

# LOK SABHA DEBATES

**(19th March to 28th March, 1957)**



**इत्यमेव जयते**



## FIFTEENTH SESSION, 1957

LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT  
NEW DELHI

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# LOK SABHA DEBATES

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### LOK SABHA

Saturday, 23rd March, 1957

The Lok Sabha met at Eleven  
of the Clock.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

(No questions: Part I not published.)

### PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

#### REPORT OF TARIFF COMMISSION

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathl): On behalf of Shri Manubhai Shah, I beg to lay on the Table, a copy of each of the following papers, under sub-section (2) of section 16 of the Tariff Commission Act, 1951:—

(1) Report (1956) of the Tariff Commission on the Continuance of Protection to the Electric Brass Lamp Holders Industry together with a copy of letter No. TC/ID/E-65 dated the 24th December, 1956, forwarding the Report to Government. [Placed in Library, See Nos. 56/57.]

(2) Government Resolution No. 48(1) TB/56, dated the 22nd March 1957.

### COMMITTEE ON ABSENCE OF MEMBERS

#### TWENTIETH REPORT

Shri Altekar (North Satara): I beg to present the Twentieth Report of the Committee on Absence of Members from the sittings of the House.

I also lay on the Table a list showing the names of Members who were continuously absent from the sittings of the House for 15 days or more during the Fourteenth Session, 1956.

### APPROPRIATION (RAILWAYS) BILL, 1957

The Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Jagjivan Ram): I beg to move\* :

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the service of the financial year 1956-57 for the purpose of Railways, be taken into consideration."

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the service of the financial year 1956-57 for the purpose of Railways, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That clauses 1 to 3, the Schedule, the Enacting Formula and the Title stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clauses 1 to 3, the Schedule, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

Shri Jagjivan Ram: I beg to move:

"That the Bill be passed."

\*Moved with the recommendation of the President.

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

"That the Bill be passed."

*The motion was adopted.*

# APPROPRIATION BILL, 1957

**The Minister of Finance and Iron and Steel (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari):**  
I beg to move:\*

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the service of the financial year 1956-57, be taken into consideration."

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the service of the financial year 1956-57, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

"That clauses 1 to 3, the Schedule, the Enacting Formula and the Title stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted.*

*Clauses 1 to 3, the Schedule, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.*

**Shri T. T. Krishnamachari:** I beg to move:

"That the Bill be passed."

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

"That the Bill be passed."

*The motion was adopted.*

# APPROPRIATION (NO. 2) BILL, 1957

**The Minister of Finance and Iron and Steel (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari):** I beg to move:\*

"That the Bill to provide for the authorisation of appropriation of

moneys out of the Consolidated Fund of India to meet the amounts spent on certain services during the financial year ended on the 31st day of March, 1953, in excess of the amounts granted for those services and for that year, be taken into consideration."

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

"That the Bill to provide for the authorisation of appropriation of moneys out of the Consolidated Fund of India to meet the amounts spent on certain services during the financial year ended on the 31st day of March, 1953, in excess of the amounts granted for those services and for that year, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

"That clauses 1 to 3, the Schedule, the Enacting Formula and the Title stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted.*

*Clauses 1 to 3, the Schedule, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.*

**Shri T. T. Krishnamachari:** I beg to move:

"That the Bill be passed."

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

"That the Bill be passed."

*The motion was adopted.*

# KERALA APPROPRIATION BILL, 1957

**The Minister of Finance and Iron and Steel (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari):** I beg to move:\*

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of

\*Moved with the recommendations of the President.

certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala for the service of the period beginning on the 1st day of November, 1956 and ending on the 31st day of March, 1957, be taken into consideration."

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala for the service of the period beginning on the 1st day of November, 1956 and ending on the 31st day of March, 1957, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

"That clauses 1 to 3, the Schedule, the Enacting Formula and the Title stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted.*

*Clauses 1 to 3, the Schedule, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.*

**Shri T. T. Krishnamachari:** I beg to move:

"That the Bill be passed."

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

"That the Bill be passed."

*The motion was adopted.*

## GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION

**Mr. Speaker:** The House will now proceed with further discussion and voting on Demands for Grants on Account in respect of the Budget (General) 1957-58. The time allotted is 10 hours out of which 4 hours 53 minutes have already been taken. The balance is 5 hours-7 minutes. It must be finished today. When shall I call the hon. Minister.

**The Minister of Finance and Iron and Steel (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari):** I might roughly require about 45 minutes, though I may not take that much time.

**Mr. Speaker:** This debate will conclude at about 4.15 P.M. When shall I call the hon. Minister?

**Shri T. T. Krishnamachari:** The Chair may call me by about 3.30 P.M. But there is one thing, I do not know whether the hon. Members will be here after 4.00 because there is the President's party.

**Mr. Speaker:** That is at five o'clock. I will call the Minister at 3-30.

**Shri Kamath (Hoshangabad):** Before you take up this matter, Sir, may I make a request? You are aware, Sir, that with your gracious agreement the House has recently established a healthy convention and, lest that salutary convention should fall into desuetude or disuse, I would request you, this being the last working day of the week, to direct the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs to make a statement about the Government's legislative programme next week. He is not here.

**Mr. Speaker:** He will come at one o'clock, and I will ask him to do so.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Hooghly):** Mr. Speaker, it is kind of you to give us, outgoing Members, top priority in speaking. It is only in the fitness of things that after Shri Kamath and Shri Asoka Mehta I should speak. At least I hope, Sir, and I hope the Parliament will also wish with me, that at least two of them will be back to Parliament very soon and they will make very useful contribution.

**Shri Kamath:** Yourself too.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee:** We were told by the hon. Finance Minister that this will be a "lame duck" session and many people expected that there would be no financial decision taken this session, but really finance and taxation have been postponed till the next session. This is more or less a care-taker's budget, but

[Shri N. C. Chatterjee]

I am pressing the hon. Minister and my colleagues in this Parliament to appreciate that the time has come for a proper assessment of the economic situation. There should be a re-appreciation of our financial policies in terms of the stress and strain imposed by the implementation of the second Five Year Plan.

Honestly, we are not satisfied with the Finance Minister's approach and his opening speech. The burden of his song is that how to meet the strain imposed by the Plan, that we have to meet it, and that one should not question the basic assumptions of the Five Year Plan. Now, I am afraid we have got to revise our basic assumptions. We have got to revise these assumptions in more than one respect.

The defence estimate has gone up by Rs. 50 crores. That itself torpedoes the Five Year Plan and the estimates based on that Plan to a large extent. I am not quarrelling with that. I had the privilege to go to Kashmir a few weeks back and I had a very hearty discussion both with the leaders of the Praja Parishad as well as with the Prime Minister of Kashmir, Bakshi Ghulam Mohamed. I cannot disclose what I came to know, but I can say I had a very hearty discussion and I know Kashmir is in danger, when we all realise that Pakistan is being armed by the co-operation of one of the greatest military powers. We do not care what exactly is the amount of ammunition or implements given, but it is really a very serious situation. Kashmir is in danger. India is in danger. Our grievance is, neither the Prime Minister nor the Defence Minister really warned the country, and the country is suffering from complacency which is distressing. That complacency should be removed.

Now, the defence estimate claims Rs. 50 crores more than what was asked for in the original or the revised estimates. That very fact throws overboard one of the basic assumptions of the Plan. The expenditure outside the Plan, we are told, would

not go beyond certain levels. That has been finished; that has been sabotaged, and if we have got to accept that, the time has now come when we must be prepared for all contingencies in view of what is happening in Pakistan—the *jehad* they are declaring and the tall talks they are indulging in. I do not know whether Mr. Suhrawardy is only indulging in vain talks. There is something sinister in them, and also in Mr. Feroze Khan Noon's statements. We have got to be ready for all contingencies. The economic consequences of the increased expenditure on defence must be realistically faced.

Then there is the foreign exchange. There also the basic assumption has again been torpedoed. It is clear that the Planning Commission under estimated the foreign exchange needs of the Plan by about Rs. 400 crores. The Finance Minister still seems to be an optimist. I like an optimistic Finance Minister, but his optimism is naturally restrained. However, there is absolutely no gainsaying the fact that our foreign exchange position is distressing. The blocking of the Suez Canal has led to terrible difficulties. It has upset the economy of many countries. I think that a good bit of our industrial plants and other things could not be moved down to India. Therefore, there has been a paralysis of our operations. Hence, I am pressing that the time has come for a re-ordering of priorities.

You know, Sir, that when the Planning Commission made its report, one of the members of the Commission, Mr. Neogy, who was for a long time a member of the Central Legislature, put in a dissenting note. His dissenting note clearly pointed out the dangers ahead. Mr. Neogy specially stressed that in view of the magnitude of the Plan, it will be difficult to implement the Plan in a period of five years. He also opined that deficit financing on an excessive scale may prove to be dangerous to the economy and could cause hardship to certain

sections of the population. He has also drawn particular attention to the need for a balanced development of transport and production generally. There was no attempt made either by the Chairman of the Planning Commission, who is the Prime Minister of India, nor by Shri V. T. Krishnamachari and other members, really to controvert these points. They say that they agree with those considerations and they are important and that they should be constantly kept in view in carrying out the Plan.

When the Parliamentary Committee met I made an appeal to the Prime Minister that this Plan should be made a seven year plan and that it should not be made a Five Year Plan, especially when they accepted the fundamental position made clear in the comments of Mr. Neogy. The Prime Minister said that it was not an improper observation to make and said that he will make it really a combination of five annual plans. You, Sir, may remember it. What I say is there should be reconsideration of the priorities. I think Parliament should now realise that the time has come for re-ordering of priorities. I enter a strong caveat against forcing the pace of public expenditure. Taxation system is becoming a juggernaut, crushing business dynamics and incentives to effort and enterprise. Therefore, the priorities should be revised.

In my election tour in different parts of India, I gained an impression that is prevalent among the general electorate. That is the impression of many Members of Parliament. The ordinary man is suffering from a feeling of frustration, because of mounting taxation and soaring prices of essential commodities. In many parts of India, many essential things have practically disappeared. The poor man's food and cloth must be made immune from further public levy. Also, they should be protected from the greed of profiteers and black-marketeers. We are told that the gap is Rs. 365 crores. That gap must be made up by new levies. I am pressing even now that the Planning Commission should do something and take

these facts into account and find out what should be done. They should not rest on their laurels, but revise the Plan and priorities and scale them down if necessary and convert the Plan into a seven year plan for the purpose.

With regard to Kashmir, we are happy to find that ultimately the Prime Minister and the Congress Government have veered round to our view. We are told by the Communist Member who spoke in the other House that the dominant party has been playing to communal passions and has been exploiting the minorities for election purposes. He was especially referring to the visit of the Chief Minister of West Bengal to an important mosque in Calcutta where invocation was made to the Divinity for the victory or triumph of the Congress candidate, that is, the Chief Minister. Dr. Roy countered the charges levelled against him and he said in the West Bengal Legislature the day before yesterday. I am quoting his exact words from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* dated 22nd March, 1957:

"I have heard with my own ears people saying that if Mr. Mohammed Ismail is elected and defeats me he becomes automatically the Chief Minister, and if he becomes the Chief Minister, Calcutta goes to Pakistan as Kashmir has already gone to Pakistan. This is the sort of propaganda that has been carried on, and if such propaganda is carried on it is anti-national, anti-Indian. Therefore, if the police goes there and says that there are people who used such propaganda, I will say that these men are guilty of treason".

