who has taken over Commerce and Industry will kindly look into it as he is very near Kanpur . . .

The Minister of Transport and Communications (Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri): I have not yet taken over.

Shri Tyagi: It is for him to see what his predecessor did in the past.

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri: The predecessor is still there. I have not taken over.

Shri Tyagi: Anyway, what happened is this. I am talking of the Finance Minister. I am sorry that the Finance Minister in his last Budget imposed an excise duty on cloth. The rate of duty was distributed as follows. The additional duty on superfine cloth which sells at Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 a yard was four annas or six annas per yard. On the coarse type of cloth which sells at about eight annas a yard, the duty was 2-1/2 annas. It is based on yardage and not on price. Duty on superfine cloth, calculated on price basis as on coarse cloth, should not be four annas but Rs. 1-9-0. The incidence of this duty has not fallen uniformly on the cost price of cloth with the result that coarse cloth producing mills are closing down. That is one argument. There may be other reasons too but it is for the Government to look into them.

[Shri Tyagi]

Sir, by imposing this duty the Government have increased their income from Rs. 18 crores to Rs. 80 crores. While there is an addition of Rs. 62 crores, I am afraid the loss on income-tax will be many times more than these Rs. 62 crores if it is calculated. I have had a chance of peeping into these taxation measures and the organisation dealing with taxation, and I say that the closure of these mills will cause a great loss of income-tax to the Government. So, in fact, by one hand we have tried to realise these duties whereas with the other we have lost by way of income-tax.

There are many other matters but I do not want to dilate in detail on them. There is one important point and that is about wastage. Every time any patriot speaks here he talks about stopping wastages and economising expenditure.

An Hon. Member: But nobody does it.

Shri Tyagi: It is not as though nobody does it. I remember in the Defence Ministry an economy to the tune of Rs. 15.72 crores was effected out of which Rs. 7.84 crores was recurring expenditure. I hope my friend Sardar Surjit Singh Majithia is pursuing the policy which he had then undertaken. But, further savings have to be effected. My friend knows it that last time on ship demurrage alone—about which I wanted to get the exact figures, but it was not possible for the Treasury Benches to give the figures perhaps on the pretence that it was not in public interest—I learn that the Ministry of Iron and Steel itself has paid about Rs. 50 lakhs to foreign shipping firms.

The Deputy Minister of Agriculture (Shri M. V. Krishnappa): Suez crisis.

Shri Tyagi: It may be Suez crisis or something else. Suez crisis alone was not responsible for it. They diverted their ships to Visakhapatnam

Port which was not fit to take delivery of heavy steel. That is also a reason. Why did they not think beforehand? My friend says it was due to the Suez crisis. His Ministry—the Food and Agriculture Ministry—has, perhaps, paid another Rs. 50 lakhs on the same account, and another Rs. 50 lakhs or so has been paid by all and sundry. So, in fact, last year about Rs. 150 lakhs have been paid simply on demurrage. I think that is a matter which requires a little enquiry, because it is the hard earned money of the people. It is for the Government to see how this was allowed to happen.

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri: May I just make one observation. Sir? It is true that the Government had to pay heavy demurrage, especially on the steel equipment, but it is not quite correct to say that Visakhapatnam Port is not suited for that purpose. The fact of the matter is that Bhilai steel plant is located at a place from where Visakhapatnam is the nearest port, and for the Railways it is the most convenient port for carrying the steel equipment to the Bhilai plant area. So there was no alternative except to unload these equipments at the Visakhapatnam Port.

There was one difficulty, I must admit it. We have got a limited number of berths. We cannot increase the number of berths immediately. We are developing that port, but it was not possible to take all the load that was coming at that port especially when there was a bunching of ships because of the Suez Canal problem.

So, whereas I agree with Shri Tyagi that the Government had to pay a heavy demurrage and the highest payment has been made for the steel

equipment at the Visakhapatnam Port, it was not possible to divert the ships. With great difficulty they agreed to divert two ships to Bombay but that also did not materialise.

Therefore, firstly, it was not possible to divert the ships. Visakhapatnam Port is all right, but it has to be developed in future and it will take a few years to develop it and have new berths. This demurrage had, therefore, to be paid; there was no other alternative. It is true—and the Food and Agriculture Ministry have made a request—that in future whenever we enter into an agreement only one port should never be mentioned, there should be more than one port mentioned so that in case a particular port is not able to take a ship it can be diverted to other ports.

Shri Tyagi: I am very glad that my friend has explained the position. But last time there were talks about lack of unloading equipments also; perhaps the Labour Ministry also came in where they did not allow any mechanical unloading.

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri: It is for the shipping companies to provide the equipments which are used for the purpose of unloading. The Russian ships which brought the equipments did not have these. We were not responsible for that and, therefore, we compelled them to provide those equipments.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Interruptions are also counted in the speech.

Shri Tyagi: But this ruling should not be given retrospective effect.

There are many such instances. It is not for me to give all the instances. There is one more point on which I would like to have some light thrown. It is not for my friend Shri Shastri to comment on it. I understand that in the Iron and Steel Ministry there was one gentleman, Shri R. N. Dutt, who was the Additional Iron and Steel Controller. He went on issuing unauthorised releases; of course, that matter has now gone into courts,

The allegations made are—I am reading:

“Shri Dutt issued *ad hoc* releases after the Controller had specifically prohibited them. Though *ad hoc* releases were made to many parties....”

the chief amongst them was one Mrs. Manasseh, a good lady, an American lady. She had control over three firms: Manasseh & Company, Sopher Meer and Company, and Tilly Trading Company. This lady was selling steel and iron, I do not know what else. She was given extra permits without authority, and permits were issued when the Controller had banned such permits. This lady then went on distributing iron and steel without observing the rules and regulations of the West Bengal Government. She went on giving them in the free market. She is now being prosecuted, and this Additional Iron and Steel Controller who was borrowed from the Tata Iron and Steel Company has now gone back to his own parent firm. But this thing went on like that and steel worth several lakhs was so distributed. Such sort of things are going on. I am grateful and thankful to Sardar Swaran Singh because he has taken steps to prosecute and bring these people to book.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member should conclude now.

Shri Tyagi: I am afraid, Sir..

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Both of us are afraid but the time goes on.

Shri Tyagi: Now, Sir, about internal finance enough has been said, but it is a sad affair to note that last year the total of all the borrowings made by the Centre and the State Governments came only to Rs. 77 crores. This year they expect Rs. 175 crores. The Centre expects that. I am surprised at it. The Government owes us an explanation as to what type of fillip it is going to give, as to what are the methods and how this expectation is to be realised.

[Shri Tyagi]

I shall cut short now and only narrate my points. There is the food front. The people are talking about it. It is always said that the Community Development projects are to help the food front. But it is not possible to have better foodgrains and larger quantities of foodgrains from the villages only because somebody, howsoever important he may be, delivers a lecture. The people are not charmed by lectures. They love you and they see you, but it is not because you have given a lecture to them that they will produce more. In the economic field, everything goes by competition. If agriculture is more paying, they will enter the agricultural field. If agriculture as a profession becomes less paying, there is some other profession nearby where they can earn more profits, they will leave agriculture and go elsewhere. So, one must see it from the economic point of view. There are economic conditions; there are pulls, economic pulls, which should be examined.

Has anybody cared to know as to whether the wage-earner in the field is well and contented? It is primarily the wage-earner; it is not always the farmer or the cultivator alone on whose labour the additional foodgrains depend. Of course there are many other things, but the real thing is manual labour.

The total population in India which is engaged in the villages is 29 crores. Out of this, 25 crores are engaged in agriculture. At least 20 per cent of them are wage-earners, agricultural labourers. Has anybody cared to give them any incentive to work more? The question is, previously, in the past, a village used to be one unit and the wage-earner did not get any wages in cash. He had a sort of a proportion from out of the produce, and therefore, he was interested, on the basis of a co-operative society, to produce more, because the more he produces the more wages he gets.

