

Saturday, 10th March, 1951



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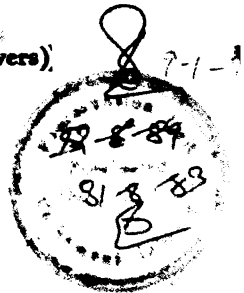
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PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part I—Questions and Answers)

OFFICIAL REPORT

VOLUME VI, 1951



(5th February to 31st March, 1951)

Third Session (Second Part)

of the

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

1951

CONTENTS

Volume VI—from 5th February, to 31st March, 1951

	<i>Columns.</i>
Monday, 5th February, 1951	
Oral Answers to Questions	1137—1170
Written Answers to Questions	1170—1174
Tuesday, 6th February, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	1175—1203
Written Answers to Questions	1203—1218
Wednesday, 7th February, 1951—	
Member Sworn	1219
Oral Answers to Questions	1219—1246
Written Answers to Questions	1246—1258
Thursday, 8th February, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	1259—1285
Written Answers to Questions	1285—1292
Friday, 9th February, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	1293—1319
Written Answers to Questions	1319—1332
Monday, 12th February, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	1333—1364
Written Answers to Questions	1364—1373
Tuesday, 13th February, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	1373—1399
Written Answers to Questions	1399—1408
Wednesday, 14th February, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	1409—1438
Written Answers to Questions	1438—1454
Thursday, 15th February, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	1455—1487
Written Answers to Questions	1487—1490
Friday, 16th February, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	1491—1522
Written Answers to Questions	1522—1526
Monday, 19th February, 1951—	
Written Answers to Questions	1527—1556
Tuesday, 20th February, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	1557—1586
Written Answers to Questions	1586—1596
Wednesday, 21st February, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	1597—1631
Written Answers to Questions	1631—1638
234 P.S.D.	

	<i>Columns</i>
Thursday, 22nd February, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	1639—1667
Written Answers to Questions	1667—1678
Friday, 23rd February, 1951—	
Member Sworn	1679
Oral Answers to Questions	1679—1704
Written Answers to Questions	1705—1712
Monday, 26th February, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	1713—1739
Written Answers to Questions	1739—1750
Tuesday, 27th February, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	1751—1783
Written Answers to Questions	1783—1802
Wednesday, 28th February, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	1803—1830
Written Answers to Questions	1830—1838
Thursday, 1st March, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	1839—1865
Written Answers to Questions	1865—1874
Friday, 2nd March, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	1875—1901
Written Answers to Questions	1902—1914
Monday, 5th March, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	1915—1949
Written Answers to Questions	1949—1956
Wednesday, 7th March, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	1957—1987
Written Answers to Questions	1987—1996
Thursday, 8th March, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	1997—2042
Written Answers to Questions	2042—2058
Friday, 9th March, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	2059—2085
Written Answers to Questions	2085—2096
Saturday, 10th March, 1951—	
Member Sworn	2097
Oral Answers to Questions	2097—2131
Written Answers to Questions	2131—2314
Monday, 12th March, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	2135—2166
Written Answers to Questions	2166—2186
Tuesday, 13th March, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	2187—2217
Written Answers to Questions	2217—2224
Wednesday, 14th March, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	2225—2254
Written Answers to Questions	2254—2222

	<i>Columns</i>
Thursday, 15th March, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	2263—2295
Written Answers to Questions	2295—2308
Friday, 16th March, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	2309—2340
Written Answers to Questions	2340—234
Monday, 19th March, 1951—	
Member Sworn	2343
Oral Answers to Questions	2343—2371
Written Answers to Questions	2371—2386
Tuesday, 20th March, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	2387—2416
Written Answers to Questions	2416—2444
Wednesday, 21st March, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	2445—2474
Written Answers to Questions	2474—2484
Saturday, 24th March, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	2485—2518
Written Answers to Questions	2518—2526
Monday, 26th March, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	2527—2461
Written Answers to Questions	2561—2576
Tuesday, 27th March, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	2577—2606
Written Answers to Questions	2606—2618
Wednesday, 28th March, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	2619—2651
Written Answers to Questions	2651—2658
Friday, 30th March, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	2659—2688
Written Answers to Questions	2688—2698
Saturday, 31st March, 1951—	
Oral Answers to Questions	2699—2732
Written Answers to Questions	2733—2750

THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES
(Part I—Questions and Answers)
OFFICIAL REPORT

2007

2008

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

Saturday, 10th March, 1951

*The House met at a Quarter to Eleven
of the Clock.*

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

MEMBER SWORN

Shri Amolak Chand Jain (Uttar Pradesh).

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS
MONUMENTS IN VINDHYA PRADESH

*2956. Prof. S. N. Mishra: Will the Minister of Education be pleased to state:

(a) whether the attention of Government has been drawn to the dilapidated conditions of the monuments associated with Maharaja Chhatrasal Bundela in Chhatarpur District, Vindhya Pradesh; and

(b) if so, the steps taken to preserve the monuments?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The Government of India will be responsible for the protection of these monuments when they are taken over. Under the Constitution, the Central Government can take them under their protection only when the necessary enactment has come into force.

Prof. S. N. Mishra: May I know why some of the monuments of historical significance including the palace of Dhubela near Nawgaon and other monuments near Maheba have not been taken up so far?

Shri A. P. Jain: Under the Constitution, a monument has first to be declared a monument of national importance and then only it can be taken over. That question is under the active consideration of the Ministry.

Prof. S. N. Mishra: What are the principles which determine that a

350 P.S.

monument is of great national significance?

Shri A. P. Jain: The historical and artistic eminence of the monuments.

Shri Dwivedi: May I know if the Centrally Administered Areas come under the area of operation of the Archaeological Department under the Constitution?

Shri A. P. Jain: They do, but this law is applicable to Part A, Part B and Part C States.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: What will be the estimated cost of renovating these monuments and preserving them?

Shri A. P. Jain: First we have to decide the question of taking them over and then only the question of spending money on them will arise.

Shrimati Ammu Swaminadhan: May I know if the Shri. Padmanabha Palace murals in Travancore have been considered of historical and national importance?

Shri A. P. Jain: The question relates to Vindhya Pradesh and naturally I am not expected to cover the whole area of India.

Shrimati Ammu Swaminadhan: The hon. Minister stated that steps are being taken to preserve the monuments. I am asking in that connection.

Mr. Speaker: "The monuments" means the monuments referred to in the question.

Shrimati Ammu Swaminadhan: I thought that it was any monument which comes under the Central Government.