It is very pleasing to note that Dr. Roy has countered these charges, but really I ought to tell this House that Congress leaders are also responsible for fanning communal passions in order to create a phobia against my party and the Jan Sangh. They have been going up and down the country for the purpose of telling the Muslim

[Shri N. C. Chatterjee]

electorate that they should not vote at all for Mahasabha candidates or the Jan Sangh candidates. One of the members of the Cabinet went to my constituency and openly said, "If you do that, Kashmir will go out of India". This is foul propaganda unworthy of any leader of any position. He knows perfectly well that nothing of that kind will happen. As a matter of fact, Kashmir is with India today because of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee and those who stood round him and exposed the chicanery of Sheikh Abdulla and had the guts to start a mass movement for the purpose of integrating Kashmir with India. But we were ridiculed, abused and maligned. The immortal soul of Syama Prasad Mukerjee is happy that after all our stand has been vindicated and after all Pandit Nehru has come round to our point of view. All these difficulties today are not due to Pakistan. It always pleases our soul to abuse Pakistan and the Muslims and to abuse Pakistani statesmen. I hold no brief for Mr. Suhrawardy. I know what is Mr. Suhrawardy; we in Bengal have suffered under his domination and rule. We suffered also during the Bengal famine, because that was a man-made famine mostly manufactured by the Muslim League politicians and their satellites and we lost millions of people due to that. But it is no good blinking facts. Most of the difficulties are due to the unfortunate and tragic commitments made by the Prime Minister of India. He had no business to make those commitments.

Initiating the Kashmir debate in this House on the 28th June, 1952, I said that the biggest bungle was to refer the Kashmir problem to U.N.O. The second bungle was this cease fire order. The third bungle, I said, to my mind was the tragic thing, the offer of a plebiscite. The Prime Minister did not listen to us. We were ridiculed as enemies of India, as enemies of the country, as enemies of the nation. Nothing of the kind; now it is clear that we were not enemies of the nation. The offer of plebiscite was

tragic, which has led to all this trouble; it ought not to have been made. As a matter of fact, the Aurobindo Ashram sent the message of Aurobindo. The great saint and prophet, the fighter of India's freedom, had said, "if there is any question of plebiscite, that plebiscite ought to have been on the basic issue of partition between India and Pakistan." There ought to have been plebiscite throughout India and Pakistan—all Hindus and all Muslims. They never accepted this division as final. The Prime Minister and the other members of the Cabinet went up and down the country and ridiculed Akhanda Bharat. What was the Indian National Congress preaching for 50 years? Nothing but Akhanda Bharat. From the days of the first President of the Indian National Congress down to Mahatma Gandhi, the great Netaji and others, the basic creed of the Indian National Congress was the integrity and unity of India. That was sabotaged due to the imperialistic machination and the unfortunate surrender of our so-called nationalist leaders. When Mahatma Gandhi was touring Noakhali, these big leaders bungled; at the instance of Lord Mountbatten, the agent of imperialism, they accepted it.

After Syama Prasad's death, I had the privilege of visiting Kashmir and meeting both the Muslim leaders and the Hindu leaders. They met in Srinagar and told me, "For Heaven's sake, appeal to the Prime Minister never to talk of plebiscite, because that would lead to Kashmir's undoing; that would completely remove all peace and would release destructive forces inimical to Kashmir and inimical to India." At that time we were not listened to; but now our stand has been vindicated.

When Sheikh Abdulla came here after the Kashmir debate, the Prime Minister sent word to me. The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs came to me and I had the privilege of having a frank discussion with Sheikh



Abdulla in the Prime Minister's room in the Parliament House for three hours and more. I put it to him, "Sheikh Saheb, for Heaven's sake tell me, why did you do this great mischief, this great disservice to Kashmir and India? Why did you ask for plebiscite?" He told me, "You believe me; on God I swear I knew nothing of it. I never wanted plebiscite." Then I asked, "Then how did it happen?" Sheikh Abdulla said— I believe he was telling the truth—"Ask your Prime Minister; I knew nothing about it". Sheikh Abdulla did not want it; the National Congress did not want it; the Praja Parishad did not want it and at the same time, neither the Hindu leaders nor the Muslim leaders, none of them, wanted it. How did it happen? It happened because Lord Mountbatten, the imperialist, wanted it. Now the Prime Minister says that is also not correct, so that the bungling is more complete and the tragedy is more unfortunate. But, thank God, now he has seen the error of his ways. Talk in a straightforward manner; when you talk of Panch Shila, of Lord Buddha and of India's civilisation, do not talk in terms of anything like power politics or strategy. Say you had bungled. India's stand should be now clear. The stand of Syama Prasad, the stand of Chatterjee and the stand of every nationalist is that Kashmir is an integral part of India and it should be treated as such. We were ridiculed at that time. You were not there, Mr. Finance Minister, at that time; you ought to have been there listening to the Prime Minister. He ridiculed our repudiation of our plebiscite. I said, "you should withdraw the Kashmir case from the U.N." I know the imperialist game. We know that it is nothing but the second edition of the League of Nations. We knew how the League of Nations misbehaved. We knew the power politics of the imperialist powers were going to play against India. Instead of trying our case on merits, the complainant became the accused and we were put in the dock.

When I was in England two years ago as the leader of the Indian delega-

tion to the Commonwealth Law Conference, distinguished Indians as well as great India publicists, who were absolutely loyal Indian citizens, told me that India's case was going by default. It is due to the amazing inefficiency on the part of our Embassies and our External Affairs department that Pakistan is winning and has been able to convert the whole world opinion. Our case, which is free and fair, based on morality, based on international law, based on all canons of jurisprudence, based on the Government of India Act and the Indian Independence Act and everything sacred, is going by default. I wrote to the Prime Minister from London saying, "Do something to reorganise our foreign relations department." Unfortunately, nothing was done. When I came back from England, I had a frank talk with the Prime Minister. I cannot disclose what all happened between me and the Prime Minister, but when I returned from England I still found that nothing was done. Even today he admits that our propaganda machine is weak. It is no use blaming only England and America. There are thousands and thousands of Englishmen who would like to get facts, but it is amazing that today when India is in danger, when Kashmir is in danger and when our Minister has got to speak for nine hours and deliver a mammoth speech in the Security Council, our propaganda machine has completely failed to serve our Motherland and has not put Kashmir's case and India's case properly. Even on the Goa issue, the hand-outs from the India Office were months behind time. Publicist after publicist, journalist after journalist, were complaining that Portugal was winning the whole world and India's case was going by default. Something should be done to remove this amazing inefficiency.

I wish the Prime Minister was here. When I went to Kashmir the other day, I went at the invitation of both sides on a peace mission and met both the Praja Parishad leaders and the Prime Minister of Kashmir. I had a talk with him for 2½ hours

[Shri N. C. Chatterjee]

and I thought that the gulf would be breached. There was still a lot of misunderstanding about the elections. People in Jammu thought that this election was going to be a farce and there was no free and fair election. I tried my best to convince Bakshiji about the apprehensions which, I found, were to some extent well-founded, and Bakshiji was giving his word of honour that he would not try in any way to influence the election in an improper manner. Unfortunately, they have not been completely changed. But I stood up, took courage in both hands and said in the public speech, "Now the time has come to sink our essential differences and act together for the sake of the unity and dignity of India and to save Kashmir from impending disaster." I know what Pakistan is doing; I know the preparedness of Pakistan. 1,800 million dollars worth of stuff in the shape of ammunitions, Pakistan has got from U.S.A. They have been really debited at a concession rate; therefore, they have got much more than 2,000 million dollars of ammunition. They are not sitting idle. I know the Prime Minister of Pakistan is indulging in many fables. Mr. Feroze Khan Noon has uttered many offensive and unfounded charges. I had the privilege of being quoted by him in the Security Council. He insinuated that Shri N. C. Chatterjee had converted 50,000 Muslims under the *Shuddhi* movement. That is absolutely an untrue statement. I never said that. The *Shuddhi* movement in which I had the privilege of participating was not directed against Islam or Muslims. Member after Member belonging to the Scheduled Castes stood up in this House and complained that in India foreign missionary activities were going on unimpaired and that our poor, downtrodden Harijan brothers and sisters are being converted still *en masse* by foreign missionaries. It is not so much Christianisation. But, it is denationalisation that we protested against. I have one thousand quarrels with Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and the Congress. I do not

tolerate that so long as he is the Prime Minister of India, when he goes to the Naga land, he shall be openly insulted by them due to the influence of the foreign Christian missionaries. This is the danger to India. Through our *shuddhi* movement we aim at purification. We do not do our duty to our Harijan brothers and sisters. We are playing with them and thus we are losing. This *shuddhi* movement was not directed against the Muslims or Islam: nothing of the kind. But, this is what Mr. Feroze Khan Noon has said in the Security Council. In the game of propaganda, none can beat Pakistan; in the game of manufacturing and fabricating untruths, they can beat Hitler and Goering. They have been doing it. But, my grievance against Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and the Congress Government is that they are not doing their duty. They are not giving a call to the people; they are creating a false sense of security in the people. They do not tell the people that India is in danger. I do not know what is the danger across Jammu and Kashmir.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Of what?

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: You should tell the people what is the danger. Give a call to the nation for militarisation.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: You are saying it now.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: You should give a call to the country for militarisation. Don't simply say to Mr. Chou En-lai, "When you go to Karachi, tell my friend Mr. Suhrawardy that I am the best friend of Pakistan." This is weak-kneed policy of wanting to appease people who ought not to be appeased in this manner. We know what is happening in East Bengal. We know, 50 lakhs of people have been turned out. We solemnly entered into the Nehru-Liaquat Pact. Sitting in Delhi, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru entered into this Pact. There has been a complete unilateral implementation of the Nehru-

Liaquat Pact by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. B. C. Roy. In my part of India, 8 lakhs of Muslims left West Bengal. Seven lakhs have come back and they have all been rehabilitated at our expense. But, they have driven out 30 lakhs of people after the so-called Nehru-Liaquat Pact. That disease is still continuing. Our statesmen are sitting dumb and mute as pathetic spectators still trying to appease and grovelling at the feet of Mr. Chou En-lai and sending him as an emissary on behalf of this Government to convince Mr. Suhrawardy that we are the greatest friends of Pakistan. As a matter of fact, this kind of policy should stop. This kind of policy spells disaster. They laugh at you; they laugh at your weak-kneed policy. They would be carrying on propaganda that the Congress started this campaign of exciting communal passions of the minorities and trying to exploit them.

What business had this Congress President or the Prime Minister to send down Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed to address meetings in my constituency and other constituencies in Bengal for the purpose of telling the people that they must vote for the Congress because Kashmir is in danger. Is not the Kashmir problem a national problem? Is it a party problem? Is it a Congress issue? Is it not a national issue? Is it not a matter of paramount importance? Immediately the Security Council Resolution was passed, I sent a telegram to the Prime Minister, "For heaven's sake, summon Parliament, we shall all come in spite of our election difficulties and attend Parliament, and we shall hammer out a national programme, a national policy for meeting this danger, which is ahead of us." He wrote to me recognising that it was a national issue, a national problem and he said, possibly there will be another debate and then the position will be clarified and then he would think of it. If that is a national problem, if that is a national issue, why should the Prime Minister of that State be sent down for carrying on party propaganda in the election for

the benefit of the Congress? That is all wrong, improper.

The socialism of the Congress is also a diabolical hypocrisy. Not in one case. My General Secretary Shri V. G. Deshpande, a Member of this Parliament, a poor man was defeated. By whom? By a Maharani, a nominee of the Congress. They used to tell us that the Hindu Mahasabha and Jan Sangh were the sponsors and supporters of the feudal regime. All the feudal lords, Rajas have now flocked to that camp of new fangled socialism. The setting up of Maharanis, Gaikwad and Rajas throughout India is absolutely making a mockery of socialism. You are laughing. You will be laughing at your cost. You should know what is happening. This is simply bringing a great organisation into disrepute. I want the Congress to be defeated. But, I do not want the Congress to be defeated by demoralisation. This is demoralisation. This is really utilising the feudal order for the purpose of getting temporary victory, to liquidate certain parties. This is not victory. You should stick to certain ideals.

I think the people will remember what happened in Aligarh. The Chief Minister of my State said that in the streets of Calcutta, thousands of Muslims including Pakistanis are going about shouting 'Pakistan Zindabad'. What is the good of saying that? In Aligarh and other towns of U. P. that was shouted by thousands of boys, educated men of the University. You took no action. Ministers stood up here and said that there were no anti-national slogans. You tried to cover up their misdeeds. Are you not really trying to play with communalism? Are you not really trying to help fissiparous tendencies? You have not the guts to take action. You are really trying to play with communism and communalism.