The same is the case in Russia and in the eastern countries. I saw them

personally and made thorough enquiries. There, incentive is given to the wage-earner, apart from everything else, to improve their working conditions. Here we forget that, and we have not decided any policy about giving incentive to the worker, nor have we been able to fix the minimum cost or price of foodgrains. Do you expect that because they are patriots, they must produce more foodgrains? That is something which I cannot understand. So I say that no definite action has so far been taken by the Government, as a practical action, to induce additional production of foodgrains.

In this connection, reference may be made to the Community Projects. I have before me Studies in Co-operative Farming. I shall read only two or three passages from that publication. Every day the Prime Minister talks about the Community Project organisation and he thinks perhaps that this organisation will deliver the goods. But see the condition of the project organisations. The Enquiry Committee went into the Naya Akola Co-operative Farming Society, and their comment is:

"The village lies in Block III of Amravati-Morsi-Daryapur Community Project. It is the Headquarter of Gram Sevak. Most of the members and even the officers of the Co-operative Department say that the society did not receive any special help, technical or otherwise, from the Community Project."

One of the questions in the referendum was as to whether the farm received any help from the co-operative society. The answer was no.

Take next the Vihad collective farm. Here, they say:

"The colony is situated in Mul Community Project Block of Chanda district but no special advantage is derived by the colony. The Block authorities

seem to have taken little interest in the working of the society probably due to a feeling that the settlement of displaced persons is somebody else's concern".

Then in Orissa, there is one Sulia joint farming co-operative society. It is said as follows:

"The society is located in a community development block. The Co-operative Extension Officer of the block has helped in the organisation of the society. So far no aid or assistance has been rendered by the block for its further development".

In West Bengal, there is another society called Soddya Co-operative Farming Society. The report in regard to this society says:

"The officials of the society, however, opined that they did not get adequate technical advice from the Community Development Project. They were of the view that the demonstrations carried out by the Community Project on the farm of the society were not very helpful and the collection of seeds of paddy for distribution was done in a careless manner. The office-bearers feel that there should be proper co-ordination between the authorities of the co-operative farming societies and those of the Community Development Project and the Agriculture Department".

There are many such projects. There is one in Mysore under the Community Project and NES Blocks. It is called the Vallabhpara Co-operative Farming Society. There, "no specific assistance has been rendered to this society by the NES so far."

This is what the Community Project Administration is rendering. This is how it renders that type of guidance to these co-operative societies in their own areas. With this type of work, and with this slackness in enthusiasm, I am afraid the agricul-

tural targets will be difficult to achieve.

Shri Thimmatah (Kolar—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I rise to welcome the budget. I say that this is a normal budget, having no extraordinary taxation proposals except the gift tax. The budget is prepared against the background of the second Five Year Plan. The second Plan is an ambitious one, and it requires a lot of resources, both internal and external assistance. In order to ensure the success of the Plan, we are trying to tap the resources in our country. One of the methods we adopt is to get the required finances for ensuring the success of the Plan through the taxation proposals.

Last year we levied the 'personal' taxes suggested by Prof. Kaldor. Those taxes were expected to bring a large sum of money to the exchequer. But after the completion of one year, we understand that the expected amounts were not realised from those taxes and they were far below the expectations. This, I understand, is due to the evasion of taxes and also, to some extent, to the lack of enthusiasm on the part of Government itself to collect the taxes.

The evasion of taxes should be done away with by some means or other. The Government should find out some means to see that the tax-payer does not evade the taxes. The procedure to collect the taxes and the regulations and rules should be simplified. In addition to these penal measures, it is our duty also to create social consciousness among the people and the tax-payers, and also to restore confidence among them. I hope the Government will see that some means are adopted to tap the resources of the hidden wealth among the big people.

When we levied taxes last year there were certain sections of the people who opposed them and even today they are trying to see that such taxes are opposed. One of the reasons shown by these people is that these

[Shri Thimmaiah]

taxes never create any incentive for saving and that there will be no enthusiasm on the part of the capitalists to invest money on certain industries or any other undertakings. I say that in a poor country like India we have to derive incentive by seeing the poor conditions of the people and the miserable conditions of the villages in our country. No doubt, this cannot be a material incentive; but this will give some incentive to the people. We moved a resolution in this Parliament sometime back that there should be a ceiling limit on the income of the people. But we did not approve of it, because we felt that it is not the time for us to fix a ceiling on income for the business people and the capitalists in our country. It is not only the rich who are paying the tax today. The area of taxation is so wide that we have levied taxes even on articles of mass consumption, so that even an ordinary man might contribute his mite to the exchequer and the funds of the Government for the needs of the development works and the success of the Plan.

I next come to the small savings. In the last budget we expected certain amounts to be realised through small savings. But, unfortunately, it has fallen short and we have collected only Rs. 44 crores, out of Rs. 100 crores. This definitely shows lack of enthusiasm on the part of persons who are entrusted with the campaign of small savings. People who are working in the NES and community project blocks can enthuse the people and see that the small savings are collected up to our expectations. Some of the members expressed the fear that the target fixed in regard to small savings this year may not be realised, in view of the small collections last year. But I am of the optimistic view that we can collect more than what we expected, if we properly approach the people and the officials work with enthusiasm. If we have the right kind of machinery in the

community project areas, we can successfully conduct the small savings campaign, and the expected amount can be realised. I hope that Government will give due consideration to this matter.

Then I come to the food problem. Though ten years have passed after independence, we have not been able to produce sufficient food for the requirements of our people. We are stated to be an agricultural country. Besides, we mainly depend on agriculture. Then, how is it that for ten years we have not been able to produce sufficient quantity of foodgrains required by the people? So, there is something wrong somewhere, and the Government does not seem to have found it.

For instance, we have abolished Zamindari, landlordism and similar evils. Still, there are large areas of land which are not cultivated. There are lands belonging to the absentee landlords which are not brought under cultivation. And the Government does not care to see that they are brought under cultivation. We promised our people, the agricultural labour, in the last elections, as also in the previous elections, that the land reforms would be introduced completely in this country. Ten years have passed, and still we have not introduced land reforms fully in all States.

Of course, some States are coming forward with land reforms. But they are met with greater opposition from certain sections of the people, who are preventing or delaying the introduction of land reforms in the States. Land is a vital thing in this country. The possession of a piece of land will give a person some status in this country. Therefore, so long as you do not settle these landless labourers, the teeming agricultural labourers who produce food in this country, on some

land, you would not get the required quantity of food production in the country. Till then you cannot enthrone the agricultural labourer to produce more food.

Today the agricultural labour is at the mercy of the landholders or landowners. He does not get proper wages for his work. He works from morn to night. He gets some quantity of foodgrains for his work. There is no protection for him. There is no union of agricultural labour, as unions for the industrial labour. The agricultural labour is not at all protected by law, except by the Minimum Wages Act. That also has been introduced only in some States; not all States. Therefore, the agricultural labour is not enthused to produce more.

Now-a-days we see a lot of agricultural labour coming to the cities and trying to get jobs in the factories. They say that they have no enthusiasm to work in the villages, that the amount that they get in the villages is not sufficient and that the industrial labour is hundred times better and secure than the agricultural labour. Government should take note of this. They should introduce land reforms, as early as possible, in all the States and see that as many landless labour are settled on the land as possible. Why should they hesitate?

Today a legislation is being discussed in the Mysore Assembly, seeking to fix a ceiling on land. There is a great deal of opposition to that legislation. Why? Their argument is: when you do not fix a ceiling on personal income, why should you put a ceiling on land. In reply I say that land is created by God whereas income is created by man. Therefore, every man who can till the soil has a right over the land and has a share in the land. I do not mean to say that the land should be distributed arbitrarily. I only say that having regard to the production of food, having regard to the evils of

fragmentation and sub-division of land, you should distribute land to the common man and the agriculturists.

Then I come to the problem of unemployment of the rural masses. Today we are spending a lot of money on cottage industries. We are spending a lot of money on the institutions which impart general education. But I say that unless there is a network of cottage industries you can never arrest the unemployment among the rural masses. Today we spend a lot of money on the educational institutions for imparting general education. We require a lot of technicians. We want to popularise the handicrafts. Therefore, I submit that we should have more industrial training schools in the rural parts. Along with cottage industry centres, there must be training schools also. Unless you create an opportunity for the people to earn something, you cannot solve the problem of unemployment among the rural masses. I submit that Government should pay more attention to arrest unemployment among the rural masses than among the educated unemployed.