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : मंत्री महोदय ने कहा नये कानून बनेंगे, उस के मुताबिक़ वह मोनयुमेंट लिये जायेंगे, लेकिन अभी तो

वर्तमान कानून जो है, क्या उस के मुताबिक वह मौनयुमेंट्स प्रीज़रवेशन में नहीं आ सकते ?

[**Babu Ramnarayan Singh:** The hon. Minister stated that those monuments would be taken over under the new enactments that would be enforced. Can they not be taken under preservation under the existing laws?]

श्री ए० पी० जैन : वह कानून तो इस सभा ने बनाया है जिस के माननीय सदस्य भी एक मेम्बर थे और उस कानून में यह दिया हुआ है कि खाली उन मौनयुमेंट्स के बारे में केन्द्रीय सरकार कानून बना सकती है, जिन को कि पहले नेशनल इम्पोटेंस का पालियामेंट घोषित कर दे और अभी तक जो मौनयुमेंट्स हैं, उसको पालियामेंट ने नेशनल इम्पोटेंस का घोषित नहीं किया है।

[**Shri A. P. Jain:** That law has been enacted by a Committee of which the hon. Member was also a Member. It lays down that the Central Government has got powers to enact laws in respect of such monuments alone as are declared of national importance by Parliament. But Parliament has not so far declared the existing monuments as of national importance.]

HYDERABAD MINT

*2057. **Shri Sidhva:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to refer to the answer given to my Starred Question No. 113 asked on the 17th November, 1950, and state whether Government propose Sicca notes of one rupee denomination and two pie copper coins to be continued to be issued from the Hyderabad Mint?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): As already stated by me on the 17th November, 1950, these notes and coins continue to be issued. Under the Part 'B' States (Laws) Act, 1951, the intention is to replace them progressively within a period not exceeding two years.

Shri Sidhva: May I know whether the maintenance cost of this mint is met by the Hyderabad State or the Centre?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: The mint has now been taken over by the Centre.

Shri Sidhva: May I know whether it is self-supporting. What is the cost of maintenance?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I must have notice of the question.

کہانی جی - ایس - مسافر - کیا
سکون کے متعلق سرکار کوئی سہولت
(cent) سسٹم جاری کرنے کا بیچار
کہتی ہے ؟

[**Giani G. S. Musafir:** Do the Government propose to introduce any Cent system regarding the coins?]

Mr. Speaker: I think the hon. Member has tabled a separate question on that.

Shri M. L. Gupta: May I know if after the Hyderabad currency has been discontinued this mint will be maintained or will be closed?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: That will depend upon the work turning up afterwards. I think a decision will be taken in the light of the circumstances then prevailing what to do with the mint

Shri Hussain Imam: Is there any parity between the Sicca rupee and the Indian rupee or is there any difference?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: They are not at present at par.

Shri S. V. Naik: What other notes and coins are issued from Hyderabad?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: No other new coins and notes are issued except the two mentioned in the question.

Shri K. V. Ranga Reddy: May I know whether compensation is given to the Hyderabad Government for taking over the mint and if so, how much is the amount?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: That must be part of the general financial integration scheme. I do not think any separate settlement has been made only in regard to the profits arising from the mint.

Shri Sidhva: The hon. Minister stated that progressively this mint will be closed down in the course of two years. Am I right in understanding that after two years the Sicca notes and rupees will be stopped from being issued in this Hyderabad mint?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: That is the intention, that is to say, to bring about the transition completely to Indian currency within two years.

INSTALLATION OF TRANSMITTERS

*2058. **Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Will the Minister of Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state the number

of 10 K.W. medium wave transmitters which are to be installed in the year, 1951?

The Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting (Shri Diwakar): Two.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: May I know where these transmitters are going to be installed?

Shri Diwakar: In Nagpur and Gauhati.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: May I know the estimated expenditure for installing these transmitters?

Shri Diwakar: It is about Rs. 6 lakhs in each case.

Kanwar Jaswant Singh: Is there any proposal to instal any transmitter in Rajasthan in the near future?

Shri Diwakar: Not under consideration just now.

Shri S. N. Das: Is there any programme for the installation of these transmitters elsewhere?

Mr. Speaker: These questions have been replied to many times.

Shri Sondhi: Is there any difference between the estimated cost as given out last year and the actual installation cost subsequently?

Shri Diwakar: I do not remember what the estimated cost as given out last year was, but it is possible that they differ.

INTERNATIONAL BANK OF INDIA

*2059 **Shri Sidhva:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) what percentage of deposit money of depositors was paid by the International Bank of India which had closed down;

(b) whether any call has been made on shareholders for payment of balance money of shares since the Bank stopped receiving deposits; and

(c) what is the position of the said Bank at the moment?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): (a) Government understand that the Bank has fully paid off all the deposits except a small fraction which the parties concerned have not withdrawn in spite of repeated reminders.

(b) As far as Government are aware, no call was made on shareholders for payment of the reserve liability on partly-paid up shares after

the date of the prohibitory order on the Bank.

(c) Government understand that the Company has changed its name to "The Vasant Investment Corporation Ltd." and no longer conducts any banking business.

Shri Sidhva: The hon. Minister said that all amounts, excepting a small one, have been paid off. May I know whether there is any amount due to creditors apart from the depositors and shareholders which remains unpaid?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I have no information about the creditors. My information relates to deposits out of which Rs. 4 lakhs have not yet been paid, because the parties concerned will not withdraw them in spite of repeated reminders.

APPOINTMENT OF JUDGES OF HIGH COURTS

*2063. **Shri Raj Kanwar:** Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that a Conference of lawyers of Uttar Pradesh recently held at Meerut passed a resolution to the effect that appointment of judges of High Courts should no longer be made by the Home Ministry of the Government of India but by the Ministry of Law;

(b) whether it is a fact that a similar demand was made by Lawyers of other States on previous occasions also; and

(c) if the reply to parts (a) and (b) above be in the affirmative, whether Government have examined this suggestion and if so, with what result?

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Rajagopalachari): (a) A copy of a resolution to this effect was received from the U.P. Lawyers Conference about three weeks after receipt of this question.

(b) So far as I have any information, no.

(c) Government do not propose to take any action on the representation of the Uttar Pradesh Conference of Lawyers, although of course, it will be noted that this was the view of that Conference.

The question of which Ministry should concern itself with particular subjects is an internal matter for the Cabinet, as to what is defined in the Constitution as a means for the more convenient transaction of the business of the Government.

Shri Raj Kanwar: Are Government aware that it is a very old demand that the appointment of High Court Judges should be the concern and responsibility of the Ministry of Law and not of the Ministry of Home Affairs?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The hon. Member is entering into an argument.

Shri Raj Kanwar: Am I correct in suggesting that the present.....

Mr. Speaker: He need not carry on the argument in the form of a question.