**Shri T. T. Krishnamachari:** If you take away all our guts, where will we have guts left?

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee:** If you have no guts, you should admit. If you do not admit, you will have to repent one day for this. What is the good of

[Shri N. C. Chatterjee]

the Chief Minister of West Bengal saying all this is happening. Not in one place, but in many places. Nothing happened. You kept quiet. Naturally all these things are happening. I protest against such exploitation of communal feelings of minorities for the purpose of election. I say that this should never be done. This danger should be avoided.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Amen.

Dr. Jaisooraya (Medak): Sir, I am informed that the foreign policy debate will take place on Monday. This speech should have come on Monday.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Why?

Dr. Jaisooraya: We are concerned with how to carry on the construction of India. That is an economic matter. I have been consistently holding the view that the Budgets that are presented to us are actually shaped to fulfil the Plan. If the Plans are ~~lo-~~ sided, unpractical and too big, the budgets will also become unrealistic. This is the first time we have got a beautiful analysis, a White Paper on the Budget. It gives you a resume of the shape of things to come. The new Parliament that would meet will have a lot of new people. A lot of old people will be getting out, who grew up, who shaped the Plan, who took part in it, who voted for the Plan to be fulfilled. I do not know how many of the new incumbents will know what the difficulties were that we had to face in shaping the Plan, in financing the Plan. This is my only complaint. My complaint is that instead of cutting the coat according to your cloth, you are trying to get enough cloth for your coat. In other words, you have not followed the basis which has been laid down for a planned economy, namely men, material and the financial resources available within the country at present and in the near visible future. That is the basis of a plan. Unfortunately we wanted to do a lot of things in order, shall we say, to make up the leeway. There was a very big lag and we were very

ambitious. I like people to be ambitious, but then economics is a matter of realities, it is not a matter of opinion. Money, financial resources, the co-operation of the people or the energies of the people are things that have to be collected. Optimism is a very good thing, but if you do not know how to husband and encourage those resources, I am afraid we get a report like this where we are at a handicap with regard to practically everything. I am talking purely of economics because politics is of no value at present.

Mr. Moon, who is an I.C.S. man, was saying that we will prune the thing. The problem is how are we going to prune. The roots are not at the leaves. You do not prune the roots. It was wrong to proceed in this way and I have been protesting against it always. After all, I have seen planning in other countries, and what is more, I am perhaps the only person in this House who has lived through the phase of inflation in Germany after the First World War. I know how things developed, and on what basis you can have deficit financing. They went in for milliards of paper Marks, but then you can have deficit financing only if you have a closed economy or a partially closed economy. I have not got the impression that you have got a closed or a partially closed economy. In fact, because the money was there, very large sums we had never seen in our lives, we went on a spending spree. Even one of the last resolutions of the Health Ministry of the Central Government says "This committee has decided to spend बाप का माल".

And every plan, every programme is something stupendous, colossal, gigantic, magnificent, unnecessarily hopeless. The very basis of a plan for Asiatic conditions has been laid down strongly enough, by an American. He said that the Asians will have to learn to evolve ways and means by which for the expenditure of one rupee they achieve that which wealthier countries achieved at the cost of seven rupees.

I have not got the impression that the planners knew this principle, though I have very honestly and very seriously studied the Plan. In another place we have seen it being done, that is the point.

What is the use of my quarrelling with the Finance Minister? He has got to find the money, cash in the money, and also do a lot of book transfers in order to find the money for this, for that and for the other thing. The fundamental mistake we have made. How we can rectify it is another question. The problem is not how much you spend, the problem is how you spend it.

I have been complaining, and I think I am the one man to do it,—and it has been said that I have got a bee in my bonnet or that I have got a vendetta—that it is not only the money you have but also the machinery through which you use that money that counts. I have no confidence, I have no reason to believe that that machinery has radically improved. That is an important point. In fact, if it had radically improved, you would not have had that Appleby or Bumblebee reports Nos. 1 and 2. He did not want to tread on honourable corns of honourable gentlemen who feel too hurt, namely the bureaucracy. This is the point I want to make. This is my main problem, that you must be able to show that for a given sum of money under existing circumstances you have brought about the maximum result. Naturally we will make mistakes. For instance, that wonderful Hindustan Housing Factory was a magnificent experiment, but you did not say it was an experiment. After it failed you said it was an experiment. We will go on making mistakes, but we have the right to ask that less and less mistakes be made, and that in order to teach the bureaucracy to make less and less mistakes, the punishment should be drastic. This is what I want to tell you.

Mine is a voice that will disappear after this speech, no more to pester this House with my Cassandra-like

cries, but the fact remains that there is still no answer to the points I have been raising for the last five years, namely that the plans that we have made should not have been so ambitious. Secondly, as Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava very correctly pointed out, the plan must be such that it becomes manifest to the people. In other words, we should have paid preponderant attention to the smaller plans which will go straight to the people, like small tanks, small irrigation schemes etc., instead of having megalomaniac grandiose ideas that the Tennessee Valley scheme has got so many cusecs escapement and we are going to have double that. The point is many engineers have told me: "Yes, Sir, we are going to give you as much water to impound as you want, but it is not our business to show you how to use it." And the fact remains as has already happened in the Tungabhadra project, the water is there but the peasant is not willing to take it, because he has not got the money to take it, to convert dry cultivation into not even wet cultivation but partially wet cultivation which costs Rs. 800 an acre. Have you supplied him the money? In other words, we will have water, water everywhere, but not a drop to take. This is a lopsided, amateurish way of planning which we have pointed out. Even Appleby has pointed out that you are over-emphasizing specialisation instead of taking a commonsense view, as our neighbour China has done. In China they have said: "You must first know what the people urgently need, and it is your duty to give to them as quickly as possible and as cheaply as possible." In other words, the First Five Year Plan in which we wanted to increase our production has not succeeded in its objective. According to the White Paper we have not increased our production. On the contrary, production of foodgrains has fallen excepting rice.

Secondly, we have not been able to make manifest to the common man that his conditions have improved because there has been a decline in

[Dr. Jaisooraya]

food production and the general cost of living indices have risen. He asks: what is the wonderful plan you have made? It is very difficult to tell him this is a temporary phase.

The third point I want to tell you is about the rises and pressures that we are having. We are not going to meet them in order to prevent inflation, and I am telling you as an expert on it. Unless you are going to have a closed or partially closed economy, you are not going to succeed with your Plans. As my hon. friend Shri Tulsidas pointed out yesterday, the man who created the worst confusion in this policy was the previous Commerce Minister. And today he has got to undo the whole thing. He should have introduced a partially closed economy five years ago. But this has not happened so far.

I pity anybody who has to carry on this government today, because he has got to face government today, because he has got to face a very hard task. Even though I am a nobody, yet I shall offer all that I can to further the cause of the Plan. But I cannot feel complacent; I cannot be hopeful of seeing any material change in our country, until and unless you make up your mind to be ruthless with regard to the gearing up of the machinery. I am speaking again from experience, that unless you are ruthless in gearing up your machinery to fulfil a certain task which you have placed before yourself, you are not going to succeed. It is very necessary that you must fix a certain target, a certain time-limit and a certain cost. I am afraid in India the word 'costing' is known to very few people. We have not got costing even in some of the major industries. The time factor and the target are two important considerations in any Plan. If you are not going to be serious enough, if you are not going to be harsh enough, if you are not going to be ruthless enough, you are not going to do justice to the Plan, and I personally feel that the future of our country depends entirely on how you are going to fulfil the Plan.

It is not politics that matters to me. I do not care what politicians say. It is the Plan that matters to me, and it is the proper carrying out of the Plan that matters to me. In this connection, remember one thing. The other day, while seconding the motion of thanks on the President's Address, Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha suddenly blossomed out as a great economist on fiscal policy and fiscal economy. She recommended that we should encourage the flow of foreign capital. But I am afraid that the lady Member has forgotten that in 1948 when our Prime Minister asked the United States for the technical know-how, the reply given to him was that he could not have the technical know-how unless he was also prepared to accept loans. In other words, black-mail has been taking place. There are, in fact, very few loans or investments in any backward country, without strings.

You will remember that in 1949-50, one Mr. G. D. Birla proposed that for India also there should be a trading organisation like the U.S.-Brazil Corporation, and that every economic activity should be shaped by it. In other words, the suggestion of the amateur economists like this lady is to convert India into a second South America or Brazil. Of course, we are between the devil and the deep sea. But we have got to be very careful.

Another important thing that I would like to point out is this. It has often been said that the more we export, the better it is for us. But I would like to emphasise that the more you export raw materials, the more you are denuding the country. Please remember also one more thing, that there is a limit to the export of raw products or natural products, and there is a limit to production, for that does not depend as in the case of the manufactured goods on the machinery that you have got. And this in turn places a restriction on our export policy.

These are the points that I would like to urge. I am not an economist.

My hon. friend comes from the same college that I came from, but probably he took economics, and I did not. But this is what I want to place before him, and I have put it factually, and very concretely. I have not raised the Pakistan issue; I have not raised any political issue either, as my hon. friend Shri N. C. Chatterjee has done. I hope my hon. friend will take these things into consideration.

**Shri Gidwani (Thana):** I want to deal with two or three matters which are of general importance first, and then I shall take up rehabilitation problem.

**Shri B. S. Murthy (Eluru):** What about family planning?

**Shri Gidwani:** That will come under matters of general importance.

From the results of the elections that are being announced every day, it is clear that the Congress is coming again to power.

**Shri B. S. Murthy:** Was the hon. Member in doubt?

**Shri K. S. Raghavachari (Penukonda):** It was the hon. Member who put the question who was in doubt.

**Shri Gidwani:** All the same, I would urge that we should not feel complacent, but that we should take a lesson from these results. In two States, we are having majority. In a number of other States, where there was feeble opposition before, there will be more opposition. The figures that I have are as follows. Out of 395 seats, the Congress has secured 297 in the Lok Sabha, and in the case of the Vidhan Sabhas, out of 3,097 seats, the Congress has secured 1,988 seats, and the Opposition, 1,109 seats. In a big city like Calcutta where in the last general elections the majority of seats was captured by the Congress, this time the majority of seats has gone to the Opposition.

While I agree with Government that much progress has been made as a result of the implementation of the

First Five Year Plan, yet I would like to point out that there are certain causes which are responsible for these results.

The primary and essential needs of every citizen or of the community must be satisfied by any welfare State, and particularly by a socialistic government. We have to see that these needs of the people are fully satisfied. Although we were asking people to vote for the Congress, yet, personally, when I canvassed, I said that we wanted a very stable government in this country and that our country being a very big country with various States, unless we had a stable government, our future would be very dark.

The people were pointing out that even their daily requirements were not being satisfied. The prices were soaring up. I am talking particularly of the food prices. We must see to it that there is no rise in food prices beyond the paying capacity of the people. Today, the middle-class or the lower middle-class man is finding it difficult to make both ends meet. This is a very serious problem which Government have to consider, along with various other problems.

Another thing which everyone must have experienced during the elections was the complaint about corruption in the machinery of Government. I admit that efforts are being made to root out corruption. But if we are honest to ourselves, we shall have to admit that there is still a lot of corruption.

**Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Hazari-bagh West):** Efforts are being made?

**Shri Gidwani:** Only the other day, a Bill was introduced here to replace the Prevention of Corruption Ordinance.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee:** Legislation to prevent corruption.

**Shri Gidwani:** So, efforts are being made to root out corruption.



[Shri Gidwani]

My next point is in regard to inefficiency. Yesterday I had a talk with an officer holding a very responsible post. He was saying that the government machinery has become so top-heavy, and there is so much of red-tapism that even the high officials are not able to deal with the problem. I do not know what the difficulty is. The Ministers complain about the officers, and the officers complain about the subordinates. This shows that there is something wrong with the machinery. We seem to be moving in a vicious circle.

So I would suggest that we must devote our attention and probe deep into the matter, it is not enough that we have got majorities in the Centre and State Governments. Therefore, we can go to sleep and again after five years when there are fresh elections, we rise and go about canvassing. This is the proper time after the elections when we must review the whole position and take adequate steps to improve matters.