Then I come to the Community Projects and NES blocks. People entrusted with this work are doing very good work. I have no complaint against them. But I do not treat the officials working there in the same way as I treat other officials. I take them more as non-officials than as officials. He should feel one with the masses. He should think that he is a servant of the people of the areas in which he works. I have not seen that. He must identify himself with the masses. That feeling of identification with the rural folk, I have not seen that. The same pomp and officialdom is visible on the part of officers who are in charge of the Community Projects and NES blocks. I think, the spirit of service, the sense of duty and the feeling of one among the masses must be developed among the village level workers and the officers engaged in the work of the NES

[Shri Thimmaiah]

and Community Development Blocks. I am sorry the hon. Minister is not present. He is very sincere and honest, but he should see that the same spirit and sincerity is adopted by the volley of officers who are working in the Community Development areas.

श्री बलराम कृष्णय्या (गुडिवाडा) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं दक्षिण का रहने वाला हूँ। मैं इस अवसर पर राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी में भाषण करना चाहता हूँ। मैं समझता हूँ कि दक्षिण, जितने लोग यहाँ पर आये हैं उनमें शायद मैं पहला ही आदमी हूँ जो कि हिन्दी में भाषण करने के लिये उत्सुक हूँ।

आज पिछले तीन रोज से इस हाउस में बजट के ऊपर बहस चल रही है और हमारे बहुत से माहियों ने बड़े जोरदार भाषण किये हैं और बजट के सम्बन्ध में अपने अपने विचार प्रकट किये हैं। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के वक्ताओं ने हमारे बजट का एक दम खंडन किया और उसकी टीका टिप्पणी की। उनके द्वारा की गई टीका टिप्पणी के सम्बन्ध में मैं सिर्फ इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को सरकार का भार सौंप दिया जाय तो हमें पता नग जायेगा कि वह किस प्रकार उस जिम्मेदारी को निभाते हैं और इसका स्पष्ट प्रमाण केरल हमारे सामने है ही। कहने का मतलब यह है कि कुछ लोग सरकार की टीका टिप्पणी करने को हमेशा उत्सुक रहते हैं और जनता को खुश करने के लिये कुछ नोग हयेली में बहिष्त दिखाने के आदी हैं।

समीक्षा या समालोचना बजट की आम जनता और लोगों की भलाई की दृष्टि में रखते हुये करना चाहिये। जनता का भलाई की दृष्टि से बजट बटिया है अथवा बढ़िया है इस दृष्टि में देखें, अगर जनता

की इसमें भलाई है जनता का उदार है और जनता की कठिनाइयों को दूर करने के लिये बजट में ज्यादा जगह दो गई है तब उस बजट को हम बढ़िया बजट कह सकते हैं लेकिन अगर इसके विरुद्ध बजट तैयार किया जाता है तो उसको बटिया बजट कहना पड़ेगा। मुझे तो पिछले साल के बजट से इस मौजूदा बजट में कुछ नवीनता या क्रान्तिकारी स्वभाव बिल्कुल नहीं दिखाई देता।

सरकारी बेंच पर बैठने वालों में से बहुत से लोगों ने भी अपने भाषणों में इस बात की शिकायत की है कि हमारे प्रशासन में बहुत अधिक खर्च हो रहा है और हमारे सिविल ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का खर्च रोज बरोज बढ़ता जा रहा है और उस बढ़ते हुये खर्च को कम करने के लिये इसमें कुछ नहीं कहा गया है। जब मैं इस देश को स्वराज्य मिला और हमारी अपनी देशी सरकार ने शासन भार सम्हाला तब से हम लोगों को यह ख्याल हुआ और हम यह मधुर स्वप्न देखने लगे कि अब इस प्रशासन के व्यय में कमी होगी और भारतवर्ष के ग्रामीण किसानों और मजदूरों में खुशहाली आयेगी और उनको आराम व अन्य सुविधायें मुलभ होगी और उसके लिये आवश्यक कदम उठाये जायेंगे लेकिन इस तरीके की कोशिश करने के बदले हम देखते हैं कि आजकल नीकरशाही पर खर्च घटने के बजाय निरन्तर बढ़ता जा रहा है। बहुत से नये २ विभाग खुलते जा रहे हैं और नीकरशाही पर काफ़ी फिजूलखर्ची सरकार कर रही है। यह सिविल ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन पर दुगुना और तिगुना खर्च अगर सरकार आज कम करने की कोशिश करे, तो अच्छा होगा। यह रोजमर्रा बढ़ते हुये खर्च तो देख कर गांव वालों के तो सिर में चक्कर आ जाता है। रक्षा मंत्रालय का खर्च तो बंधद बढ़ गया और तिगुना हो गया है। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री महोदय तो नित्य शक्ति

के उपासक और पंचशील के जन्मदाता हैं और भारतवर्ष में ही नहीं अपितु सारे संसार में वे शांति दूत के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हैं। जहाँ भी भारतवासी जाते हैं वहाँ मोक्ष शान्ति शान्ति के अतिरिक्त और कुछ नहीं कहते। जब जब कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री पंचशील के जन्मदाता हो और उसके सारे संसार में प्रचारक हों तब भारतवर्ष में केली हुई व्यापक दरिद्रता को दूर करने के बदले रक्षा मंत्रालय करोड़ों रुपये खर्च करे, यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती है। अब एटम बम और हाइड्रोजन बम के सामने हमारी फौज और पलटनें क्या कर सकती हैं। हम कितना ही खर्च अपनी फौज और पलटनों को बढ़ाने में कर दें लेकिन वह एटम बम और हाइड्रोजन बम के सामने ठहर नहीं सकती हैं। इन्-लिये मैं तो कहूंगा कि भारतवर्ष अपने नैतिक बल पर ही भरोसा रखे और जिस संस्कृति का प्रचार सारे संसार में किया है उसी संस्कृति और उसी पंचशील और सह अस्तित्व के सिद्धान्त को हम सबल बनाने की कोशिश करें। एटम बम के सामने यह जो १०० करोड़ रुपये का नया खर्चा इस वजह में दिखलाया गया है मैं समझता हूँ कि वह फिजूल है। अगर शांति के दूत और उपासक गांधीवादी सिद्धान्तों पर चल कर इस बढ़ते हुये खर्च को कम करने की कोशिश करते तो उनका यह कार्य प्रशंसनीय और सराहनीय होता ।

आज देश में बड़ी २ इमारतों के निर्माण पर भारत सरकार बहुत अधिक खर्च कर रही है। मैं गांधीवादी सिद्धान्तों का आज से नहीं अपितु बहुत काफ़ी समय से भक्त रहा हूँ और पिछले ३०, ३५ सालों से कांग्रेस के झंडे के नीचे रह कर देश सेवा का काम करता आया हूँ और जब हम आज़ादी के लिये प्रयत्नशील थे तब मैं हमेशा यह मधुर स्वप्न देखा करता था और गांव के अपने किसान और मजदूर भाइयों से और बच्चों से बराबर कहता रहता था कि देश आज़ाद हो जाने के बाद यहाँ रामराज्य आयेगा और

उसमें सर्वत्र सुख शान्ति विराजेगी और आज जनता में सुषाहाली होगी और तब देश में कोई भी गरीब नहीं रहेगा, भूखा नहीं रहेगा और तब रोटी के लिये तरस तरस कर मरने वाला कोई नहीं रह जायगा। लेकिन दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि हमें उस सम्बन्ध में निराशा होना पड़ा है।