Shri Raj Kanwar: Is it a fact, Sir, that the present practice is a relic and a remnant of the olden days?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Kamath: With regard to the appointment of Judges of High Courts, is it the practice that the Home Ministry or rather the Home Minister consults his Colleague, the Law Minister before appointments are made, or does the matter go before the Cabinet as a whole?

Shri Rajagopalachari: The procedure for the appointment of High Court Judges was recently re-examined and a definite procedure has been laid down by the present Government in that respect. Consultations take place among the Chief Justice of the State concerned, the Chief Minister of the State concerned, the Home Minister here, the Chief Justice of India and then the matter is submitted to the President for final orders.

Further information as to whether the Law Minister or the Works Minister or the Home Minister is separately consulted cannot be a subject matter of an answer from me.

Shri Kazmi: What is the reason that the Law Minister is disqualified from being consulted?

Mr. Speaker: It is never alleged that he is disqualified.

FLOOD RELIEF GRANT

*2064. **Shri B. R. Bhagat:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to refer to the answer to Starred Question No. 1003 for 18th December, 1950 and state:

(a) whether the request of Assam Government for an earthquake and flood relief grant has been acceded to; and

(b) if so, to what extent?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): (a) Yes, Sir. The request of the Assam Government has been accepted in principle.

(b) The Government of India have agreed to meet as grant 50 per cent. of the actual expenditure incurred on repairs to all Government buildings and those of local authorities; repairs to roads and communications; and repairs to non-Government educational and other institutions. They have also agreed to give the balance of the expenditure on these items as loan, if the Government of Assam so desire.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: May I know whether the purpose of the grant includes river training in Assam?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: We have held that river training is work of permanent development which does not fall within the category of relief projects.

Shri Kamath: What, Sir, was the total amount asked for by the Assam Government for earth quake relief as disclosed by the Home Minister. I believe, in the last session and what is the amount granted now?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: The sum asked for was Rs. 3.47 crores spread over three years. That is for various heads: creditors' relief, test relief, medical aid, agricultural aid, repairs, reconstruction and training of rivers, education aid, grants to local bodies, air survey and photography. That has been examined in consultation with a representative of the Assam Government and this arrangement which I have referred to was arrived at, after consultation.

Shri Somdhi: About what date, Sir?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: The State Government were informed on the 30th December, 1950. All relief expenditure should be financed from the Governor's Relief Fund, the Prime Minister's Relief Fund and other non-official sources. Permanent works, like training of rivers, measures of protection, etc., should be considered by the State along with their other development works and financed by them with such assistance as may be possible to give on the basis of all-India priority. For the rest we would give 50 per cent. of the actual expenditure incurred on repairs as grant and the balance in loan.

Maulvi Wajed Ali: What was the amount paid during the year 1950-51 and what is proposed to be paid during 1951-52?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I do not think any payment has been made because demand is made after expenditure is incurred for reimbursement. It is not a ways and means problem, but a problem of assistance.

DAMODAR VALLEY PROJECTS

*2065. **Shri B. R. Bhagat:** Will the Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research be pleased to state:

(a) whether doubts have been expressed by experts regarding the Damodar Valley Projects owing to the Damodar Basin being possibly in epical tract;

(b) if so, has this position been fully examined; and

(c) whether any further change in design is expected to take place in order to withstand possible earthquake shocks?

The Deputy Minister of Works, Production and Supply (Shri Buragohain): (a) and (b). No, Sir. On the contrary the Geological Survey of India have stated that "the Damodar Basin is part of the stable peninsula and has not undergone faulting or folding since the Mesozoic era, although it has subsequently been subjected to regional uplift." They have also stated that "severe shocks do not originate in the Damodar Basin" and that "the seismic zone lies 150 miles to the north, and it is from shocks of very great intensity originating in this zone that the Damodar Basin feels the fringe effects".

(c) The factors as already stated, were known before any designing was done; and no change in the existing designs will be necessary on their account.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: Who were the experts who examined this matter?

Shri Buragohain: The experts of the Geological Survey of India.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: Was there any difference of opinion among them on this point?

Shri Buragohain: There was no difference of opinion. Some of them, after later investigations, have suggested that some of the dams should be of concrete instead of earthen.

Shri Sidhva: May I know, Sir, whether an Engineer who was appointed on this project had expressed an opinion that the site selected was not suitable and that this was not accepted by the Damodar Valley Corporation and therefore he was dismissed from service? May I know if this matter has come to the notice of the hon. Minister, and if so what steps have they taken?

Shri Buragohain: Government is not aware of any such thing.

Shri Kamath: How far approximately, Sir, is the Damodar Basin from the

centre of the region where the disastrous earthquake occurred in Bihar in 1934?

Shri Buragohain: That will be more than 150 miles.

FLOODS

*2066. **Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay:** (a) Will the Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research be pleased to state what measures to check or to minimise the devastating effect of floods in India are being suggested by the regional conference under the auspices of the E.C.A.F.E. Flood Control Bureau meeting in Delhi?

(b) What countries are taking part in this conference?

The Deputy Minister of Works, Production and Supply (Shri Buragohain): (a) I would invite the attention of the hon. Member to the reply given to Starred Question No. 1946 on the 7th March, 1951 by Shri B. R. Bhagat with which was laid on the Table of the House, a copy of the recommendations of the regional conference of the Bureau of Flood Control held in New Delhi under the auspices of E.C.A.F.E. in January last.

(b) The countries which participated in the conference are:

Australia, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, France, India, Indonesia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Viet Nam.

Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: May I know whether any of the measures suggested by them have been accepted by Government?

Shri Buragohain: They are now under consideration, Sir.

Shri R. Velayudhan: May I know whether the hon. Minister has got any information regarding Flood Control which was discussed at the E.C.A.F.E. conference held at Lahore recently?

Shri Buragohain: I have not got the material that was discussed in the last conference at Lahore. It was a very recent one.

Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: May I know whether these measures are to be examined by the Planning Commission or by Government?

Shri Buragohain: They will be examined by the Ministry concerned.

مولانا محسودی - کشمیر کو فلتس
سے بچانے کی جو تجویز کی اسکیم
ہے کیا وہ کانفرنس کے سامنے آئیگی۔

[Maulana Masud: Will the dredger scheme to save Kashmir from floods be brought before the Conference?]

Shri Buragohain: That is a separate question altogether, Sir.

SOCIAL TENSIONS

*2067. **Shri R. Velayudhan:** (a) Will the Minister of Education be pleased to state whether Dr. Gardner Murphy has completed his study of social tensions in India?

(b) What are the important social tensions in the country over which he is conducting researches?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) Yes. Dr. Gardner Murphy who was appointed by U.N.E.S.C.O. as Technical Consultant to the Government of India for their tensions project has completed his assignment. A detailed statement is placed on the Table of the House. [See Appendix XIV, annexure No. 32.]