12 HRS.

As I said, the first thing is to provide the essential necessities of life to every citizen of India. Food is the prime necessity. Then comes shelter, then education and then other necessities. The second thing is that we must see that the administration is really popular, that the masses are treated as citizens of India and are given every consideration; we must also see that there is no red-tapism, more efficiency is achieved and corruption is removed. These are the things on which I wanted to speak in general.

As the Demands are not going to be separately debated, I would refer to the rehabilitation problem. As we are now discussing the whole Budget including the Demands, I wish more Ministers had been present.

Shri A. M. Thomas (Ernakulam): Three hours have been allotted for separate discussion of Demands.

Shri Raghavachari: It is only general discussion now.

Shri Gidwani: The Summary Report that we have received from the Ministry of Rehabilitation admits that migration from East Pakistan touched the peak figure of 3.20 crores during 1956.

"The monthly average was 26,000, which is more than four times the rate of migration three years ago. It represents an increase of 35 per cent over the average monthly rate during the previous year. The continued influx on such a large scale even 9 years after partition was a source of grave concern, as the measures for relief and rehabilitation of such vast numbers mean a severe strain on the country's economy".

Now, I do not know how to prevent this migration from East Pakistan. It is a very difficult problem. But from the experience that we have gained from the rehabilitation of displaced persons from West Pakistan, I think the Government should now have a comprehensive scheme and not a scheme which can be changed or shifted, not a scheme based on temporary arrangements, but a permanent scheme, because, otherwise, money spent on temporary relief or on temporary measures is more or less wasted and we have to begin afresh. This is what I want to say about the problem of displaced persons from East Pakistan.

About displaced persons from West Pakistan, the Report says:

"Various measures were adopted to speed up the pace of the payment of compensation to displaced persons. During the first ten months of 1950, a sum of Rs. 20.28 crores was paid as compensation".

Then there are other figures given. The first thing which I want to place before the House for their information is that when the compensation scheme was being implemented, under the Act a statutory Advisory Board was appointed consisting of 7 Members. They were Pandit Thakur Dass Bhargava, Shrimati Sucheta



Kripalani, Dr. Anup Singh of the Upper House, Giani G. S. Musafir of this House, Shri Feroze Chand, Shri Sidhwa, and Shri Chandulal Parikh, a member of the other House. This board was to give advice to the Ministry of Rehabilitation on matters of compensation. It used to meet every month. If I am correctly informed; for a number of years, the members worked together. But subsequently, I am informed—and I believe I am correctly informed—that out of 7 members 5 members resigned from the board. It is a sad thing that of the 5 members except one, Shri Feroze Chand who is not a Member of either House, all have been either Members of this House or the other House. I do not know whether there has been any other example before of this nature where a board consisting of Congress Members attached to a Ministry, a statutory board, felt compelled to resign. It is for the Minister to resign. It is for the Minister to explain why these members, who were trusted colleagues of Shri Mehr Chand Khanna, whom he appointed resigned after working with him for some time. I can only quote to you one of the reasons given by Dr. Anup Singh in one of the speeches in the Rajya Sabha. He says:

"The hon. Minister said that 80 per cent of the board's recommendations have been accepted. I repudiate that categorically. Out of 14 of the major recommendations that were unanimously made by the board on previous occasions, only 3 were accepted; 11 were rejected. Out of these 3, there was one case of the joint family. Presumably, the Minister accepted it with a great deal of mental reservation because the original interpretation that was put on the joint family claims by the advisory board has been completely changed without the knowledge of the advisory board".

So you will see that the board has not been now functioning. The policy adopted in regard to payment of compensation is so slow that one does not know how long it will take to

complete this programme. We have been told that priority claimants will get their compensation by March this year. I do not know whether that target will be achieved.

Then I would refer to the adoption of discriminatory policies in the matter of payment of compensation between rural and urban claimants. In this Report, it is stated on page 2:

"With a view to providing immediate relief to the more vulnerable sections of displaced persons, the scope of priority category was further widened so as to include also those claimants whose children are studying either abroad or in medical, engineering, architectural or technical colleges or institutions in India and the military academies."

These are the people supposed to be 'more vulnerable' sections of displaced persons, persons whose children are studying abroad, persons who could afford to send their children for study in England, America, France or Germany.

**Shri B. S. Murthy:** Why not Pakistan?

**Shri Gidwani:** I wrote to the Minister that there was a class of unmarried girls who are not likely to marry owing to certain reasons and that he should put them in priority category for the purpose of payment of compensation to them. This is the letter that I wrote to him:

"I enclose a copy of letter dated .... from Kumari Pabbi Udham Shivdasani..... I think you will agree with me that while persons of 65 years of age and widows may be given priority for the purpose of compensation, the virgin girls who have led a celebrate life and have no source of earning should not be denied the benefit of priority in compensation. This class of claimants also sail in the same boat and deserve sympathy. I think the number of such claimants would be very few. I therefore request that you will kindly consider the advisabi-

[Shri Gidwani]

lity of passing orders for giving priority to the claimants of the above category".

The reply of the Minister is as follows:

"Please refer to your letter.... enclosing a copy of letter..... from Kumari Pabbi Udham Shivdasani. As I had told you in my letter No..... dated....., the number of priorities is already very large. Before any new priorities can be considered, I am very keen that the cases falling under the existing ones should be disposed of expeditiously. I am, therefore, sorry I shall not be able to do anything for Kumari Shivdasani".

This is just one example of how people who probably have no voice, people who are in a worse condition than others, whose voice cannot reach higher quarters, cannot be put in the priority category but persons who could afford to send their children to foreign lands for studies were given a place in the priority category. I wrote to him that he may fix age limit of 40 or 45 years in case of such unmarried girls they may get priority, and may get compensation in cash. That was denied to them while in the case of others who could afford to go to foreign lands the priority category was given. I do not want to take more time on this.

There is another point. In the report it is said that persons who have verified claims for agricultural lands but who are widows, minors, blind or otherwise disabled, have settled abroad, or on account of age or infirmity are incapable of cultivating the land personally may be given priority category. From the above report the wrong impression is bound to be created in the minds of the public. Rule 54 makes it clear that certain classes of persons having verified claims in respect of agricultural land may, at the discretion of the Settlement Commissioner be paid

compensation in cash subject to the limit prescribed in Rule 17 if such compensation converted in terms of standard acres is 18 acres or less. So, a widow who has got 18½ acres will not be entitled to get cash compensation. Similarly a minor or a disabled person is not entitled to cash compensation if his compensation converted in terms of Standard Acres is more than 18 Standard Acres. But in the case of urban claimants of the above priority categories, they are entitled to cash compensation whatever may be the amount of compensation even if the compensation may be for 2 lacs. I have not been able to understand the policy underlying this discrimination.

Sir, I am not repeating the whole thing; it is no use repeating it every time. But because the Minister is not here I wanted to tell you and point out two or three glaring instances.

**The Deputy Minister of Finance (Shri B. R. Bhagat):** He is here.

**Shri Gidwani:** I wanted to show how discriminatory treatment is being meted out to certain classes or sections whose voices cannot reach the higher quarters.

Another point which I wanted to mention is about the payment of compensation, and when it will be paid. It is now 10 years since the partition took place. Up to the end of January, 1957, 1.56 lakhs claimants out of a total of about 4.5 lakhs had received compensation amounting to Rs. 46.07 crores. This amount includes Rs. 30.20 crores paid in cash, Rs. 10.32 crores by transfer of property and Rs. 7.55 crores by adjustment of public dues. In addition, 11,172 certificates of admissibility of compensation were issued and loans in the form of advance compensation, paid to 4,324 claimants.

Even assuming that all these people have received either cash or property or admissibility certificates, which is only a paper which shows

that they are entitled to so much and that they can bid for a house etc., how can they be utilised? Supposing a person gets the certificate of admissibility, say, for Rs. 6,000 or Rs. 7,000, of what use will it be to him; how can he make use of it; how can he purchase any property in a place like Bombay or Calcutta? There are not many places where evacuee property is available. What will happen to these people? For the time being it is only a piece of paper which they have got after 10 years. Even their number is only 1.56 lakhs out of 4.5 lakhs. When will this chapter be closed when all the claimants will get their compensation or even admissibility certificates? Heaven alone knows! It is being said that they are trying to finish the work as early as possible but the pace appears to be very slow.

Apart from that there are lots of complaints about delay and red-tapism. There may be difficulties. I know the task is a complicated one. But, still, efforts should be made to expedite the whole thing. How long can people continue to wait. It is no consolation to get these admissibility certificates. Something will have to be done by Government to compensate them and the only way it could be done is to issue bonds. It may be too late in the day but I think that is the only way of compensating them and giving them relief. Otherwise, it only means satisfying one's conscience or records that compensation has been given to so many people.

That is what I wanted to say and I wish the hon. Minister were here because the Deputy Minister who is present has also met the same fate as some of us from Maharashtra and it may not be possible for him to be in the chair either physically or constitutionally. If at all the problem has to be solved it has to be solved expeditiously and with more sympathy than hitherto. I would therefore suggest that the reasons for the members of the Advisory Board

resigning should be gone into and the causes for complaint removed. The Board's decisions must be more or less accepted if it is to function. Otherwise, there is no purpose in appointing a Board whose decisions are to be thrown to the winds. It becomes a one-man show. There is no purpose in having statutory boards if their decisions are not to be given any weight or not to be treated with any respect.

As regards other matters regarding rehabilitation, it is high time that Government appointed a committee to satisfy themselves as to how far the Rehabilitation Ministry has completed its task. Unless we have an over-all picture of the whole thing, one can only guess how things have gone on.

One more thing and I will finish. That also is of a general nature. When Shri Chatterjee was talking about the international situation our Finance Minister was taking the whole thing very lightly. Today's news must have been read by most of our friends that America has decided to join the Baghdad Pact.

"The United States today informed Mr. Harold Macmillan, British Premier, that she was willing to join the Military Committee of the Baghdad Pact, a summit conference spokesman announced."

"The announcement was made by President Eisenhower's Press Secretary, Mr. James Hagerty, who said that the U.S. decision was a logical development of the Eisenhower Middle East doctrine. He added that membership in the Military Committee was related 'solely to the Communist menace'."

"Mr. Hagerty says, U.S. membership hitherto has been confined to economic and anti-subversion work of the Baghdad alliance."

"Mr. Hagerty said the U.S. Membership of the Military Committee 'carries no political conno-

[Shri Gidwani]

tations with respect to intra-area matters'. This was apparently a reference to local disputes.....".

This has come out this morning. Therefore, it is no good being complacent. I am glad that Government have provided 50 crores of rupees more for our Defence purposes. But more steps are to be taken. We have to take the situation very seriously. After all, what is the worth of liberty, if we are not able to protect it? It is not merely cold war. It is becoming a hot war; that too near our next door. So, I would suggest that we should have more militarisation. Some kind of military training should be given to the youth all over the country. My hon. friend, Shri Bhonsle may be put in charge of it. Had he remained in the British Army, he would have got an important post of Commander-in-Chief or next to that. Now that he is available to us, though unfortunately the Rehabilitation Ministry is losing him, something should be done. Whether he is appointed or not is a secondary question.

**Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava** (Gurgaon): The national discipline scheme should be given effect to.

**Shri Gidwani**: Yes. That scheme may be taken up. I am actually for more active steps to be taken to militarise the young men because today our young men have taken to certain sectional activities. The elections have shown how our country is getting into fissiparous tendencies and how the sectional interests detract us from our national problems. The situation is very grave. It is important and vital from the security point of view to mobilise our countrymen, particularly young men, and give them military training. Thus we will be taking them along the right path. They will forget all these elections and the controversies and jealousies attributable to sectional and communal interests. Apart from these benefits, I honestly feel that there is no good being complacent in these matters. The time has come when we should realise that this is a national

problem. I would even suggest that we should invite leaders of other parties and discuss the whole matter because it is a very great problem and a national problem. It is a problem of existence, a problem of life and death. Therefore, all efforts must be made to create a new enthusiasm in the country by making it more military-minded. With these words, I finish my last speech, in this Parliament.