चीन की सरकार अपने देश में बड़ी बड़ी इमारतों के निर्माण पर बहुत कम पैसा खर्च करती है यह उस देश के भाये हुये यात्रियों के कथन से पता चलता है। लेकिन हम यहाँ देखते हैं कि काफ़ी रुपया बड़ी २ इमारतों पर खर्च हो रहा है और उसी सदन में हमने अशोक होटल के निर्माण और उस पर व्यय होने वाली भारी धन राशि के सम्बन्ध में टीका टिप्पणी सुनी। मैं नहीं समझता कि अशोक होटल सरीखे बड़े २ होटलों पर राष्ट्र का धन व्यय करना उचित है और अगर एक प्रस्टिज के लिये यह जरूरी समझा जाय तो मैं कहूंगा कि यह बिलकुल फ़ाल्स प्रैस्टिज है। इस सम्बन्ध में मुझे एक वाक्या याद आ रहा है और वह इस प्रकार है कि जब पूज्य बापू जीवित थे तो एक विदेशी एकोनामिस्ट यहाँ भारत में आया था और वह कलकत्ते, मद्रास और दिल्ली जैसे बड़े नगरों को देख कर बड़ा प्रभावित हुआ और जब उसने उन नगरों की अलीशान इमारतें देखीं तो उसने यह ब्याल किया कि हिन्दुस्तान बहुत सुसम्पन्न सुन्दर और विशाल है और उसने महात्मा गांधी से कहा कि आपका हिन्दुस्तान तो बड़ा विशाल और सुखी समृद्ध है तो महात्मा गांधी ने उनसे कहा कि आप हिन्दुस्तान के गांवों में जा कर देखिये कि कैसी हालत है और किस तरह लोग खाना, कपड़ा, घर, बिछा और तन्दुस्ती के बिना सड़ रहे हैं और वहीं पर आपको सच्चे भारतवर्ष के दर्शन होंगे। भारतवर्ष गांवों का देश है यह शहरों का भ्रष्टा नहीं है। भारतवर्ष ७ लाख गांवों का सम्मेलन है। जब वह एकोनामिस्ट गांवों में गया और वहाँ की

[श्री बलराम कृष्णय्या]

शौचकर्मियों की और उनमें रहने वाले गरीब किसानों और मजदूरों की हालत देखी तब उसका सिर चकरा गया और उसने महात्मा जी के पास जा कर कहा कि बाकी सच्चा भारतवर्ष मैंने देखा लिया और यह कहते हुये उसकी आंखों से आंसू निकल रहे थे। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं यही कहूंगा कि सरकार आज जो बड़ी २ इमारतों पर लाखों और करोड़ों रुपये खर्च रही है उसको अगर हम कम कर देंगे तो बहुत अच्छा होगा।

यहां पर बहुत से वक्ताओं ने रेड-टैपिज्म के बारे में कहा है। मैं इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ न कह कर सिर्फ इतना ही कहना चाहूंगा कि इस के कारण सरकार आम जनता में काफ़ी बदनाम हो रही है चाहे वह केन्द्रीय सरकार हो अथवा प्रान्तीय सरकारें, सब इस बीमारी में मुक्तिला है और इस कारण जनता में वे कितना बदनाम होती हैं, मैं कुछ नहीं कह सकता। हम चूंकि गांवों में जनता के बीच कार्य करते हैं इसलिये जानते हैं कि इस रेड-टैपिज्म के कारण दरखास्तों आदि के देने और उन पर निर्णय होने के सम्बन्ध में कितनी देरी होती है और जिसके कि कारण उनको कितनी असुविधा का सामना करना पड़ता है और जरूरत इस बात की है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार इस बीमारी को दूर करने के लिये विशेष ध्यान दे और कोई सक्रिय कदम उठाये। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का विकेन्द्राय-करण कर दिया जाय, सेंट्रलाइजेशन की जगह पर डिसेंट्रलाइजेशन कर दें तो काम जल्दी हो सकता है और उसमें इतनी देरी लगने की सम्भावना नहीं रहती है।

इस के अतिरिक्त हमें अपनी नीकर-शाही को भी ठीक करना होगा। यह सच है कि सारी सविसेज करप्ट नहीं होती है और न ही मैं यह कहता हूँ कि सरकार के जितने भी बड़े २ कर्मचारी हैं वे सब के सब

करप्ट हैं। २०० रुपये से ३००० तक तनकाह पाने वाले लोगों में बहुत से ईमानदार हैं लेकिन उनमें ऐसे भी हैं जो कि करप्ट हैं और जो कि समझते हैं कि इस मौके से जितना फ़ायदा उठाया जा सकता है उठा लिया जाय और अपनी जेब गरम कर ली जाय। इनमें ऐसे लोग भी होते हैं जो खुद करप्शन नहीं करते लेकिन अपने कर्तव्य के प्रति लापरवाही बरतते हैं और उनकी लापरवाही की वजह से सरकार की बदनामी होती है। इसलिये सरकार का कर्तव्य है कि वह इस ओर विशेष ध्यान दे और उसके लिये इस लापरवाही और बेपरवाही का अन्त करने की जरूरत है।

14 hrs.

ग्रान्ध में हर एक एम० पी० और एम० एल० ए० डिस्ट्रिक्ट प्लैनिंग कमेटी का एक्स-प्राफ़िशियो मेम्बर होता है। मैंने भी देहातों में जा कर मन्टर्स को देखा कि वहां क्या होना है। देखने में आंखों में आंसू बहाने पड़ते हैं। सब लोग कांग्रेस की टीका टिप्पणी करते हैं। किमी दोस्त ने कहा : "बलराम कृष्णय्या, यह जो कम्युनिटी डेवेलपमेंट प्रोजेक्ट्स हैं इन को कांग्रेस फंड डेवेलपमेंट प्रोजेक्ट कहो ता अच्छा होगा"। इस प्रकार हमारी दिव्लगी हो रही है। इसकी वजह यही है कि जितना पैसा इस के लिये खर्च किया जाता है, गांवों की तरक्की के लिये, किसानों की तरक्की के लिये, गरीबों की तरक्की के लिये, गांवों में खेती बाड़ी बढ़ाने के लिये, कुएं खोदने, नालाब बनावत, रास्ते बनाने के लिये जो काम किये जाते हैं, उनमें कितनी फ़जूलखर्ची हांती है, कितना करप्शन हांता है, मुझ में कुछ कहा नहीं जा सकता। हाल में ही इन कामों में करप्शन हुआ, रिश्बतखारी हुई। कलेक्टर, जो डिस्ट्रिक्ट प्लैनिंग कमेटी का चेयरमैन होता है, उस की नजर में हम इस को ले गये तो कहा कि जो हुआ

सो हुआ, मैं उसे देखने वाला नहीं हूँ। कलेक्टर समझता है कि वह लाट से भी बड़ा लाट है। प्रान्तीय सरकार की नजरों के सामने भी इस को लाया गया, लेकिन उस का भी असर कुछ नहीं हुआ। बड़े अफसोस के साथ लाज के साथ हम को सिर झुकाना पड़ा। एम० पी० हो कर भी डेवेलपमेंट स्कीम्स के जरिये जो फजूलखर्ची होती है, उस को बन्द करने के लिये, रिस्वतखोरी होती है, उसे बन्द करने के लिये हम क्या करें? किस तरह कोशिश करें? जब जो चेअरमैन होता है वह हमारी परवाह नहीं करता तो हम चुप रहते हैं, बैठे रहते हैं और यहां आ कर हमें सोना पड़ता है। समाज विकास केन्द्रों की यह हालत है। जहां तक हो सके केन्द्रीय सरकार की तरफ से इस की जांच पड़ताल करने की जरूरत है, इस की इन्क्वायरी करने की जरूरत है कि क्यों इतना पैसा खर्च होता है लोग समझते हैं कि हमारे कांग्रेस के मिनिस्टर्स हैं, हमारे नेता बड़े हैं, उन की टीका टिप्पणी करेंगे तो वे गुस्सा करेंगे, अप्रसन्न हो जायेंगे। लेकिन वह बात नहीं होनी चाहिये। सच्चा हितैषी वह होता है जो अपने दिल की बात कहने का साहस करता है। इसीलिये मैं कहता हूँ कि कांग्रेसी हो कर अपने मिनिस्टर्स से और भारत सरकार से मेरी अर्ज है कि यहां इसके लिये इन्क्वायरी कराये और जहां तक हो सके इस गड़बड़ी को, इस रिस्वतखोरी को बंद करने की कोशिश करें।

हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर कहते हैं, हमारे मिनिस्टर्स कहते हैं कि हमें मितव्ययी होना चाहिये। मैं भी ३०, ३५ साल से कहता चला आया हूँ, मैं बराबर तख्त पर खड़ा हो कर जोर दे कर तकरीरें देता रहा हूँ कि मितव्ययी बनो, सरकार की तरफ से मितव्ययिता होती है। लेकिन हर एक टी पार्टी में, हर एक छोटे छोटे काम के लिये कितना पैसा खर्च होता है। हमारे पास इनविटेशन कार्ड्स आते हैं,

विजिटर्स कार्ड्स आते हैं, नाच से एक किसान आया, उसे मैंने विजिटर्स कार्ड विलाया। उसने कहा कि ऐसा विजिटर्स कार्ड कोई जमींदार लक्षपति या करोड़पति, अपने बेटे की शादी में पैसा खर्च कर के भी नहीं छपवा सकता। यह अफसोस की बात नहीं है तो और क्या है?