(b) The research on social tensions has been throughout conducted by Indian scholars. The list of important subjects of research is given in the Enclosure to the statement.

Shri R. Velayudhan: May I know whether subjects like religion, caste or community, or the tensions between various political parties like the Justice Party and the Communist Party were dealt with in this research?

Shri A. P. Jain: A full and comprehensive statement has been placed on the table and from a perusal of the statement it will be found that religious, provincial, linguistic and racial tensions were studied. In addition to that a project of enquiries into tensions affecting international understanding was also the subject matter of study.

Shri R. Velayudhan: May I know what practical application the study of tension has got on the future programme, policy or plans of the Government of India?

Shri A. P. Jain: So far, I think they are only in the study stage. After some final results have been achieved, of course they will affect governmental and other policies.

Shri Kamath: Is it not a fact that tensions, social or otherwise, are more severe in Europe and America, and has this Dr. Murphy had any experience in the study of social and other tensions in his own country or in Europe?

Shri A. P. Jain: Well, Dr. Murphy had certainly experience of the tensions, but I am not a sufficiently qualified man to say whether the tensions in Europe are more severe than in India.

Shri R. Velayudhan: May I know whether the Planning Commission which is said to be preparing its reports in a few months' time has anything to do with the study of these tensions by this Professor?

Shri A. P. Jain: The study of these tensions has been undertaken at the suggestion of the U.N.E.S.C.O. and, so far, I do not think that the Planning Commission has anything to do with it.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: May I know the specific purpose for which Dr. Murphy was commissioned to study social tensions in India and how the Government of India is going to utilise the report of the study?

Shri A. P. Jain: He was a technical Consultant and it was with his advice that six principal research teams were set up besides a few more minor ones.

Shri Gautam: What steps do Government propose to take to remove these tensions?

Mr. Speaker: It is a matter for study and research. I am going to the next question.

MINERAL RESOURCES

*2068. **Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay:** Will the Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research be pleased to state:

(a) what important minerals have been found and in what States as a result of the Geological Survey of India in 1949;

(b) whether these mineral resources promise good supply and approach;

(c) what localities Government propose to undertake working up immediately; and

(d) what is the estimated amount of expenditure involved in working up this scheme?

The Deputy Minister of Works, Production and Supply (Shri Buragohain): (a) and (b). A statement giving information obtained as a result of investigations carried out by the Geological Survey of India during the field season 1949-50 is laid on the Table of the House. [See Appendix XIV, annexure No. 33.]

(c) The exploitation of minerals is the concern of State Governments.

(d) Does not arise.

Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: May I know what parts of the country were surveyed in 1949?

Shri Buragohain: I have given the list of the minerals together with the extent of the minerals available, in all those areas that have been surveyed.

Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: I wanted to know the areas that were surveyed.

Mr. Speaker: Are they given in the statement?

Shri Buragohain: Yes, Sir, the locations have been given and also the extent of minerals that are available. It is a very long list.

Shri Dwivedi: What arrangements do Government propose to make in the case of the States which are under the Central Government?

Shri Buragohain: But the mines are worked by private agencies only.

Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: What is the contribution of the State Governments in the working of these mines? Do they solely take it up or does the Centre also come in?

Shri Buragohain: Actually they do not take it up. It is private parties who do the work. But in the first instance it is the State Government's concern to grant a prospecting or any other kind of licence to work these mines.

Dr. Deshmukh: Does Government make any special effort for the exploitation of the mineral wealth of the country or is it only in the normal course that the matter is dealt with? Is there a special plan for the rapid exploitation of the mineral wealth of the country?

Shri Buragohain: In the case of strategic materials of course Government have taken certain definite steps.

Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: Who was in charge of this survey in 1949, an Indian or a foreigner?

Shri Buragohain: The Geological Survey of India and the senior officials of that organisation.

INDIAN SCHOOL OF MINES, DHANBAD

*2069. **Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay:** (a) Will the Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research be pleased to state what is the maximum number of students admitted to the Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad?

(b) How many teachers are there?

(c) What is the annual expenditure incurred by Government on this institution and how many students has it trained and in what subjects?

The Deputy Minister of Works, Production and Supply (Shri Buragohain):

(a) The maximum number of students that can be admitted to the Indian School of Mines each year in the I year class is 48. The total number on the rolls today is 153.

(b) There are at present 28 professors, lecturers and other instructors in the School. Six lecturers' posts are vacant and these are being filled through the U.P.S.C.

(c) A statement showing the annual expenditure incurred by Government on the Indian School of Mines during the last 5 years is laid on the Table of the House. Since the establishment of the School in 1926, 439 students have been trained. Of these, 389 received training in Mining Engineering and 50 in Geology.

STATEMENT

The annual expenditure incurred on the Indian School of Mines during the period of 5 years ending 1949-50.

Year	Expenditure other than expenditure on construction.	
	Rs.	Rs.
1945-46	2,26,678	1,12,396
1946-47	3,11,618	36,879
1947-48	3,16,438	1,34,613
1948-49	4,73,443	1,66,672
1949-50	5,49,556	5,77,910

Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: Have these persons been employed?

Shri Buragohain: I would like to have notice. Presumably, they have all been employed.

Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: Are the students given stipends? If so, how much and for what period?

Shri Buragohain: They are given stipends but with regard to the amount, I should like to have notice. I have not got that information with me.

Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: What is the minimum qualification required for a student to get admission to the School?

Shri Buragohain: They must be intermediate or they must pass an equivalent examination.

Shri Abdus Sattar: Will the hon. Minister please state the number of students admitted State-wise?

Shri Buragohain: 44 are allotted to different States as follows:—Madras 3, West Bengal 3, Bombay 2, Bihar 3, Orissa 2, Uttar Pradesh 2, Madhya Pradesh 2, Assam 2, East Punjab 2, Delhi, Ajmer, Merwara and other Centrally Administered Areas 3, Saurashtra 1, Madhya Bharat 1, Rajasthan 1, Patiala, Vindhya Pradesh 1, Hyderabad 1, Mysore, Travancore and Cochin Union 1, Scheduled Castes 4, Pakistan 8, Indian and indigenous students from other Commonwealth and foreign countries 2. This is the allocation of seats.

Dr. Deshmukh: Is this allocation being strictly adhered to in actual fact?

Shri Buragohain: Yes, Sir.

Shri Gautam: Does the School satisfy the needs of the country or there is still greater demand on the part of the public? If so what steps do the Government propose to expand the training in the Centre?