**Shri Altekar** (North Satara): Sir, this is final, through provisional, Budget of the first Parliament under our Constitution. When we consider it my mind goes back to the first Budget that was presented here in the year 1952. It was a Budget for 435.11 crores. Since then every year, it has been rising and now it has, reached a figure of Rs. 663.08 crores. There is thus a rise of Rs.227.87 crores in our revenues during these five years. It is not an automatic rise on account of the expansion of the national income. The increase in the national income is about 12 per cent. but the increase in our Budget is of the order of about 50 per cent. This is largely due to the measures that we have taken for increasing our revenue by means of additional taxation. This year a revenue deficit of Rs. 26.87 crores is shown and it has to be made up. But that will be coming before the next Parliament and it will take steps to cover it up by additional taxation. But during these five years, this rise in the revenue by 50 per cent. has mainly been attained on account of the rise in taxation. Every possible effort has been made to raise the revenue. We had reached almost a limit of the burden. No doubt there can be additional taxation but let us hope that it will be in proportion to the additional income that we are raising by means of our investments. If that is there, then the people will be in a position to bear the burden. For the purpose of executing the Plan, they will have to come up with greater contribution and greater effort. But, there is a limit to everything. The taxation has already gone high. Efforts were

made to levy taxes on articles of luxury, to increase the income from income-tax, corporation tax, etc. Recently, there was the levy of capital gains tax. With all that, the ordinary man was asked to come with his contribution and he did come. For instance, there was the excise duty on the medium cloth—not coarse cloth.

In this Budget, there is a revenue deficit of Rs. 26.87 crores. So far as this Parliament and this Budget are concerned, the sting has been taken away because we are not required to consider this question. We will be no longer in this Parliament when there will be a heated debate whether the fresh taxation that is to come is direct or indirect taxation or whether its impact is more on the poor or on the rich. The white paper gives us an idea of the actual situation in the country in a large perspective.

12.28 HRS.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA  
in the Chair]

While the First Plan was in progress, it was not so much an uphill task. In the First Plan, stress was laid on the agricultural production. There was not so much of heavy investments. That will be there in the Second Plan on account of the stress on heavy industries. The tempo is rising and the Plan is gaining momentum. We are climbing upon very high hills. We have to reach the summit. That will be reached, no doubt. But we shall have to take great care to see that every possible effort is made whereby we may relieve the distress by raising the production of food and cloth and other necessities of life. Last year there was a decline in agricultural production due to bad weather. This year it is better although we will not be reaching the figure of agricultural production for 54-55.

**The Minister of Agriculture (Dr. P. S. Deshmukh):** 1953-54.

**Shri Altekari:** I mean the year ending 31-3-1954. Unless we make great

efforts, it will not be possible for us to get out of this trend. This is the preliminary need which we have to bear in mind. The agricultural production should go higher than what it was in 1953-54. That is the first point which will have to be very clearly and emphatically placed before our eyes. We should address ourselves to this problem with all the energy at our command.

This stress and strain that is caused is also due to the release of purchasing power. I will just place the figures before the House. In 1952-53 the investment was to the order of Rs. 269 crores; in 1953-54 it was Rs. 348.9 crores; in 1954-55 it went up to Rs. 553.6 crores and in 1955-56 it was to the order of Rs. 714.1 crores. For the year 1957-58 it has now been placed at Rs. 900 crores. When there is such a big investment made year by year in arithmetic progression—I do not say in geometric progression—what happens is, a great purchasing power is released. Because of the employment that is there due to these various programmes a great purchasing power comes into being and goes to the market. This will in turn raise the prices of articles unless, of course, the production of these articles is increased to the extent that is needed in the market. Naturally it causes strain and stress on the economy. Therefore, what is necessary to be borne in mind is that we must raise the production of food-grains, cloth and other essential articles. Unless that is done, on account of the heavy investments that we are making, there will be a rise in the prices of various articles. This fact has to be constantly borne in mind that unless and until we are able to meet the daily requirements of the common man in the country, it will not be possible to have a stability of prices.

Again, this White Paper discloses that there will be an overall deficit of Rs. 365 crores in the budget year. This deficit will have to be met, a portion of it, by means of taxation, but that will only be a very small

[Shri Altekar]

part. A large part of it will still be remaining. If at all that has to be met, the amount will have to be raised by means of deficit financing. To raise such a big amount by means of deficit financing means, again, raising the prices to a higher height than they are at present. This can only be prevented if the additional production during the year comes up to the extent of the amount that will be raised by deficit financing. If the production does not increase, certainly, there will again be a higher rise in prices, and that is a cause for great anxiety. In this respect we shall have to consider again our priorities, and see whether we can proceed with our ambitious Plan in the manner in which it has been laid down before us. If we are not in a position to check the rise in prices, if we are not in a position to raise money by deficit financing without in any way affecting the price level, it will be a serious matter to be considered, and that will be a serious point which will have to be seriously thought of and adjusted according to the needs of the time.

I beg to point out that we have already started three heavy steel plants at Durgapur, Bhilai and Rourkela. We have already spent large sums of money over them, and the machinery and other equipments required are being set up. They will be requiring further heavy sums. We have gone in for them and, therefore, we cannot go back from them. But the point remains, that we will be spending heavy sums on these three whereas no production can be had from them for a few years to come. There will thus be a time-lag between the investment and the actual production. Therefore, the point to be considered is, whether in respect of other schemes which will not yield immediate results we should proceed with the same speed and the same order of priorities that are laid down for them. I am sure a time will come to consider all these things. A time

will come in the near future, because in this very year we are confronted with an additional and unthought of expenditure on defence. It was not there before our minds when the Second Plan was being discussed in this House. This additional expenditure of Rs. 50 crores every year will amount to Rs. 250 crores in the next five years. That means a considerable sum, and an unproductive sum. Therefore, from that particular point of view this matter has to be taken into consideration when we are again assessing the priorities in the Plan.

With all that, we have to go ahead with as fast a speed as can be there. While doing that we must strain every possible nerve in order to meet the exigencies. For that purpose we shall have to step up our exports and reduce our imports. As a matter of fact, during the course of the last five years, on account of the success we gained in the sphere of agricultural production, we could reduce imports from foreign countries to a great extent. So far as foodgrains are concerned, we were importing wheat and rice to the extent of Rs. 190.22 crores in 1951-52. In 1952-53 it was cut down to Rs. 127.16 crores. In 1954 it was brought down to Rs. 51.62 crores. But again, on account of bad crops during the last two years, food imports are rising. That has also to be taken into consideration. We must make a supreme effort to raise our agricultural production. We must step up our production and thereby reduce the imports.

We shall have to make drastic cuts in other expenditures as well as in imported articles. At the same time, we must step up our exports. In this connection I would like to point out to the House that in the year 1950-51 we exported cloth to the extent of Rs. 118 crores whereas in the year 1955-56 we exported cloth worth only Rs. 56.63 crores. There is also a reduced export in respect of coal. We exported 26.67 lakh tons in the year 1952-53 worth Rs. 9.83 crores whereas

in the year 1955-56 we could export coal worth only Rs. 4.25 crores. I do not want to quote other figures and take the time of the House. I just want to point out that we can at least exports to the extent that we were doing in the previous three four years. I am also sure that we can even raise them to a greater amount.

As far as sugar is concerned, we are producing larger quantities than we used to do before. But I must say that we can produce still larger quantities than what we are doing now. I may point out that the soil of Maharashtra is the best suited for production of sugarcane. The yield per acre there is much more than in other parts. The sugar content of the cane produced there is also more. When these additional factories are being set up, I would stress that every effort should be made to set up these factories there as early as possible so that the production will be quickly increased, and we will be in a position to export more amount of sugar every year and thus get better foreign exchange.

But, we shall have to acquaint the common man of the situation in the country, and the supreme efforts that he has to make in this connection, for the purpose of making the Plan a success. When we were explaining to the people on our tours about the big schemes that are being undertaken, they used to say:

हिमवति दिव्यौषधयः शीर्षे सर्पः समाविष्टः

which means: "The great efficacious medicinal herbs are there in the Himalayas, but the serpent of hunger and want is lying at the head." As a matter of fact, what they want is some schemes in the villages, in their own regions, which will give them more money, more grains and more facilities. Unless that is done, we will not be in a position to get their co-operation, and ask them to work with greater strength for the purpose of making the Plan a success.

Therefore, I would suggest that smaller irrigation schemes should be started wherever possible. Roads should be constructed to enable the villagers to carry the articles they produce to the nearest available market. There are many villages from where, due to lack of roads, it is not possible for the villagers to carry their products to the nearest railway station. That difficulty will have to be overcome. Industries like sericulture etc. will have to be started in the villages. The national extension schemes and development projects should be taken to all the villages. The agricultural production should be stepped up to a greater extent by supplying better seeds, better fertilizers and introducing better methods of cultivation. Only if that is done will the villagers be willing to give their co-operation to us. The Government are calling upon the people to share greater burden for the defence of our country. As a matter of fact, we will have to defend ourselves. There is now a provision of Rs. 50 crores in the defence estimates. It cannot be less than that. For the purpose of defending the country, we must take the co-operation of the people.

Further, as I have said even in my first speech in this Parliament in its first session, we must be in a position to manufacture our own armaments. We must not depend on other countries, because, if we depend on them, we will not be really independent. If we are to be really independent, we must be in a position to manufacture our own armaments. That is the suggestion, I would like to repeat at the end of my career in this House.

We are providing on a greater measure, for the betterment of our country towards the fulfilment of the Plan. Though there are stresses and strains, yet, with all that, the people will be giving help. The path is difficult, no doubt, but we know:

यददुर्गं यद्दुराणं दृश्यते तद्दुष्करम् ।

सर्वं हि तपसा साध्यं तपो हि दुरतिक्रमम् ।

—मनु

[Shri Altekar]

"Whatever is unapproachable, whatever is difficult to get, whatever is unassailable and whatever is hard to execute—all this can be achieved by *tapas*, i.e., sacrifice and supreme effort. For, nothing is beyond the reach of *tapas*."

Therefore, if we make a joint and co-operative efforts towards the building up of a great future that lies before this country, we can certainly achieve our goal. That goal will certainly be achieved if there is common, united and co-operative effort on country. I am confident that such as the part of the various sections in this effort will be available for the progress of this country.

**बाबू राम नारायण सिंह :** सभापति महोदय, सब से पहले तो मैं आपका बहुत बहुत धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि आपने मुझे बोलने का अवसर दिया।

इस पार्लियामेंट का यह अन्तिम अधिवेशन है। हम में से बहुत से लोग फिर इस पार्लियामेंट में नहीं आयेंगे और उनमें से मैं भी एक हूँ। इस समय मैं अपने जो विचार प्रकट करूँगा वे किसी पार्टी या सरकार की टीका टिप्पणी करने की खातिर नहीं बल्कि जो मैं सच्चे दिल से महसूस करना हूँ, वही बातें आपके सम्मुख रखूँगा। मैं १९२०-२१ में राष्ट्रीय कार्य में लगा हुआ हूँ। जो कुछ मैंने देखा है और अनुभव किया है और जिस तरह की शासन व्यवस्था मैं यहाँ पर कायम हुई देखना चाहता हूँ उसको मैं इस सदन के सामने रखता हूँ।

सभापति महोदय, जब यहाँ पर अंग्रेजों का राज्य था तो मैं उनको खूब अच्छी तरह समझता था। किस तरह से वे यहाँ पर राज करते थे और क्या क्या लाभ वे यहाँ से उठाना चाहते थे, किस तरह से जनता को दबाया करते थे, इन सब बातों को मैं खूब समझता था। उस समय इन सब चीजों को समझने में कोई दिक्कत नहीं होती थी। लेकिन आज इस