केवल मितव्यय से काम नहीं चलेगा; वह व्यय जो वतन की भलाई के लिये, देश की भलाई के लिये होता है, वह सच्चा व्यय है। वह हितव्यय है। इसलिये इसकी ओर ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। अपव्यय न करो, दुर्व्यय न करो। जब यह भी होता है तो यह बड़े अफसोस की बात है। इस का अन्त कैसे किया जाय, कौन करे, कब करे, इसके बारे में सरकार सोचे। गांधेय सिद्धान्तां होते हुये भी बहुत से सरकार के कामों में भ्रष्टे गांधेय राज्य की झलक नजर नहीं आती है। उस की झलक तो आज कल कहीं नहीं होती है, ठाठ बाट ज्यादा है। जहां तक हो सके इस को कम करो। भारत के गांवों के सम्मेलन में मैंने कहा कि गांवों की हालत जब तक नहीं सुधरेगी, उस को सुधारने की कोशिश हम जब तक नहीं करेंगे, तब तक हम यह कहें कि स्वराज्य हो, लेकिन वह सुराज्य नहीं हो, तो राज्य अच्छा नहीं चलेगा। अपने हाथों से अपने दांत तोड़ लेने से कुछ सन्तोष नहीं मिलता। दूसरे तोड़ें या हम तोड़ें, दोनों ही अफसोस की बातें हैं। इसलिये जहां तक हो सके गांवों का सुधार करने के बारे में कोशिश करने की जरूरत है। बूंद बूंद से समुद्र बनता है, अणुओं से पर्वत बनता है, वैसे ही अगर पैसे पैसे की मितव्ययिता करें, एक एक पैसा बचाने की कोशिश करें, यह कोशिश सरकार की तरफ से, सरकार के मेम्बरों की तरफ से हो तो जरूर हम करोड़ों रुपये बचा सकते हैं, करोड़ों रुपये अपने भारत के उत्थान के लिये, उन्नति के लिये हम खर्च कर सकते

[श्री बलराम कुण्डग्या]

हैं। इसके लिये शुरुआत मुम करो। महात्मा जी के कथनानुसार स्वयं करो। मुम करो और लोगों को करने के लिये कहो। मैं कांग्रेसी हूँ, मैं अपने को देशनायक कहता हूँ, मैं कुछ नहीं करूँगा, औरों से करने के लिये कहूँ, तो इस से काम नहीं चलता। गांवों में लोग हमारी दिल्लीवादी कर रहे हैं, हंसी हो रही है हमारी, इसलिये पहले स्वयम् करो। 'परोपदेशे पांडित्यम्', अपने लिये नहीं औरों के लिये। तो यह हंसी की बाज होती है। इसलिये जहां तक हो सके इस के लिये सोचने की जरूरत है।

गांवों में स्माल सेविंग्स के लिये प्रान्तीय सरकारें बड़ी कोशिश कर रही हैं। लेकिन गांवों में से वे स्माल सेविंग्स सर्टिफिकेट्स के लिये बिल्कुल वसूल नहीं कर सकती हैं। सरकार की तो इस में विफलता ही हुई है, सफलता नहीं। क्यों? गांवों में मजदूर किसान प्रसन्न नहीं हैं, अप्रसन्न हैं। गांवों में लोग प्रसन्न होते तो वहां से बहुत पैसा आ जाता। जिस तरह शहर वाले हैं उसी तरह से गांवों में लोग एक रुपये में एक एक कौड़ी कर के, पसीना बहा कर के, खेती बाड़ी कर के, अन्न पैदा कर के, अपनी आमदनी में से दे सकते हैं।

आज युनिवर्सिटीज हैं। हमारे घर पर बराबर ग्रेजुएट्स, डबल ग्रेजुएट्स आते हैं। आज से दस महीने, बारह महीने की बात है। मैंने कहा—कहीं भाई क्या हुआ? तो जवाब मिला कि इधर उधर जूम कर आते हैं, नौकरी नहीं मिलती। किन्तु लिये युनिवर्सिटीज से इन लोगों को मैनुफैक्चर कर रहे हैं? युनिवर्सिटीज की संख्या ३० से ४० बढ़ गई है। युनिवर्सिटीज से लाखों आदमी निकल रहे हैं। भारतवर्ष में ६ लाख, २२ हजार और ६६ आदमी आज युनिवर्सिटीज से आये हैं। ग्रेजुएट्स के अर्थ हैं 'पट्ट भद्र' यानी सरस्वती

के वरद पुत्र। सरस्वती के वही वरद पुत्र दर बर, गांव गांव में, बाजार बाजार में जा कर, दफ्तर दफ्तर में जा कर नौकरी की भ्रंश करते हैं लेकिन उन को नौकरी नहीं मिलती। क्या बात है? इस तरह युनिवर्सिटीज बढ़ा कर आप सिम्पल आर्ट्स ग्रेजुएट्स जिन को सांकेतिक विद्या में कहते हैं, निकाल रहे हैं।

इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन के बारे में ...

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : आप के दो मिनट हैं, सारी बातें आज ही न कह डालें।

श्री बलराम कुण्डग्या : क्योंकि मेरा वक्त समाप्त हो गया है इसलिये मैं इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन के बारे में नहीं कहूँगा। बड़े बड़े लोग हैं। स्टील प्लांट्स की जरूरत है। लेकिन जब तक रूरल एकानमी के बारे में भारत सरकार नहीं सोचेगी, जब तक उस की ओर उसकी दृष्टि नहीं रहेगी, तब तक हम कुछ नहीं कर सकेंगे, हमें सफलता नहीं मिलेगी, सिर्फ डेफिसिट बजट ही बनाते जायेंगे। माइनर इरिगेशन, मीडियम साइज इरिगेशन का सच्चा फल उसी साल में हमें मिलता है जब कि मल्टी परपज प्रोजेक्ट्स से पूरा दस या आठ साल लगता है जब कि सरकार को उस से कुछ पैसा मिलता है। इससे बड़ा नुकसान उठाना पड़ता है। ट्यूब वेल वगैरह से खेती बाड़ी की तरक्की करने की आवश्यकता है। आंध्र को लोग पैनरी कहते हैं। वहां पैसी बहुत पैदा होता है, लेकिन वहां किसानों की बहुत बुरी हालत है। मैंने सुना है कि ५ अप्रैल को आंध्र में कम से कम एक हजार राइस मिल्स को बन्द कर देने का प्रस्ताव मिलस ने पास किया है। इस का क्या नतीजा होगा जरा सरकार इस के बारे में कुछ सोचे। मिलस ही तो गांवों में किसानों से खरीदते हैं पैसी को। अगर मिलस ही नहीं खरीदें तो किसान तो खुद एम्प्लॉट

कर नहीं सकते, न वह अपने धान को चावल बना सकते हैं। इसलिये किसानों की भाँध में भाँध कल बड़ी बुरी हालत है।

इसलिये जहाँ तक हो सके भाँध में जो लोग चावल पैदा करते हैं उनको बुरी हालत को दूर करने के लिये तम्बाकू आदि लाभदायक फसलें पैदा करने को प्रोत्साहन देना चाहिये। इस प्रकार उनकी तरकीबी के लिये अगर कुछ किया जाये तो मुझे खुशी होगी, और तभी हम समझेंगे कि, सारे जहाँ से मच्छा हिन्दोस्ताँ हमारा, हम बुल बुलें हैं उसकी वह है चमन हमारा।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Arumugham.