Shri Buragohain: There is demand, Sir, for improving this institution and just now a proposal for starting a post graduate section is under the consideration of the Government.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know on what basis, has the allocation been made? Is it according to the contribution from the Provinces or the number of students coming forward from the States?

Shri Buragohain: I should like to have notice of that question.

Mr. Speaker: Next question.

NATIONAL ART GALLERY

*2070. **Dr. Deshmukh:** (a) Will the Minister of Education be pleased to state whether there is any proposal to have a National Art Gallery in Delhi?

(b) What is the progress which such a proposal has made so far?

(c) By what time is it expected that the proposal would fully materialise?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) and (b). The Government of India have had under consideration a proposal to establish a National Art Gallery in Delhi but owing to financial stringency, it has not been possible to proceed with the proposal.

(c) It is not possible to say when the proposal can be pursued actively.

Dr. Deshmukh: Is any effort being made to acquire any paintings of national importance that may be available at the present moment, or is the whole matter being left over because of the financial difficulties?

Shri A. P. Jain: Except for the purchase of a few paintings it appears that the whole matter is being left over for the future on account of financial stringency.

Prof. S. N. Mishra: May I know whether any exploratory work has been done in this connection and whether any amount has been spent over it?

Shri A. P. Jain: I have said in answer that it has not been possible to proceed with the proposal, and naturally that means that very little has been done.

Shri S. N. Das: What was the estimated expenditure to start with?

Shri A. P. Jain: When the proposal has not been taken up, where does the question of estimated expenditure arise?

Shri A. C. Guha: When they have not got the money, have the Government considered the idea of taking the help of some non-official Art Societies?

Shri A. P. Jain: Does the hon. Member mean with regard to finances?

Shri A. C. Guha: As regards the National Art Gallery, have Government considered the idea of taking the help of some non-official Art Societies, so that with some help from the Government, they may put up a National Art Gallery.

Shri A. P. Jain: Non-official help is always welcome.

Mr. Speaker: Next question.

SEIZURE OF GOLD

*2071. **Shri Rathnaswamy:** (a) Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state what is the total value of gold seized from smugglers during the last twelve months?

(b) How much did it cost the exchequer to seize this smuggled gold?

The Minister of State for Finance (Shri Tyagi): (a) The total value of gold seized during the twelve months from 1st January, 1950 to 31st December, 1950 was Rs. 1,00,20,000 approximately.

(b) No staff is employed exclusively for preventing the smuggling of gold.

Shri Rathnaswamy: Is it a fact that most of our dollar resources have been consumed by this gold smuggling?

Shri Tyagi: I have heard so, but I do not think that most of these resources have been consumed by gold smuggling.

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): I do not think that even by the wildest imagination this could happen that most of our dollar resources were consumed by gold smuggling. These estimates differ. It is very difficult to make an estimate in regard to a thing like smuggled gold, but it must be a very small percentage of our total export trade with dollar areas.

Shri Hussain Imam: What amount has been taken credit of in this year and in future years from gold smuggling?

Shri Tyagi: It will depend on facts, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: We will go to the next question.

SALWAN HIGHER SECONDARY SCHOOL,
RAJENDAR NAGAR

*2072. **Babu Ramnarayan Singh:** Will the Minister of Education be pleased to state:

(a) the number of displaced children in the Salwan Higher Secondary School at Rajendra Nagar, New Delhi;

(b) the amount of building fund realised from the students till the end of 1950;

(c) whether the money so realised has on any account, been spent or stands deposited and if so, where; and

(d) whether Government have definitely asked the manager of the School to stop realisation of this fund and if so, with what result?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) There are two Salwan Higher Secondary Schools in Rajendra Nagar, one for boys and the other for girls. The number of displaced students in the two schools is 2,417.

(b) Rs. 13,320.

(c) The money has been used to defray expenses incurred by the management for the betterment of the students or payment of salaries to teachers.

(d) Yes. The management has stopped the realisation of this fund with effect from the 31st January, 1951.

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : दिल्ली में और स्कूलों में इस तरह से विद्यार्थियों से रुपया वसूल करने का दस्तूर है या नहीं ?

[**Babu Ramnarayan Singh:** Is such a fund realised from the students of other schools in Delhi or not?]

श्री ए० पी० जैन : जी नहीं । यह दस्तूर के खिलाफ है इसीलिए इस को रोका गया है ।

[**Shri A. P. Jain:** No, Sir; it is against the usual practice and therefore it has been stopped.]

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : बिल्डिंग फंड में सरकार ने उस स्कूल को कितने रुपये दिये हैं ?

[**Babu Ramnarayan Singh:** How much money has been contributed by the Government to that school towards its building fund?]

श्री ए० पी० जैन : मिनिस्ट्री आफ रिहैबिलिटेशन ने तीस हजार रुपया उस स्कूल को बिल्डिंग फंड में दिया है ।

[**Shri A. P. Jain:** The Ministry of Rehabilitation has given thirty thousand rupees to that school towards its building fund.]

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : इस स्कूल को सरकार और कौन कौन सी मदद देती है ?

[**Babu Ramnarayan Singh:** What other aids are given by the Government to that school?]

श्री ए० पी० जैन : पहले रिहैबिलिटेशन मिनिस्ट्री इसको मदद दिया करती थी । चुनावे मई सन् १९५० तक रिहैबिलिटेशन मिनिस्ट्री ने दिया :

लड़कों के स्कूल के लिए चार हजार सात सौ रुपया ।

लड़कियों के स्कूल के लिए पांच हजार चार सौ पचास रुपया ।

इस के पश्चात दिल्ली स्टेट के बजट से इस को इमदाद दी गई :

लड़कों के स्कूल के लिए दिया गया ४०१८० रुपया। और अब उस को दिया जा रहा है १७३०० और लड़कियों के स्कूल के लिए दिया गया है ७५५० रुपया।

[Shri A. P. Jain: Formerly the Ministry of Rehabilitation used to give aid to it. Till May, 1950 it gave four thousand and seven hundred rupees for the boys' school and five thousand, four hundred and fifty rupees for the girls' school. Afterwards aid was given to it from the Budget of Delhi State. Rs. 40,180 and Rs. 7,550 have been given to the school for boys and the girls' school respectively and at present a sum of Rs. 17,300 is being given to the former.]

Shri Kamath: What work had Mr. Salwan done in his Province before he came to India after Partition, in the matter of schools in general?

Shri A. P. Jain: The Salwan Education Trust was running a Boys' High School at Peshawar, which was closed after the Partition.

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : सिलवन स्कूल को जो मदद दी जाती है वह हर महीने में दी जाती है या साल भर की मदद एक ही बार में दे दी जाती है ?

[Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Is the grant to Salwan School given every month or the amount for the entire year is given in lump sum?]