उम्र में आकर और आज इतना अधिक राष्ट्र सेवा का कार्य करने के बाद तथा अंग्रेजों के यहाँ से चले जाने के बाद, जैसी परिस्थितियाँ यहाँ पर पैदा हो गई हैं, उनकी देखकर मेरा समझ में तो कुछ नहीं आता है कि यह सब क्या हो रहा है। आज सरकार की आमदनी और खर्च पर बहस हो रही है। छः छः अरब तक रुपया खर्च किया जा रहा है। लेकिन इसका नतीजा क्या निकलता है? आप भी कभी कभी देहातों में जाते होंगे और वहाँ पर आप जनता में से यह आवाज उठती पाते होंगे कि उस के दुख वैसे के वैसे बने हुए हैं और अंग्रेजी राज इस राज से अच्छा था। कम से कम मैं जब कभी भी किसी गाँव में जाता हूँ तो मुझे तो यही आवाज उठती दिखाई देती है। इस चीज को भुन कर कौन सा ऐसा राष्ट्र सेवक होगा जिस को दुख न होता होगा। यह सरकार किस लिए है? खर्च बढ़ता जा रहा है। सरकारी कर्मचारियों की संख्या बढ़ती जा रही है। इसका कारण क्या है? थोड़ा बहुत जो कुछ मैं समझ पाया हूँ वह यह है कि आज जो शासन है उसमें कुछ भी अन्तर नहीं नज़र आता है। आज यह कहा जाता है कि इस सरकार को जनता ने बहाल किया है और जनता के हित के लिए इसकी स्थापना हुई है। लेकिन दुख की बात तो यह है कि हमारे देश की जनता संगठित नहीं है, बहुत से दलों में विभाजित है और सरकार जो है वह एक संगठित संस्था है। जनता तो इस उसकी सेवा करने के लिए ही बहाल करती है। देश में कोई भी ऐसा मूख नहीं हो सकता है कि जो इसको मालिक के रूप में बहाल करे और कहे कि तुम हम पर हुकूमत करो। जनता ने, देश ने तो सरकार को सेवक समझ कर ही बहाल किया है और यह समझ कर बहाल किया है कि सरकार उसकी रक्षा करेगी। चुनाव के समय मंत्री लोग, सदस्यगण, प्रधान मंत्री इत्यादि सब जाते हैं और भाँति भाँति की बातें कह कर लोगों को ठगवा कर के वोट तो ले लेते हैं लेकिन वोट लेने के पश्चात् और



सरकार बन जाने के बाद सरकार तो मालिक बन जाती है, सेवक नहीं और जनता पर उसी तरह से हुकूमत करना शुरू कर देती है जिस तरह से कि अंग्रेज करते थे ।

सभापति महोदय, मैं सारे देश को कहता हूँ, इस सभा भवन को कहता हूँ जो लोग चुन कर आये हैं, उनसे कहता हूँ, जो लोग सरकार बनायेंगे उनसे कहता हूँ कि इस परिस्थिति में अन्तर अवश्य पड़ना चाहिए । राष्ट्रपति से लेकर एक चौकीदार तक सब लोग यह समझें कि वे जनता के सेवक हैं, देश की सेवा करने के लिए ही यह सारी सस्था है । आज देखा यह जाता है कि सारे देश में अगर कोई लोग सुखी है तो वे सरकारी कर्मचारी ही हैं । उनको वक्त पर वेतन मिल जाता है तथा दूसरी तरह की सुविधायें उपलब्ध हो जाती हैं । लेकिन जनता हर तरफ से दुखी है । तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस परिस्थिति में अवश्य ही कुछ न कुछ अन्तर पड़ना चाहिए । मैं कुछ उपाय भी बतलाना चाहता हूँ । अभी हमारे गिडवानी साहब ने अपनी तकरीर में रिश्वतखोरी का जिक्र किया है । सभापति महोदय, जब देश में रिश्वतखोरी का बाजार गम है, तो न्याय किस प्रकार सम्भव हो सकता है । आप भी जानते होंगे कि अंग्रेजों के जमाने में हमारे देश में रिश्वतखोरी थी जो कि पुलिस तक और कचहरीयों तक ही सीमित थी . . . . .

**श्री मुनसुनवाला (भागलपुर—मध्य) :** इनके अलावा अंग्रेजों को कोई दूसरा काम ही नहीं था ।

**बाबू राम नारायण सिंह :** ठीक होगा, लेकिन दूसरे लोग रिश्वत नहीं लेते थे । दूसरे लोग जो अफसर कहलाते थे, वे रिश्वत नहीं लिया करते थे । लेकिन आज किस को ईमानदार कहा जाए और किस को बेईमान, इस का पता ही नहीं चलता है । रिश्वतखोरी तो यहां तक बढ़ गई है कि कुछ तो कहते हैं कि यह चार गुना हो गई है । आज किसी अफसर

की ईमानदारी पर विश्वास करना कठिन हो गया है । रिश्वतखोरी की चारों ओर भरमार है । मैं अपने इलाके की एक घटना आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ । एक कोर्ट में एक आदमी एक पुलिस सब-इंस्पेक्टर को रिश्वत देने के लिए गया । वहां पर हमारे भी एक मित्र पहुंच गए । हमारे इस मित्र को देखकर वह सज्जन सहम गए और रिश्वत देते देते रुक गए । कुछ देर के बाद कोर्ट के उस सब-इंस्पेक्टर ने कहा कि इतना क्यों शर्मा रहे हो, आजकल तो रिश्वत सब कोई लेते हैं, सब कोई देते हैं और इस चीज को सब कोई जानते भी हैं । रिश्वत लेने देने की तो कोई रोक नहीं है, यह तो मामूली बात हो गई है । लावो, जो कुछ तुम्हें देना है दो । उसने इतना कह कर हाथ पसारा और देने वाले ने रिश्वत दे दी । रिश्वतखोरी इस तरह से आम हो गई है । हम यहां पर पंचवर्षीय योजनाएं बना रहे हैं, कितनी ही योजनाएं बना रहे हैं । लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ कि अगर इस देश में किसी प्रकार की सरकार है जिसे सरकार कहलाने का हक है, तो वह सब से पहले एक योजना बनाए और वह यह कि देश में रिश्वतखोरी खत्म हो । जब तक रिश्वतखोरी खत्म नहीं होती है तब तक न्याय कैसे सम्भव हो सकता है ? रिश्वतखोरी कितने ही प्रकार की है और वह किस कारण से बढ़ी है ? वह बढ़ी है खास कर हमारे मंत्रियों की वजह से । आज एक एक मंत्री जो चुनाव में खड़े हुए हैं चार, चार, पांच, पांच लाख रुपये खर्च करते हैं और हिसाब देते हैं सात हजार रुपये का या ऐसा ही कुछ जो कि नियम बना हुआ है । यह पैसा कहां से आता है ? लोग कहते हैं कि हम तो चन्दा लेते हैं । लेकिन सरकार के किसी भी आदमी को चन्दा नहीं लेना चाहिए, मंत्रियों को भी चन्दा नहीं लेना चाहिए । जो लोग अधिकार में हैं उन का चन्दा लेना रिश्वत के अलावा कुछ नहीं है । मैं समझता हूँ कि इस तरह की बातें उठ जानी चाहिए । पहली योजना यह बननी चाहिए कि देश में रिश्वतखोरी बिल्कुल न रह जाए,

[बाबू राम नारायण सिंह]

और सरकार अगर चाहेगी तो इस के लिए उपाय की कमी नहीं होगी। सरकार की तरफ से कभी कभी हमारे प्रधान मंत्री और कभी राष्ट्रपति अथवा मंत्री लोग कहते हैं कि जनता सहयोग करे। मैं पूछता हूँ कि इस देश में कौन ऐसा मूल्य होगा जो सरकार से सहयोग नहीं करना चाहेगा? सरकार से सहयोग करने में किस को नुकसान हो सकता है? लेकिन सहयोग के माने यह नहीं कि राष्ट्रपति और सरकार जो कुछ कहती जाए जनता उस को मानती जाए। यह सहयोग के माने नहीं हैं। सहयोग के माने यह है कि लक्ष्य एक हो और बराबरी के भाव से उस लक्ष्य के लिये सब लोग काम करें। यह नहीं कि आप हुक्म देते जाएं और हम आप का हुक्म मानते जाएं। तो सहयोग होना चाहिए और सारे देश का ध्यान इस ओर जाना चाहिए कि जो हम ३६ करोड़ भारतवासी हैं जब तक आपस में सहयोग नहीं करेंगे जब तक सरकार एक चीज और जनता दूसरी चीज रहेगी तब तक देश का कल्याण नहीं हो सकता है। सहयोग होगा तभी हमें आजादी का सुख प्राप्त हो सकता है और शान्ति मिल सकती है। और हमारे पास विधान ऐसा है कि आप सब कुछ कर सकते हैं। मैं ने एक छोटी किताब लिखी है जिस का नाम है "स्वराज्य लुट गया"। उस किताब में मैं ने कहा है, और आज भी कहता हूँ, कि जिस तरह के चुनाव आज होते हैं वह देश के लिए एक विपत्ति हैं, देश के लिए महान संकट है। इस का आखिर क्या मतलब कि जिस वक्त चुनाव आया सारा देश भिन्न भिन्न दलों में बंट गया? गांवों में दलबन्दी नहीं थी, अब गांवों में भी दलबन्दी हो जाती है, गांव तो गांव है, एक एक खानदान में यह होता है कि पुरुष जाता है इस तरफ तो स्त्री जाती है दूसरी तरफ। यह क्या तमाशा है? मैं समझता हूँ कि सारे देश में लोगों को बैठ कर इस के बारे में सोचना चाहिए और इस तरह का चुनाव का संकट दूर होना चाहिए। मैं तो

समझता हूँ कि सब से पहले तो यह होना चाहिए कि कोई आदमी स्वयं उम्मीदवार न हो, चुनाव लड़ने का काम उम्मीदवार का नहीं होना चाहिए, कोई भी उम्मीदवार न खड़ा हो। यह काम जनता पर छोड़ देना चाहिए कि वह जिस को चाहे रखे। यह कह देना कि जनता मूल्य है, जनता क्या जानेगी, यह गलत है। अरे, जनता सब कुछ जानती है, जनता को बिगाड़ने वाले तो नेता लोग हैं जो वोट मांगने जाते हैं। यह काम सोलह आने जनता का होना चाहिए कि वह जिसे चाहे पसन्द करे और चुन कर भेज दे।

श्री ब० स० श्रुति : तो कैसे किया जाए, माहब ?

बाबू राम नारायण सिंह : आप तैयार हो जायेंगे तो उपाय की कमी नहीं रह जाएगी। इस के साथ साथ आज इतने तरह को दलबन्दियां हो रही हैं कि कुछ कहना नहीं। कैरना में अभी कम्युनिस्ट गवर्नमेंट होने जा रही है। उड़ीसा में न जाने क्या होगा। मैं कहूंगा कि आज इस तरह की दलबन्दियां खत्म होनी चाहिए। मैं ने पहले भी कहा था :

"Party and honesty cannot go together."

पार्टियों के रहने से अनर्थ होता रहेगा, इसलिए पार्टी की चीज को जाना ही चाहिए। जब मैं पढ़ता था तब राजनीति मेरा विषय था। आप जानते हैं कि पार्लियामेन्टरी सिस्टम आफ गवर्नमेंट इंग्लैंड में पैदा हुआ था, वही फूल फला और कहा जा सकता है कि वहां अच्छी तरह चलता है। जब मैं विद्यार्थी था उस समय मैं ने एक बहुत बड़े अंग्रेज की लिखी हुई बात पढ़ी थी जो कि मुझे याद है। वह थी :

"Party system of government is not only not democracy, it strikes at the very root of democracy."