Raja Mahendra Pratap (Mathura): There is the third promise. Day before yesterday, you promised. Yesterday, you promised. Today, the Speaker promised that after Two, I will be called.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Arumugham.

Shri S. R. Arumugham (Namakkal—Reserved—Sch. Castes): The presentation of this year's Budget has been unique in several ways. After the successful completion of the first Five Year Plan, we have entered the third year of the Second Plan. As the economic review points out, we have made remarkable progress in industry and agriculture.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member will be heard more attentively if he remains erect.

Shri S. R. Arumugham: The Budget is also unique in not having practically any new taxes except the one on the richer section of the population. The common man and the middle classes have every reason to be satisfied that the country is well on the road of progress towards the socialistic pattern of society.

Many people have expressed their sense of disappointment at not having relief in taxation. While their criticism is right, I desire to point out that these sections who can afford should continue to bear the brunt of the taxation till the teeming millions of India are improved in their status. With the rising cost in prices, the poorer people cannot stand any more direct taxation on them, but I feel that some minor adjustments could have been made in certain items of taxation.

Tobacco has been the subject of very heavy excise duties, especially after the Centre took over the levy. The inferior variety of tobacco has been subject to very heavy taxation, so much so that the cultivators destroyed the crops on the field because to harvest them and then market the same after paying the taxation will result in heavy losses. This act of destruction was resorted to by agriculturists in Madras State last year, and you can understand their plight.

Excise duties must have some relation to the ruling prices of the commodity in the market. This inferior tobacco is consumed mainly by villages along with paddy. The growing of tobacco had another advantage to the farmer. It acted as a fertiliser and the next crop was a great success. Now, because of the high incidence of excise duties, the agriculturists lose both ways. Therefore, I appeal to the Government to enquire into the matter fully and then revise the duties on inferior tobacco in accordance with the market prices of the same and thus save the poor agriculturists.

Next to the agriculturists, the handloom weavers constitute the biggest artisans in Madras State. Thanks to the steps taken by the Government of India and particularly the then Commerce and Industry Minister, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, the handloom industry has been saved and stabilised. The various schemes such as marketing, export promotion and

[Shri S. R. Arumugham]

housing colonies have done immense good to the handloom weavers, but at present there is a great slump in the market. Handloom goods worth several crores are held in stock by the various weavers' co-operative societies, and there has been a drop in the volume of employment and wages. Some quick action is necessary to avert a crisis or a catastrophe.

The glut in the sale of handloom goods is due to the fact that the rebate has been reduced from nine to six naye paise. This has been done so suddenly that the industry had no time to adjust itself to the new policy. The Madras Government, the legislature and all sections of the people have protested against this reduction. Therefore, I request the Government to announce an increase in the rebate to at least ten naye paise for warding off this crisis. In April-May the stocks will move as the agriculturists will have money in their pockets. The matter is very urgent, and I request swift action by the Government.

Coming to the question of irrigation and power, we are all happy that India has made stupendous progress in this direction in the past years. The First Plan rightly laid emphasis on great projects like the Bhakra-Nangal, Damodar Valley, Tungabhadra, Lower Bhavani etc., which are of importance to the entire nation. Both the Plans have also made good provision for smaller schemes which are important for the economy of the particular district or State. I think now it is time to think of power and irrigation projects which are important for regions or zones comprising two or more States.

There are various rivers in the South which run through more than one State, or have more water than required for them. The Parambikulam project and the Keeriar project are some of the items which, if executed, will prove beneficial both to Madras and Kerala. Similarly,

there are several power schemes which will benefit Mysore, Madras and Kerala. Then there is the surplus water in the mighty rivers of Godavari and Krishna which now goes to waste.

The Planning Commission must immediately take up these schemes which are of zonal importance and then execute them by the Central Government. The present Inter-State River Utilisation Act involves cumbersome procedure and undue delay. Much of the red-tapism and negotiations can be avoided if zonal planning boards are set up for execution of these projects. I am sure that with the helping hand of the neighbouring States of Kerala and Andhra, Madras will have the benefits of these schemes very soon.

Lastly, I desire to submit one thing for the consideration of the Home Ministry. The Constitution and the Government have provided for the reservation of seats for Harijans in the matter of recruitment to the services. While the Central Government has guaranteed this reservation in all categories of services including Class IV employees, it is a matter of great regret that many States have this reservation only up to the first three categories. There is no reservation of seats for Harijans in the Class IV services. The reason alleged is that these Class IV employees are often required for domestic and personal service of the officers and Harijans will be unacceptable to them. This is really a sorry state of affairs, and this subtle evasion of the anti-untouchability Act should not be tolerated. Therefore, I request the Home Ministry to immediately take the necessary steps for the implementation by the State Governments and local bodies of this right guaranteed by the Constitution. The House will be grateful if the Home Minister can inform this House at a later stage of the steps taken by him and the results achieved in this direction.

वर्षित त्रय कारावरण "बजेट" (शिवपुरी): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, भाषण करने के लिए प्रतीक्षा करने का जो आनन्द आपने मुझे अनुभव कराया उसके लिए धन्यवाद।

इस समय मुझे रहीम का एक दोहा याद आता है :

रहिमन चुप है बैठिये देखि दिनन को फेर।
जब नीके दिन आइहैं बनत न लगी है बेर ॥

बजट पर करीब-करीब तीन दिन से समीक्षा और समालोचनायें हो रही हैं और मेरे बन्धु, माननीय सदस्यों ने इस महत्वपूर्ण बजट के विभिन्न पहलुओं पर प्रकाश डालने का प्रयत्न किया है। यहां सदन से दो प्रकार के मत दिख रहे हैं। एक पक्ष का तो यह कहना है कि सरकार बिल्कुल कुछ नहीं कर रही है और बजट बिल्कुल निकम्मा है और दूसरा पक्ष कहता है कि इससे अधिक अच्छा बजट हां ही नहीं सकता। परन्तु बात वास्तव में यह नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि वर्तमान अवस्था और स्थिति में जिस प्रकार से समस्याओं का हमें समाधान करने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिए उस तरह से नहीं किया जा रहा है और हम ऐसी मूलभूत भूलें कर रहे हैं जिनके कारण हमारी स्थिति सुदृढ़ होते हुए भी भयावह बनती जा रही है।

इस समय में जानता हूँ कि मैं बजट पर बोल रहा हूँ और बजट का सीधा सम्बन्ध अर्थ से और कोष से होता है, यह निश्चित बात है। राज्य का संचालन करने के लिए हमारे यहां स्पष्ट सूत्र दिया गया है:

कोषोहि भूपतिनाम् जीवितम् न प्राणः

अर्थात् राज्य का प्राण कोष है। अतः जिस राज्य के पास स्वस्थ कोष नहीं होता वह राज्य चल नहीं सकता। राज्य के चलाने के लिए कोष अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। परन्तु