श्री ए० पी० जैन : तीस हजार रुपया तो विलिङ्ग के लिए दिया गया। उसका तो साल से कोई सम्बन्ध ही नहीं है, और बाकी जो मदद दी गई उसकी मंजूर तारीखें बतला दी हैं। इसमें सालवार का तो कोई प्रश्न पैदा नहीं होता।

[Shri A. P. Jain: Rs. 30,000 were given for building purposes. This has nothing to do with the yearly grant. About the rest of the grants I have already given the dates. The question of annual grants, therefore, does not arise at all.]

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : हर मास में माहवारी खर्च के लिए उसको पैसा दिया

जाता है या नहीं और अगर दिया जाता है तो ठीक वक्त पर मिलता है या नहीं ?

[Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Is the money for monthly expenditure given to it every month or not? If it is given every month, does the school receive this amount regularly or not?]

श्री ए० पी० जैन : यह तो करंट खर्च के लिए दिया गया है। जाहिर है कि साल से तो इसका सम्बन्ध नहीं है। मई सन ५० तक रिहैबिलिटेशन मिनिस्ट्री ने दिया। उसके बाद स्टेट गवर्नमेंट ने दिया, और फाइनेन्शियल इयर जो कि ३१ मार्च को आने वाली है उसके बाद देने का तो कोई सवाल नहीं आता है। ऐसी भेरे पास कोई शिकायत नहीं है कि उनको समय पर नहीं मिलता है।

[Shri A. P. Jain: It has been given for the current expenditure. It is obvious that it does not, in any way, relate to any annual grant. Till May, 1950, the grant was given by the Ministry of Rehabilitation and afterwards the aid was given by the State Government. Hence the question of giving it after the expiry of the financial year on the 31st March does not arise at all. I am not in receipt of any information that the grant is not received regularly.]

C. W. I. N. C.

*2073. Shri Krishnanand Rai: Will the Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Central Water Power, Irrigation and Navigation Commission has submitted any report or advice either to the Central or any State Government to improve inland navigation in India; and

(b) if so, whether any State Government has finalised any scheme to start inland water transport?

The Deputy Minister of Works, Production and Supply (Shri Buragohain): (a) The Central Waterpower, Irrigation and Navigation Commission has carried out preliminary surveys with a view to developing inland navigation on the Mahanadi river and on a number of rivers in the Ganga valley. No regular report as such, has been submitted but as a result of the investigations, the Central Waterpower, Irrigation and Navigation Commission has suggested an order of priority for the development of inland navigation.

(b) It is proposed that the reach of the Ganga river from Patna-Buxar to Allahabad, should be developed first. Certain proposals in this regard are under consideration. Government of India have no information about the finalisation of any scheme for inland water transport by any State Government.

Shri Krishnanand Rai: May I know whether any of the schemes proposed by the Commission is going to be taken up by the Government this year?

Shri Buragohain: I have already stated that an order of priority has been decided upon. The first priority has been given to the Ganga river from Buxar to Allahabad.

Shri Krishnanand Rai: I wanted to know whether this thing is going to be taken up in 1951-52.

Shri Buragohain: The matter is under consideration between the Ministry of Transport and this Ministry.

Shri Krishnanand Rai: May I know whether any sum is being allotted to any State Government to implement any of the schemes proposed by this Commission?

Shri Buragohain: I should like to have notice of the question.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: Is it a fact that most of the boats plying between Buxar and Lalgalghat have been diverted to Pakistan by the shipping companies?

Shri Buragohain: I should like to have notice.

Shri Hussain Imam: Is it a fact that the C.W.I.N.C. made some enquiries with regard to the opening of a shipping canal from Calcutta to the sea and may I know what happened to that scheme?

Shri Buragohain: I have not got the information with me; I should like to have notice of that question too.

Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: May I know the navigable waterways in India?

Mr. Speaker: I think it is too wide a question. Next question.

COORG

*2074. **Shri M. V. Rama Rao:** Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that Government propose to include Coorg within the jurisdiction of the High Court of Mysore;

(b) if so, when this proposal is to be given effect to; and

(c) whether it is proposed to bring any other branch of the administration of Coorg into the administrative structure of Mysore?

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Rajagopalachari): (a) and (b). Government have under consideration a proposal to extend the jurisdiction of the Mysore High Court to Coorg.

(c) No other such proposal is at present under consideration.

Shri M. V. Rama Rao: May I know when it is likely to materialise?

Shri Rajagopalachari: If the reference is to the Mysore High Court taking over the work, most part of the consultation is over and we are waiting for the Government of Mysore to agree.

Shri Damodara Menon: May I know whether this proposal is a prelude to the merger of Coorg in Mysore?

Shri Rajagopalachari: This proposal has nothing to do with the merger. It is merely a question of disposal of judicial matters.

Shri Venkataraman: Is it not a fact that at present appeals lie to the Madras High Court and if so, what is the special difficulty felt by the Coorg Administration to have this transferred to the Mysore High Court?

Shri Rajagopalachari: It is true that now the appeals lie to the Madras High Court. But the Chief Commissioner made the proposal and the Coorg Legislative Council supported the proposal and actually adopted a resolution making a recommendation to the Government of India to this effect. It is not possible for us to go behind that.

DEPORTATION OF NATIONALS OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES

*2075. **Shri M. V. Rama Rao:** Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to refer to the answer given to starred question No. 1510 asked on the 16th February 1951, regarding deportation of nationals of foreign countries and state:

(a) the number of nationals of each foreign country who have been so deported; and

(b) the grounds on which orders of deportation were made?

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Rajagopalachari): (a) and (b). A

statement is laid on the Table of the House.

STATEMENT

The number of nationals of each foreign country who have been deported and the grounds on which orders of deportation were made.

Number of persons deported from India during 1950	Nationality	Reasons for deportation
18	Tribal Pathan	Criminal activities including traffic in women and smuggling, unauthorised entry into the country and overstay of authorised period of stay.
1	Burmese	
1	Iraqi	
1	French	
2	Chinese	
2	Portuguese (Native of Goa)	
5	Tibetan	
1	Afghan	
1	Yemen	
32		

Shri M. V. Rama Rao: May I know the number of foreign nationals who were deported for illicit traffic in women?

Shri Rajagopalachari: I have given a fairly full statement. Five persons have been asked to go away on account of undesirable activities in the immoral traffic line.

Shri M. V. Rama Rao: May I know whether any foreign nationals have been deported for espionage?

Shri Rajagopalachari: No, Sir. A good number have been deported for criminal activities, a few for immoral traffic, as I have already stated, and quite a few for smuggling. No question of spying has come up here.

Shri M. V. Rama Rao: What were the commodities that were being smuggled for which they have been deported?