इस लिए जो दलगत सरकार है उस को जाना ही चाहिए क्योंकि वह पंचायती सरकार नहीं है इतना ही नहीं, यह पंचायती सरकार

को समूल नष्ट करता है। इस वास्ते पार्टी सिस्टम आफ गवर्नमेंट को पहले जाना चाहिए। इस के स्थान पर सारे देश में आल पार्टीज गवर्नमेंट बने, यह दलबन्धियां खत्म होनी चाहिए, क्योंकि जब तक यह रहेगा तब तक देश का कल्याण नहीं हो सकता।

एक बात और कहता हूं। अभी हमारे एक भाई ने पढ़ कर सुनाया था अमरीका के बारे में कि वह बगदाद पैक्ट के साथ शामिल होने जा रहा है। आज जो हमारे देश की वदेशिक नीति है वह बिल्कुल बुजदिली की मालूम होती है। हमारी सरकार को जरा बहादुर होना चाहिए। मैं इस की ज्यादा व्याख्या नहीं करूंगा क्योंकि इस में बहुत समय लग जाएगा। आज कल अमरीका पाकिस्तान को सैनिक सहायता दे रहा है और बार बार व्याख्या कर रहा है और आश्वासन दे रहा है कि पाकिस्तान भारत के प्रतिकूल हमारे अस्त्रों को नहीं इस्तेमाल करेगा। लेकिन यह बिल्कुल गलत बात है। हमारे देश की तरफ से सीधे सीधे यह कह देना चाहिए कि पाकिस्तान को अमरीका की मिलिटरी सहायता देना भारत के प्रतिकूल पड़ रहा है। अगर अमरीका शस्त्र देगा तो उन को चलाने के वक्त यह कहना कि इस के खिलाफ इस्तेमाल करो, इसके खिलाफ इस्तेमाल न करो, बिल्कुल मूर्खता की बात है। यह नहीं हो सकता है। इस वास्ते हमारी तरफ से यह घोषणा होनी चाहिए कि अमरीका पाकिस्तान को जो भी सैनिक सहायता दे रहा है वह हमारे देश के खिलाफ है। हमारे एक मित्र ने बड़ा अच्छा कहा कि इस वक्त जरूरत है, हमारे सारे देश की रक्षा का उपाय यही है, कि सारे देश में अनिवार्य सैनिक शिक्षा दी जाए। जितने नवयुवक लोग हैं सब को सैनिक शिक्षा दे कर के बहादुर बनाया जाए ताकि सब कोई अपनी रक्षा करें और जरूरत होने पर देश की रक्षा करें।

एक बात और कह कर मैं बैठ जाता हूं और वह यह है कि सरकार की यह योजना होनी चाहिए कि हर एक आदमी अपने में यह बोध करे कि वह स्वतंत्र है, कोई और

उस के मर्चे पर नहीं है। आज कोई राष्ट्रीय सरकार नहीं है, कुछ लोगों का राज्य है और जनता ज्यों की त्यों गुलाम बनी है। स्वराज्य का यह लक्ष्य होना चाहिए कि जनता महसूस करे कि सरकार उस की मालिक नहीं है, सेवक है और जनता सदा अपने को स्वतंत्र समझे, अपने जीवन धन को बिल्कुल सुरक्षित समझे और कहीं कोई झगड़, वगैरह हो तो उस वक्त उस को मालूम हो, उस वो विश्वास हो कि उस के साथ न्याय किया जाएगा। जब तक यह विचार हमारे देश में नहीं आता है तब तक हम स्वराज्य को यहां नहीं ला सकते। जब तक ऐसा नहीं होता है तब तक किसी सरकार की जरूरत नहीं है और न उस को वोट मागने का ही अधिकार है।

मैं और अधिक नहीं कहूंगा क्योंकि मैं अधिक समय ले चुका हूँ। लेकिन मैं उम्मीद करूंगा कि जो कुछ मैं ने कहा है, और वह मैं ने किमी की टीका टिप्पणी करने के विचार से नहीं कहा है, मैं ने केवल अपने हृदय का दुःख देश के सामने रखा है, उस पर विचार किया जाना चाहिए और मेरा दावा है कि जब तक सरकार इस रास्ते पर नहीं चलेगी तब तक न कल्याण सम्भव है, न सुख सम्भव है और न शान्ति सम्भव है।

## BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

**The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha):** Sir, I beg to announce the order of Government business for the week commencing 25th March, 1957. The order of business will be as under:

1. Presentation of financial estimates for Kerala State for the year 1957-58.
2. Debate on the International Situation on 25th March.
3. Discussion and voting of Demands on Account (General Budget).
4. Consideration and passing of the Finance Bill, 1957.

[Shri Satya Narayan Sinha]

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

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

#### GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—contd.

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

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

13 Hrs.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Shri Anandchand]

tion is said to be a panacea of all ills in this direction. On that Administration and on that Ministry has fallen the burden of stepping up agricultural production. I have my own doubts. It is not because the Community Projects Administration is not doing all that it can. Coming from an area which is covered by community projects, I have come to the conclusion that with all the best will in the world and with all the subsidy which we give by way of seeds, fertilisers, machinery, and so on, the incentive for increase in production is not there in the farmer. The wrong, in my opinion, lies in the land policy that we have adopted, a land policy which, to my mind, is halting in the extreme, a land policy which is based more on political considerations rather than the economics of the country. If I might try to enlarge that point, we all want there should be a ceiling on land. We are all against landlords and people who have extensive lands and so on. We are doing away with that. That is a good thing. But, the point is, in doing away with them, have we come to any conclusion whereby agriculture in this country has been placed on a rational basis? In removing them, to my mind, we have adopted a process which is more political in nature. Land to the landless, we say. Land to the landless, to what extent? To the extent of 1 acre or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acres? Is that landless person going to solve the problem of more production living on  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acres? He cannot. It is not possible for him to do so. At the same time, we emphasise, land to the landless. It is a good slogan provided we are able to give him a minimum economic holding which is necessary for him to cultivate that land and bring out the best in production.

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

see that by putting him there, by not providing some kind of alternative employment for him, we are subdividing and fragmenting the land which is today with the cultivator. He comes to this unhappy position. Perhaps he has only 15 acres. With this area of 15 acres, he can raise production. He is hemmed in by tenancy legislation. He cannot uproot the man who is tilling  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acres on one side and another three acres on the other. The net result is, he is losing incentive. However, to my mind, people cannot possibly go into this problem of increasing production without being assured that the standard of living in the villages approximates in certain essential social features to the living in urban areas. What is happening is, the people in the villages, although we talk good of them, have no amenities. It is very seldom we see high educational institutions in villages, very seldom that we see high technical institutions in the villages. The result is, if a person has to stay there and give you increased production, he is denied the amenities of higher education and better standard of living to his children. What happens is, instead of working on the land, he comes to the urban area, he takes a house and leaves his avocation. Agriculture suffers.

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

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

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

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

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

[Shri Karni Singhji]

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

## [श्री मदनमोहन मालवीय]

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

मुश्किल है क्योंकि बहुत समय लगेगा, उन की हर एक बात का उत्तर देना भी बड़ा कठिन था। यहां पर हमारी सरकार कहती है और तुलसी दास जी ने भी कहा कि हमें तो उन लोगों का सहयोग चाहिए। जनता के लोगों ने हम से पूछा कि बतलाइए हम किस तरह से आप को सहयोग दें। हम को खाने की दिक्कत है, कपड़े की दिक्कत है, घरों की दिक्कतें हैं, यहां तक कि गांवों में हम को स्वास्थ्यकर साफ पानी भी पीने को नहीं मिलता। आज हम को ऐसा पानी चाहिए जिस को पी लें, लेकिन वह भी नहीं मिलता है, आप बतलाइए कि आप क्या सहयोग चाहते हैं। हम काम करना चाहते हैं, लेकिन हम को काम नहीं मिलता। हमारे पास जमीन नहीं है कि हम जाकर जोंतें और कुछ पैदा कर के खा सकें। हम बहुत कुछ बतलाने की चेष्टा करते थे कि हमारा सरकार न फट-लाइजर फैंक्री खोला है, इतने बड़े बड़े डैम बनाए हैं, इतनी इतनी इंस्टीज चलाई हैं, कपड़े बना रही है, सब कुछ कर रही है, यह सब कुछ आप के दुःख को दूर करने के लिए हो रहा है। उन्होंने कहा, ठीक है, सुनने में बहुत अच्छा लगता है, लेकिन हम पर तो इस का कोई असर नहीं पड़ता है जिस से कि हम कह सकें कि हमारा कुछ लाभ हुआ है। कुछ आप सरकार की ओर तो देखिए हमारी सरकार कह रही है नौकरी देने के लिए लोगों को प्लाय-मेंट देने के लिए। द्वितीय पंच वर्षीय योजना में कहा गया है कि हम तने अधिक प्रादमियों को प्लायमेंट देंगे। ठीक है वे प्लायमेंट देंगे, लेकिन अगर कहीं पर जगह होती है तो उस समय के लिए हजारों ऐप्लीकेशन आती हैं। लोग दौड़ कर एम० पी० और एम० ल० एज० के पास जाते हैं और कहते हैं कि मेहरबानी कर के हमारी सिफारिश कर दे क्योंकि आज कल सिफारिश का ही जमाना है। यदि आप जरा सिफारिश कर देंगे तो हम को नौकरी मिल जाएगी और हम अपने बाल बच्चों को कुछ खिला सकेंगे। सुन कर दुःख होता है, तकलीफ होती है। हम कहते हैं कि भाई तुम यह विश्वास करो कि

यदि हमारे लिखने से कुछ हो सकता तो हम जरूर लिख देते। आज जनता में इस प्रकार का डिमरलाइजेशन फैल गया है कि काम खोजने के लिए उन को हजारों लोगों की खुशामदें करनी पड़ती हैं। भले ही यह सब हो या झूठ लेकिन यह भाव लोगों में फैल गया है कि बिना सिफारिश के नौकरी नहीं मिल सकती। सरकार को इस और ध्यान देना चाहिए। अक्सर यह कहा जाता है कि यह चीज तो पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन के हाथ में है, यह वहां ही जाएगी, आप भी यही कहते हैं, लेकिन वहां पर भी सिफारिश चलती है। ऐसी जनता कि धारणा है मैं अधिक इस बारे में नहीं कहना चाहता। जब जनता में यह भावना हो कि कोई भी काम बिना सिफारिश के नहीं हो सकता तो आप खुद सोचिए कि हमारे यह कहने का कोई मतलब नहीं है कि ऐसा नहीं ऐसा है। अब सरकार को यह देखना है कि जनता के अन्दर जो भाव है जो राय है, उसे किस तरह से परिवर्तित किया जा सकता है। सरकार को इस बात के ऊपर पूरी तौर से ध्यान देना चाहिए। लोग कहते हैं कि आप को आप्रेशन करने के लिए कहते हैं, लेकिन हम को खाने के लिए नहीं मिलता, पहिने के लिए कपड़ा नहीं मिलता और पीने के लिए पानी नहीं मिलता, हमारे लिए काम करों का मौका नहीं मिलता, तो हम किस तरह से कोआपरेशन करें। ५० परसेंट लोगों का यह हाल है, हां, २० परसेंट जो लोग हैं उनके पास थोड़ा बहुत है, मिडिल क्लास पीपल हैं उनके पास थोड़ा बहुत काम है, लेकिन जमाने को देखते हुए उनकी हालत भी बहुत बुरी है और वे भी यही सोचते हैं पर वे भी कोई धारामन नहीं पाते हैं। पेशा खत्म होने के बाद वे फिर वहां पर जाना चाहता हूं और मैं उन लोगों से डेफिनिट प्रोपोजिबल नाऊंगा कि वह किस तरह की बातें चाहते हैं और मौका मिला तो मैं के महीने में उनकी बातों को सुनाऊंगा। जैसे हमारे इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट लोग हैं, वे समझते हैं कि हम ने खूब बन पैदा कर लिया और इतना डिपिंडेंट दे दिया, हम तरक्की