सबसे बड़ी खराबी तो यह है कि आज जो हमारे सामने बजट है उसमें घाटा ही घाटा है। मैं समाचारपत्रों में देखता हूँ कि प्रान्तों के जो बजट हैं वे भी घाटे के बजट हैं। तो प्रान्तों में भी घाटा और केन्द्र में भी घाटा और लाभ उठा रहे हैं बिड़ला और टाटा। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि इस प्रकार से कार्य कैसे चलेगा। जिन्हें लाभ नहीं मिलना चाहिए वह लाभ उठा रहे हैं, जिनके पास पैसा होना चाहिए उनके पास पैसा नहीं है। और साथ में जो हमें मिल रहा है उसका भी ठीक प्रकार से उपयोग नहीं हो रहा है। आयुर्वेद शास्त्र की तरफ हम दृष्टि डालें तो हमें दूसरा सूत्र ध्यान में आता है : कुपयस्य किमौषधिम्। जो कुपय्य करता है, जो मर्जी आये वह खाता है उसे तोला माया औषधि क्या कर सकती है? बाई खेर दही बड़ा और एक तोला कुनीन तो कैसे काम चलेगा? हमारे यहां जैसे ही पैसा नहीं है और उस पर भी हम कर्ज ले रहे हैं। यह ठीक है कि देश की नीयत अच्छी हो सकती है और किसी राष्ट्र को दलदल में फंसाने का विचार नहीं है। परन्तु ऋण और कर्जा तो मुसीबत में ही लेना चाहिए। अगर देश मुसीबत में है तो कर्ज तो लो लेकिन कर्ज के लिए नीतिकारों ने स्पष्ट कहा है :

“ऋणकर्ता पिना शत्रुः माता च व्यभिचारिणी”

वह बाप दुश्मन है जो बेटे को कर्ज से लादता है। आप इधर तो ऋण ले रहे हैं और उधर खर्च बढ़ रहा है, कर्ज आ रहा है और खर्च बढ़ रहा है, और देश आगे बढ़ रहा है। पर किस तरफ बढ़ रहा है, कर्ज की तरफ बढ़ रहा है और खर्च की तरफ बढ़ रहा है। खर्च की तरफ बढ़ा तो मरे और कर्ज की तरफ तरफ बढ़ा तो मरे। देश बढ़ता तो दिखायी दे रहा है लेकिन उन्नति और तरक्की की दिशा में प्रगति होनी चाहिए वह न होकर दूसरी दिशा में हो रही है। मैं देखता हूँ कि अपभ्यय तो आकाश को चूम रहा है।

[पंडित ब्रज नारायण "ब्रजेश"]

बहुत सी समस्यायें तो ऐसी हैं कि अगर उनको हमने समय पर सुलझा लिया होता तो आज यह दशा न होती। यहां पर हिन्दू महासभा की तरफ से जोर दिया गया, डा० एस० पी० मुखर्जी ने और श्री एन० सी० चटर्जी ने यहां पर कहा कि काश्मीर के मामले को आप यू० एन० ओ० से बाहर निकाल लो लेकिन सरकार से नहीं माना। यू० एन० ओ० में अमरीका हमारे विरुद्ध है, इंग्लैंड हमारे विरुद्ध है, फ्रांस हमारे विरुद्ध है। एक भी मत हमारे विरुद्ध आने से समस्या का हल शक जाता है। वहां पर चर्चा होती रहती है परन्तु परिणाम कुछ नहीं निकलता। प्रधान मंत्री से इस मामले में जोर दिया गया तो कहा कि बोलो मत। उसके पश्चात् हमने आन्दोलन आरम्भ किया और उसमें डा० श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी का बहिदान हुआ, उससे शेख अब्दुल्ला का राष्ट्र विरोधी रूप प्रकट हुआ, वह कारावास में बन्द किये गये। मैं प्रिंसेटन डिटेंशन ऐक्ट का पक्षपाती नहीं हूँ। उनको उस ऐक्ट के अन्तर्गत बन्द नहीं करना चाहिए था। बाद में उनको निकाल दिया गया। अब वह बाहर बैठे हैं तो राष्ट्रद्रोह कर रहे हैं। हम कहते हैं तो प्रधान मंत्री कहते हैं कि डरो मत। जो बात क्या है? मैं पूछता हूँ कि यह शेख अब्दुल्ला बाहर निकल कर इस प्रकार से राष्ट्रद्रोह कर रहे हैं, सारे भारतवर्ष के विरुद्ध प्रचार कर रहे हैं, क्यों नहीं उन पर मुकदमा चलाकर उनको बन्द किया जाता? उनको इस प्रकार का भ्रमसर क्यों दिया जाता है? उनकी इस कार्यवाही से समस्त काश्मीर से असंतोष फैलता है, हिन्दुस्तान में असंतोष पैदा होता है। उस असंतोष को दबाने के लिए पैसा खर्च होता है। इस प्रकार से पैसा इधर-उधर खर्च किया जा रहा है। शेख अब्दुल्ला को इस प्रकार से बढ़ावा देने के कारण रोज हमारी कठिनाइयां बढ़ रही हैं।

हम लाखों रुपया विदेशों में सांस्कृतिक शिष्टमंडल भेजने में खर्च कर रहे हैं। हमारे आदमी बाहर जाकर नाच कूद करते हैं। मैं पूछता हूँ कि कितने ब्रह्मचारियों को यहां से बाहर भेजा गया? इस तरह के लोगों को बाहर भेजने से संसार का वह विचार होता है कि भारतवर्ष की संस्कृति यह है कि १४, १५ साल के लड़के पैरों में धुंधरू बांध कर नाचते हैं। यह हमारी सिविलाइजेशन है। अगर हम स्वामी विवेकानन्द और रामतीर्थ जैसे भारतीयों को अमरीका और रूस और दूसरे देशों में प्रचार करने के लिए भेजते तो वास्तव से संसार को पता लगता कि भारतीय संस्कृति का स्वरूप क्या है? ऐसा करने से ही भारतवर्ष का मान बढ़ता। इस तरह हमारा मान नहीं बढ़ता कि यहां से लोग जायें पैरों में धुंधरू बांध कर नाचकूद कर आ जायें। आज जब हमारे उपराष्ट्रपति डा० राधा-कृष्णन को विदेशों में भेजते हैं तो हमारा मान बढ़ जाता है, परन्तु जब आप धुंधरू बांधने वालों को भेज देते हैं तो हमारा मान धूल से मिल जाता है। इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि इस तरह के खर्च हमें बिलकुल बन्द कर देने चाहिए।

पाकिस्तान अपना प्रोपेगेंडे में सफल हो रहा है। वह प्रचार करके दुनिया पर यह प्रभाव डाल रहा है कि भारतवर्ष गलत मार्ग पर है और हम सही मार्ग पर हैं। लेकिन हमारी तरफ से जो प्रचार किया जाता है उसकी कोई सुनवाई नहीं होती। तो फिर अर्थ में क्यों इस पर खर्च किया जा रहा है। एक तरफ जनता से टैक्स लिया जा रहा है और दूसरी तरफ उसे इस तरह से खर्च किया जा रहा है। इस प्रकार का अपव्यय बन्द करना चाहिए।

मैं तो एक बात ब्यास तौर से पूछना चाहता हूँ। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री महोदय बतायें कि अभी तक इस काश्मीर की समस्या को क्यों नहीं सुलझाया गया है। क्यों न इस

प्रवच को भ्रपना कर, इस पर अधिकार घोषित करने के बाद इसकी भाग चर्चा बन्द कर दी जाये और इसको सम्पूर्ण रूप से भ्रपने हाथ में लेकर इसको भ्रपनी इच्छानुसार चलाया जाये। जो लोग वहाँ पर विधाक्त वायुमंडल पैदा कर रहे हैं उनको क्यों न बन्द कर दिया जाये ? बजट को देखने से मालूम होता है कि काश्मीर के बारे में जो प्रोपेण्डा चल रहा है उस पर लाक्षां क्षयता लक्ष होता है। यह देखकर मुझ दुःख होता है। अगर हम हिन्दू महासभा वाले इन राष्ट्रदोहियों के विरुद्ध एक शब्द भी कहें तो हमको बन्द कर दिया जाता है। दो बार तो मुझे बन्द किया जा चुका है। कहीं तीसरी बार भी न रगड़ दिया जाये। तो हमारा अनुरोध है कि जो वास्तव में राष्ट्र-दोही हैं उन को बन्द करना चाहिए।