Shri Rajagopalachari: So far as smuggling goes, there is only one case in the list. The commodity is not in my paper just now. But, it may not be quite right to go into very great details about foreigners who have been sent away.

Shri Ghule: May I know the nationality of the five persons who have been deported for illicit traffic in women?

Shri Rajagopalachari: Not Europeans, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: Next question.

HINDI PUBLICATIONS

*2076. **Shri Jagannath Das:** (a) Will the Minister of Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state the expenditure incurred on Hindi publications issued by the Publications Division during 1950?

(b) What was the income from the sale of these publications?

The Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting (Shri Diwakar): (a) Accounts are not maintained according to Calendar years. The estimated expenditure, excluding cost of establishment and paper where supplied by the Controller of Printing and Stationery, during 1950-51 is Rs. 70,392.

(b) Income from sales and advertisements during 1950-51 is estimated at Rs. 89,724.

Prof. S. N. Mishra: May I know whether the hon. Minister is in a position to say what is the pay of the Chief Editor of Hindi Publications in comparison with the pay of the Editor of the English Publications, and if the two salaries are not equal, do Government propose to bring them to parity?

Shri Diwakar: The scales are the same.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: May I know the percentage of expenditure incurred on Hindi publications as compared to the expenditure on English publications?

Shri Diwakar: The difference is very much just now. I may assure the House that Hindi publications are being attended to more and more and as compared to last year, the expenditure on pamphlets is something like double.

Shri S. C. Samanta: May I know whether all the Hindi publications issued by the Publications Division were printed in our Government Press?

Shri Diwakar: I am not sure about it.

ACTIVITIES OF COMMUNIST PARTY

*2077. **Shri Venkataraman:** (a) Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state whether the attention of Government has been drawn to certain statements in the Press by the Communist Party and the Hindu Mahasabha challenging certain statements made by the hon. Minister in the course of the debate in Parliament on the Preventive Detention Bill?

(b) What action do Government propose to take in this behalf?

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Rajagopalachari): (a) and (b). My answer would have to be rather long and include quotations from the policy statements of one of the parties referred to and so I have placed it on the Table of the House in the form of a statement. [See Appendix XIV, annexure No. 34.]

Shri Sondhi: The statement may be read, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: Next question.

Shri R. Velayudhan: No supplementaries, Sir?

Mr. Speaker: He has laid a statement. It may be read and then questions may be put.

Shri Sondhi: Can I ask one supplementary question, Sir?

Mr. Speaker: On a statement, generally, we do not allow supplementaries.

Shri Sidhva: This is not a statement of that kind.

Mr. Speaker: Whatever it may be.

Shri Rajagopalachari: I have given the reason why I have placed it on the Table. It is too long to take the time of the House.

Shri Sondhi: I wanted one piece of information.

Mr. Speaker: There are several others who will require one piece of information and it would be a debate. Next question.

BHOPAL SECURITIES OF 1968

***2078. Shri S. V. Naik:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state whether the Bhopal Securities of 1968 bearing three percent interest free of Income-tax are approved securities under the Insurance Act of 1937?

The Minister of State for Finance (Shri Tyagi): I presume the hon. Member is referring to the Government of Bhopal three per cent. loan 1966-76. They are approved Securities under the Insurance Act.

RECRUITMENT

***2079. Shri Nandkishore Das:** Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether, as a measure of economy, a circular was issued by Government to different Government departments to stop recruitment to all posts lying vacant;

(b) if so, when; and

(c) the response to this circular?

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Rajagopalachari): (a) to (c). Ministry of Home Affairs issued a Circular on the 5th November, 1950 not stopping all recruitment to vacancies but laying down that vacancies unfilled for three months or more should not be filled except with the personal sanction of the Secretary of the Ministry concerned or, in cases of vacancies in posts other than those in Class I carrying pay below Rs. 500 in offices outside the Ministry, of the Heads of such offices. The Financial officers attached to the various Ministries would notice any infringement of this circular.

Shri Nandkishore Das: May I know which Ministries or Departments of Government have respected this Circular and which Departments have not?

Shri Rajagopalachari: The substance of my answer is that every one of them may be presumed to have respected this Circular.

ALLOCATION OF INCOME-TAX CONTRIBUTIONS

***2080. Shri Nandkishore Das:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Deshmukh Award regarding allocation of Income-tax contributions among the different States still holds the field; and

(b) whether Government have appointed a Finance Commission provided for in the Constitution to go into the matter?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) No, Sir. The Commission will be appointed only after legislation setting out the qualifications required for the members of the Commission has been enacted.

IRRIGATION PROJECTS

***2081. Shri Balwant Sinha Mehta:** (a) Will the Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research be pleased to state what measures are being taken to encourage smaller irrigation projects in the country?

(b) Has any survey been made for the purpose?

(c) If not, do Government propose to suggest to the State Governments and especially to Part 'B' and 'C' States to undertake such surveys and implement them by giving priority to such projects in view of the existing food situation in the country?

The Deputy Minister of Works, Production and Supply (Shri Buragohain): (a) The Central Government are granting subsidies and loans to the State Governments under the "Grow More Food" Scheme for projects which would produce quick results. Two statements are laid on the Table of the House showing, (i) the financial assistance rendered by the Central Government to the State Governments for minor irrigation works during 1950-51 and (ii) the types of irrigation works for which the assistance has been rendered. [See Appendix XIV, annexure No. 35.]

(b) and (c). Irrigation works including minor irrigation schemes, are the sole responsibility of the State Governments concerned and the Government of India presume that the State Governments are alive to the importance of minor irrigation schemes and must be making adequate surveys for the purpose.

Shri Balwant Sinha Mehta: Sir may I know what amount of money is proposed to be spent in all these minor irrigation projects?

Shri Buragohain: That is a matter for the State Governments concerned, Sir.

REPORT OF INCOME-TAX INVESTIGATION TRIBUNAL

*2082. **Shri Hussain Imam:** (a) Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state whether the attention of Government has been drawn to the Report of the Income-tax Investigation Tribunal, (latest report para. III B)?

(b) Is it a fact that some Managing Agents have manipulated the accounts of their companies as instanced therein?

(c) If so, do Government propose to lay on the Table of the House the names of the Managing Agents and the Companies concerned?

(d) What further action do Government propose to take in the matter?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): (a) and (b). Yes.

(c) Section 54 of the Indian Income-tax Act and section 8(8) of the Taxation on Income (Investigation Commission) Act prohibit the disclosure of particulars relating to assessment proceedings or relating to the investigation of their cases by the Income-tax Investigation Commission. Even the names of assessee cannot under the law be published.