पर हैं, उसी तरह हमारी सरकार भी सोचती कि हां, हमने बहुत तरक्की कर ली, परन्तु मैं सरकार से पूछना चाहता हूं कि जो कुछ अभी मैंने कहा, उसका वह क्या जवाब देते हैं। मैं उन लोगों को सन्तोष देता हूं यह कह कर कि आज जो आप की दिक्कतें हैं, अगर आप चाहें कि वे एक दिन में मिट जाए, तो वे एक दिन में पिटने वाली नहीं हैं। इसमें कुछ समय लगेंगा। मैं यह कह सकता हूं कि २० वर्ष बाद आप की ग्रामदनी, जैसा कि सेक्रेटरी फाइव डायर प्लैन में कहा गया है, दुगुनी हो जाएगी। हम लोग समझते हैं कि वे मूल हैं, परन्तु वे मूल नहीं हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि हम को महीने में मुश्किल से चार रुपया मिलता है, अगर हमारी ग्रामदनी दुगुनी हो जाएगी तब भी तो घाठ ही रुपए महीना रहेगी। उतने से क्या होगा? कभी कभी हम लॉम कन्सेप्ट हो जाते हैं और अपने मन में यह धारणा बना लेते हैं कि अगर ग्रामदनी बढ़ जाएगी तो हमारा देश तरक्की पर है। ठीक है यह भी एक रास्ता है जिस से देश तरक्की पर हो सकता है परन्तु इन के साथ साथ मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि जब तक आप उनके *complementary* दिक्कतों को दूर नहीं करेंगे तब तक आप का यह कहना कि जनता का हम को सहयोग मिले, यह केवल धाशा में रह जाएगा इस पर भी सन्देह होने लगेगा कि आप दिल से यह बात चाहते हैं या नहीं। आप को कई एक ऐसी स्कीम्स लेनी पड़ेंगी जिन से कि २० वर्ष तक उन की ग्रामदनी चार रुपए से घाठ रुपए ही नहीं बल्कि उनको काम आसानी से मिलने लगे और उन की ग्रामदनी ऐसी होने लगे उन को इतना काम मिलने लगे जिस से कि उन को खाने पीने, कपड़े पहिने और स्वस्थ रूप से रहने की पूरी सामग्री मिल जाए। लेकिन जो प्लैन इस वक्त हमारे सामने है उस से तो कम से कम यह बात अभी नजर नहीं आती। हो सकता है यह बात ठीक हो, परन्तु वह बान नजर में नहीं आती। सरकार को उन लोगों को ये सब बातें समझानी है यदि वह उनका सहयोग चाहती है। जैसा कि

## [श्री ज्ञानभुवनवाला]

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

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

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

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

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

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

उसमें यह भी देखना चाहिए कि वह रुपया किस तरह से खर्च किया जाता है। इसकी बहुत जरूरत है। हमारी सरकार बहुत रुपया फूक रही है। सरकार बहुत से लोगों को लोन देती है लेकिन मिलने में इतनी दिक्कतें हैं कि मौ रुपए का लोन लेने वाले को ५० या ५५ रुपया तो खर्च करना पड़ जाता है और बहुत दिक्कत होती है। लोगों को बहुत कम रुपया मिल पाता है, जेप दफ्तर वालों की पाकेट में चला जाता है।

इन सब चीजों की तरफ सरकार को ध्यान देना चाहिए। यदि सरकार ८० प्रतिशत जनता का सहयोग प्राप्त करना चाहती है तो उसे जल्दी से जल्दी कोई ऐसी स्कीम निकालनी चाहिए जिसमें कि उनकी जो ऐसी-मंदरी दिक्कतें हैं वे दूर हो जायें।

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Shri M. K. Moitra:** The challenge comes too late.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

13.59 HRS.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair.]

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

14 HRS.

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

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

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

पंडित च० ना० मालवीय (रायसेन)

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

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

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



रीयलिस्टिक वे में पेश किया गया है। लेकिन मेरा कुछ ऐसा एहसास है कि अगर जो तरक्की हमने की है उसको देखें और जिस तरीके से खुद हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने अपनी तजवीजें पेश की हैं, उनको देखें, तो धाज की फिजा में ऐसा पैसिमिस्टिक व्यू पेश करना, मैं कुछ मुनासिब नहीं समझता हूं। हमने पंच वर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत जो तरक्की की है, जो रिकार्ड हमने डिफरेंट स्पीयर्स में कायम किए हैं और जो अंदाज हमारे लीडर साहिबान ने लोगों के सामने रखे हैं उनसे कहीं से भी निराशा की कोई झलक नहीं झलकती। उनको अगर हम गौर से देखें तो आशा का दीपक और ज्यादा चमकता नज़र आता है। हां, इतना जरूर है कि बीच में स्टेट्स रिभागनाइजेशन की वजह से और जनरल इलेक्शंस की वजह से लोगों की तबज्जह कुछ बट अवश्य गई और हमारी योजना जो आगे बढ़ रही थी, उसमें कुछ कमियां महसूस हुईं और उसको धक्का लगा। लेकिन मैं समझता हूं कि उन कमजोरियों को कुछ बढ़ा बढ़ा कर पेश किया गया है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि उसमें कुछ खराबियां थी और उनको पेश कर दिया गया है और उनकी तरफ गवर्नमेंट का ध्यान भी है और उनको दूर करने की कोशिश भी की गई है। हमने प्रोडक्शन को बढ़ाने का और कीमतों को बढ़ाने का जो अंदाज लगाया था वह पिछले साल के मुकाबले में लगाया है। लेकिन अगर हम सन् १९५२ में उनका मुकाबला करें जब से कि हमारी पंच वर्षीय योजनाओं का सिलसिला शुरू हुआ और उनके आंकड़ों का मुकाबिला आज के आंकड़ों से करें, चाहे वह एग्रीकल्चरल स्पीयर में हो, चाहे कैश क्रॉस में हो या हमारी इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोड्यूस हो तो हम पायेंगे कि सन् १९५२ के मुकाबले में हम हर फील्ड में आगे ही बढ़ते गए हैं। किन्हीं क्षेत्रों में हमने मुसलसल तरक्की की है और किन्हीं में हम नीचे गए हैं। इसके दो कारण थे। पहला तो यह कि हमने पांच साला प्लान में एग्रीकल्चर पर जोर दिया था और उसमें कम्युनिटी

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

[पंढित ५० ना० मालवीय]

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

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

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

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

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

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

आपने अपने व्हाइट पेपर में बतलाया है :

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

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

[पड़ित च० ना० मन्त्रालय]

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

एग्सीक्यूटिव प्रोडक्शन पर आज बहुत जोर है। इस बारे में कुछ मुझसे आपसे सामने पेश करना चाहता हूँ। एक तजवीज अभी आप के सामने रखी गई, बाकी छें उस तजवीज का समर्थन करता हूँ कि इस तरह से आप ने जनता से सम्प्रेषण फैला रखा है वह अच्छा नहीं है। हर आदमी के पास लैंड है, लेकिन वह पड़ी हुई है क्योंकि वह समझता है कि इस को डेवलप कर या न कर, पता नहीं कल मीनिंग २० एकड़ होती है या ५० एकड़ होती है। इस लिये जहाँ भी मीनिंग की पालिसी का समर्थन करता हूँ वहाँ उसके मुताबिक यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप

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

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

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

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

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

बेजेज के मिल मिले में अभी किसी ने कुछ नहीं कहा, मैं उस के मूनालिनिक आप के सामने एक तजवीज रखना चाहता हूँ। एग्जिज्यूटिव और एक्जाम्पली के मिल मिले में आप ने बेजेज की जो पॉलिसी बनाई है उस में आप ने बेजेज का मुकम्मल की है, लेकिन मेरी तजवीज यह है कि आप काम के नाम पर मुकम्मल कीजिये, चाहे वह आपकी सेक्टेरियल के काम हो चाहे विलेजेज के काम हों, या इंडस्ट्रीज के काम हों। गवर्नमेंट, एम्प्लायर्स और एम्प्लायीज, इन तीनों के एग्जिज्यूटिव बैठ कर हर काम के कुछ नाम मुकम्मल करें कि इतने घंटों में इतना काम हो सकता है, और नाम के मुताबिक हम बेजेज फिक्क करनी चाहिये। इस तरह से अगर दफतर छ घंटे का होता है तो यह देखना चाहिये कि जितना काम उतनी देर में होना चाहिये वह हुआ या नहीं, यह नहीं कि उतनी देर आदमी बैठा या नहीं या उतनी देर में वह इतनी जगह घुमा या नहीं। इस के साथ ही साथ यह भी जानना चाहिये कि जो ज्यादा काम करे उसे उतना ही ज्यादा देना चाहिये। अगर कोई आदमी पूरा काम न करे तो उस की बेजेज फीज कर दी जाये। अगर इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स इस तरह से काम करेंगे, आप इस तरह से काम करेंगे तो मेरा ऐसा खयाल है कि आप का इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोडक्शन भी बढ़ेगा, अच्छी उपज होगी और हमारी प्लैन अच्छी तरह से कामयाब हो सकती।

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Shri M. K. Maitra]

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

[Shri M. R. Krishna]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

15 HRS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Shri Matthen:** Of course, the strike is there.

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Shri Matthen]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



[Shri Thummaiah]

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

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

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

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

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

श्री रनबमन सिंह (शाहडोल सोधी—

रक्षित—अनुसूचित आदिम जातियाँ) :  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप का आभा ी हूँ कि आप न मुझे समय दिया। फाइनैस मिनिस्टर साहब ने जो अपना बजट पेश किया है उसके अन्दर पंच वर्षीय योजना के जो लक्ष्य दिखलाये गये हैं वे ज्यादातर देहातों में दिखलाये गये हैं। लेकिन मेरे खयाल से यह लक्ष्य ज्यादातर किताबों में, कागजों में और फाइलों में ही पाये जाते हैं, देहातों में बहुत कम। योजना का प्रोग्राम तो ऐसा होना चाहिये कि साल ब साल मारे देश की जनता में एक प्रसन्नता की लहर दौड़ती जाय और देखने में आये कि कहां क्या काम हुआ है और किस तरह से योजना चल रही है। उद्योगों को प्रमुख केन्द्र गांवों में होना चाहिये जहां पर कि देश की ८० प्रतिशत जनता रहती है। शहरों में उ१ के होने से जो थोड़े बहुत लोग आस पास रहते हैं केवल उन्हीं को मालूम होता है और शहरी लोगों में तो स्वयं चेतना होती है। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐसे काम अधिकतर वहां होने चाहिये जहां पर कि न रेल है, न सड़कें हैं और न जहां के रहने वालों के लिये अब तक कोई विशेष कार्य हुआ है। अर्थात् देहातों में। उन लोगों को अधिक से अधिक शक्ति और पुष्टता मिलनी चाहिये, वहां ऐसे रचनात्मक काम होने चाहिये और ऐसे छोटे छोटे उद्योग होने चाहिये कि जो वहां की जनता से सम्बद्ध है, खास कर गरीब जनता, उस की दिक्कतें कम होने की सम्भावना हो। इस काम के वास्ते सरकार को चाहिये कि वह एक निष्पक्ष योजना आडिट कमेटी नियुक्त करे जो देखे कि साल में कहां पर कितना काम हुआ है, कितने काम सम्पूर्ण हुये और कितने अधूरे हैं। लेकिन मेरे खयाल से ऐसे काम बहुत कम किये जाते हैं। देखने में



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

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

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

## [श्री रत्नदमन सिंह]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram:** Sleep over it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: Give a loan now.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram:** A dog all the same.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Hon. Members:** Yes.

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

16-27 hrs.

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

## DAILY DIGEST

[Saturday, 23rd March, 1957]

## COLUMNS

## COLUMNS

## PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE . . . . . 509

The following papers were laid on the Table :

- (1) Report (1956) of the Tariff Commission on the Continuance of Protection to the Electric Brass Lamp Holders Industry together with a copy of letter No. TC/ID/E-65 dated the 24th December, 1956, forwarding the Report to Government

- (2) Government Resolution No. 48(1) TB/56, dated the 22nd March, 1957 .

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ABSENCE OF MEMBERS PRESENTED . . . 509 10

Twentieth Report was presented.

## BILLS PASSED . . . . . 510—13

The Minister of Railways (Shri Jagjiwan Ram) moved for the consideration of the Appropriation (Railways) Bill 1957. The motion was adopted. After the clause-by-clause consideration the Bill was passed.

The Minister of Finance and Iron and Steel (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari) moved for

the consideration of the Appropriation Bill, 1957. The motion was adopted. After the clause-by-clause consideration, the Bill was passed

The Minister of Finance and Iron and Steel (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari) moved for the consideration of the Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1957. The motion was adopted. After the clause-by-clause consideration the Bill was passed

The Minister of Finance and Iron and Steel (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari) moved for the consideration of the Kerala Appropriation Bill, 1957. The motion was adopted. After the clause-by-clause consideration the Bill was passed

## GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION . . . 513—58, 559—642

Further discussion on the general budget was continued. Shri T. T. Krishnamachari replied to the debate and the discussion was concluded. .

## AGENDA FOR MONDAY, 25TH MARCH, 1957.

Motion *re* international situation.