मैं बधाई देता हूँ कांग्रेस पार्टी को कि उसने अपने अधिवेशन में यह प्रस्ताव पास किया कि भारतवर्ष की राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी ही हो सकती है। कांग्रेस ने इसी भाषा का सहारा लेकर उन्नति की थी और इसी के आधार पर वह आगे बढ़ी थी। लेकिन एक नेता उधर से आते हैं, एक उधर से आते हैं और हिन्दी के विरुद्ध विधाक्त वातावरण पैदा करते हैं। वे कहते हैं कि हिन्दी कुछ खास प्रान्तों की भाषा है। परन्तु वे यह नहीं देखते कि यह भारतवर्ष के बहुमत द्वारा बोली जाने वाली भाषा है। इसी कारण इसको राष्ट्रभाषा के रूप में स्वीकार किया गया है। लेकिन एक दूरदर्शी नेता अंग्रेजी को देश की राष्ट्रभाषा बनाना चाहते हैं। वे आज देश में अंग्रेजी का प्रचार कर रहे हैं। ऐसे आदिमयों को बन्द किया जाना चाहिए। राष्ट्रभाषा स्वीकार हो चुकी है। यदि वे हिन्दी को राष्ट्रभाषा नहीं मानना चाहते तो तेलगू, मलयालम या कन्नड़ या किसी अन्य भाषा का प्रचार करें जो कि भारतीय भाषा हो, तब तो बात समझ में आ सकती है। लेकिन वे अंग्रेजी को राष्ट्रभाषा बनाना चाहते हैं। यह क्या मशीलबाजी है? इस तरह वे भारतवर्ष का काम कवापि नहीं

चल सकता। यह प्रचार शान्त होना चाहिए। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि जब तक सरकार मौजूदा स्थिति का परिमार्जन नहीं करेगी, जब तक यह स्पष्ट घोषणा नहीं करेगी कि क्या करना है तब तक स्थिति नहीं सुधर सकती। यहाँ तो यही नहीं मालूम होता कि मुल्क का मालिक कौन है। यहाँ तो यह हो रहा है कि जो चाहे आता है, खाता है, पीता है, भोज करता है और चला जाता है। यह हमारी राष्ट्रियता है। लोग यहाँ आते हैं जितनी देर चाहे यहाँ रहते हैं, जितना चाहे कमाते हैं और जब मर्जी हुई, भाग जाते हैं। रोज पाकिस्तान को सवारी चली जाती है। वे लोग यहाँ आ कर सर्विस करते हैं, नौकरी करते हैं, पैसा कमाते हैं और जब मर्जी चाहे, भाग जाते हैं। मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रकार की अनुशासनहीनता और उच्छ्वलता आराजकता को जन्म देती है। इसमें व्यर्थ ही पैसा व्यय होता है। यदि यह अपव्यय रुक जाय और ठीक प्रकार से पैसा लगे, तो बड़ा लाभ हो सकता है। मैं जानता हूँ कि यहाँ पर कोई बिल्कुल नादान लोग नहीं हैं—सब समझदार हैं। अगर थोड़ा भी पानी हो और ठीक ढंग से क्यारियों में डाल दिया जाय, तो सारा बागीचा सींचा जा सकता है और अगर वैसे ही फेंक दिया जाय तो मनो पानी एक ही जगह में समा सकता है और उसका कोई उपयोग नहीं हो सकता। मेरे कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि ठीक व्यवस्था के साथ पैसा लगाया जाय तो अधिक लाभ उठाया जा सकता है। मैं अपने मंत्री महोदयों से प्रार्थना करूँगा कि वे कार्य के करने में शीघ्रता न करें। गांधी जी ने बड़ी दया की कि उन्होंने खादी पर बल दिया और उसका प्रचार किया। यह कोई मिलिटरी की ड्रेस नहीं थी, जो कि उन्होंने कांग्रेस को दी और न ही यह कोई किसी सम्प्रदाय विशेष की ड्रेस थी। उन्होंने कहा कि भ्रपना कमाओ, भ्रपना खाओ। मानचेस्टर में भाग लगाने के लिए, विदेशों से यहाँ माल न आये, इसलिए उन्होंने खादी

[पंडित राज नारायण "ब्रजेश"]

पर बल दिया। लोग अपना कपास कार्टों और कपड़ा पहनें, लोग सिम्पल लिविंग और हाई थ्रिफिंग में विश्वास करें, इस तरफ उन्होंने ध्यान दिया, लेकिन यहां पर तो लोग घौली के भीतर छोटे-मोटे अंगरेज बन कर बठे हुए हैं। कितना कितना राजसी ठाट-बाट हम यहां देख रहे हैं। हमने जो स्वरूप बनाया है, वह हम नित्य देख रहे हैं। हमारा देश दरिद्र है, किसान, मजदूर, शिक्षित, अशिक्षित सब दरिद्र हैं—चारों तरफ दरिद्रता है। ऐसे समय में यह ठाट-बाट बनाने की, इतना खर्च करने की और बड़े-बड़े भव्य भवन निर्माण करने की क्या आवश्यकता है। दस पांच दिन ठहरो, जब जान आ जाय, दम आ जाय, शक्ति और बल आ जाय, तो उसके पश्चात भव्य भवन निर्माण करो। पहले लोगों को रोटी, कपड़ा, शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य, शान्ति, प्रेम और ऐक्य दो, उसके पश्चात फिर ऐश्वर्य दिखाने के लिए विशाल भवन, मोटर-कारें और कोठियां बनाओ। लेकिन आज एक तरफ लोग भूखों मर रहे हैं, जमीन पर सिसक रहे हैं और दूसरे कोठियों में बैठे हुए रेडियो का आनन्द ले रहे हैं। मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस विषयता से देश में खराबी पैदा होती है। शासन की सहायता करने और उसके साथ सहयोग करने का जो उत्साह जनता में आना चाहिए था, वह नहीं आ रहा है। हमारे ऋषियों ने कहा है कि

उत्साहसम्पन्नमदीर्घ-सूत्रम्

क्रिया-विधिज्ञानम् व्यसनैष्वसन्नम् ।

शूरम् कृतज्ञ दृढ़सीहृदं च,

लक्ष्मी-स्वयम् यांति निवास हेतोः ॥

अर्थात् उत्साह-सम्पन्नता, दीर्घसूत्री न होना, क्रिया की विधि का ज्ञान और व्यसनो में आसक्ति का न होना, शूरता, मित्रता में दृढ़ होना और जिस ने हमारे साथ हाई

अच्छा काम किया है, उस के प्रति हमारे मन में कृतज्ञता का भाव होना। ये चीजें जहाँ होती हैं, वहाँ स्वयं लक्ष्मी आकर निवास करती है। इससे देश आगे बढ़ेगा और तरक्की करेगा, लेकिन मैं इस के विपरीत देख रहा हूँ।

साथ ही मैं यह भी नम्र निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि मेरे देश से कोई कच्चा माल बाहर नहीं जाने पाए और तैयार माल बाहर से यहां न आने पाए। मेरे यहां से अगर कच्चा माल बाहर जायगा और वहां से बन कर आयगा, तो मुद्रा-स्फोति का संकट अपने आप खड़ा होगा। मेरे यहां से माल बाहर जाय और बाहर से पैसा ले कर आए, यह बात तो ठीक है, लेकिन मेरी ही जूती और मेरे ही सिर—मेरी ही कपास जाय और कपड़ा बन कर मुझे ही खाए, यह, मेरी राय में, नहीं चलना चाहिए। इस प्रकार का निर्यात बिल्कुल बन्द कर देना चाहिए।

इस सदन में मैंने अनेक बार पशुधन की रक्षा के बारे में कहा है, लेकिन उसकी तरफ बिल्कुल ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है। हमारे कृषि और खाद्य मंत्री हैं माननीय अजित प्रसाद जैन, और गाय और बैल दोनों बेचैन। यह बैल कांग्रेस पार्टी का सिम्बल है। इस पर आप यहां बैठ कर आते हैं। इस गरीब बैल की तरफ आप थोड़ा ध्यान दीजिए।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय सदस्य अगर खत्म कर रहे हैं, तो एक दो मिनट में खत्म कर दें और अगर और कविता कहना चाहते हैं, तो दो दिन और इन्तजार करें।

पंडित राज नारायण "ब्रजेश" : मैं दो दिन विश्राम लेने के बाद फिर सेवा में उपस्थित हूंगा।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member will continue on Monday. We shall now take up non-official business.