(d) Government propose to promote an amendment of section 54 of

the Income Tax Act so that it may be possible to publish particulars of assessee who have defaulted or on whom penalties for concealment of income have been imposed. A copy of the Report of the Investigation Commission has also been forwarded to the Company Law Committee, which will no doubt consider the problem in all its relevant aspects. Any further action by Government must necessarily await the recommendations of this Committee.

Shri Hussain Imam: Sir, has the attention of Government been drawn to the recent judgment of the Bombay High Court in the Sakseria case in which the High Court has recommended action by the Government?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I cannot say, Sir, that I personally have seen this particular case; but it may be that at the time the attention of Government was drawn to it.

PREFAB HOUSES

*2083. **Shri Kamath:** Will the Minister of Health be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that Prefab houses manufactured and erected by the Government Housing Factory Delhi have been sold to the Ministry of Rehabilitation;

(b) if so, the number and their total price;

(c) the basis on which the cost has been computed;

(d) whether it is a fact that the Mulgaonkar Committee has reported that the panels are neither strong nor sound nor durable, and that the houses erected in the Factory are unsafe for human habitation;

(e) the reasons for selling these houses for the use of displaced persons; and

(f) how many of these houses have cracked, and how many are already occupied or proposed to be put to use for displaced persons habitation?

The Minister of Health (Rajkumari Amrit Kaur): (a) No.

(b) and (c). Do not arise.

(d) Attention is invited to my reply to Starred Question No. 1175 dated the 5th February, 1951.

(e) and (f). Do not arise.

Shri Kamath: Sir, in the note under Supplementary Demand No. 98, it is mentioned in connection with the Housing Factory that—

"During this period recoveries from sale of houses amounting only to Rs. 5.73 lakhs have been

taken in reduction of expenditure, being the value of buildings erected by the factory for the Najafgarh Health Unit and some residential quarters for refugees etc."

If that be so, how can she reconcile this with the reply now given to part (a) of the question that no sales have taken place?

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: No, as far as the displaced persons are concerned, 24 houses were put up for them in the Jungpura area, but the moment the breakage of panels in the factory began to be high, the sale of these houses was stopped immediately. And just now the only proposition which is being considered by the Ministry of Rehabilitation is as to whether they can use some of these houses and ask for rent from them. That is all. It is not the intention to sell them to the public. In the matter of the other houses which have been put up, those in the factory staff colony, the Najafgarh Health Unit and the 12 houses at Chawla, credit for the sale of these has been taken by the housing factory because these houses were either supplied to the factory itself or to a Department of Government, and the sales only represent book adjustments and no houses have been sold to the public.

Shri Kamath: Does the transfer by book entry mean that these houses will not be used for habitation of the refugees or for any other human purpose?

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: They are being used, I mean the houses in the housing colony and also the houses in Chawla. I have been to see them quite recently myself; and the Najafgarh houses will be used the moment the arrangement for water supply to these houses is ready.

Shri Kamath: Sir, is it not a fact that the Mulgaonkar Committee categorically recommended that these houses are unsafe for human habitation and should not be sold to any human being?

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: The Mulgaonkar Committee has recommended that they should not be sold; but even before the Mulgaonkar Committee's recommendation, Government had already decided that these houses should not be sold. Those houses that had been erected which could be used to satisfy government needs are being used and there is no danger of their falling down. They are perfectly all right at the moment.

Shri Kamath: But, Sir, in view of the fact that the hon. Minister herself has said that these houses were not to be sold to the public, how is it that these are being used for the purpose of human habitation? That is the point.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: For this reason that these houses that were put up at Najafgarh, Chawla and in the factory were put up at a time when the breakages in the panels were not high and they have, up to the present moment, been fairly good. One or two cracks have appeared, but according to experts, there is no danger of the houses falling down and therefore they are being used.

Shri Sondhi: Sir, is it not a fact that as many as 20 houses were erected at Najafgarh Primary Health Unit as long back as six months and on account of several breakages coming one after another, these houses are still incomplete?

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: That is not so. They are not incomplete. Some of the panels had to be changed because of cracks, and as.....

Shri Sondhi: But is the

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Let him not interrupt the reply. First the hon. Member will completely hear the reply and then put further questions if need be.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: The houses in Chawla are quite complete as far as I am aware. The Najafgarh houses are also complete, but I stand open to correction, it may be that one or two of the houses are not complete because factory work has been stopped.

Shri Sondhi: Is it not a fact that the houses at Najafgarh have not been occupied at all and as early as last week the Health Ministry was written to by the Public Health Department of Delhi that they are not complete and must be immediately completed?

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: As I have said, the Chawla houses are occupied. The houses at Najafgarh are not being used because of the lack of water supply and will be occupied when this is arranged for.

Dr. V. Subramaniam: Sir, in order to put the factory under a caretaker management, have Government appointed another committee? And has an attempt been made to retrench the staff on which we are spending more than Rs. 50,000 a month?

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: The matter is under the active consideration of Government.

Shri Kamath: Sir, as regards parts (b) and (c), the reply is that they do not arise. But how is it that in the note I have already referred to, it has been stated that a sum of Rs. 5.73 lakhs has been calculated as the total cost of the houses sold to the Najafgarh Health Unit and for some quarters for refugees? On what basis was this cost computed?

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: No houses have been sold to the public. Only book adjustments have been made and they were made on the basis of Rs. 3,600 per house in the staff colony. Rs. 4,100 for the Najafgarh houses and Rs. 4,200 for Chawla.

Shri Kamath: Sir, one of the terms of reference of the Mulgaonkar Committee.....

Mr. Speaker: The question hour is over.

Shri Sonavane: Sir, I want to raise two points of order.....

Mr. Speaker: He may raise them one by one.

Shri Sonavane: My first point of order is this. In view of Rule 174 may I ask whether the Chair was right in not taking cognizance of my point of order during the question hour?

Mr. Speaker: I might dispose of it at once. The Chair is perfectly in order in doing that. If a Member wishes to say something in connection with raising a point of order, he need not be allowed to say it at that time.

Shri Sonavane: May I read Rule 174 (2)?

Mr. Speaker: Does it refer to the other point of order?

Shri Sonavane: The same first point.

Mr. Speaker: The first point has been disposed of. He may refer to the second one.

Shri Sonavane: The second point of order is whether such of the Members who are constantly at the back of the Treasury Benches have a right to catch the eye of the Speaker and whether the eye is cast on this side.

Mr. Speaker: That is hardly a point of order. Every Member has a right but no Member has a right to put his fingers in the eyes of the Chair. Only that Member is supposed to catch the eye of the Chair who is called upon and not the others. Therefore, it is

that I have been telling hon. Members not to begin putting questions immediately they stand, unless they are called upon by the Chair. I am keeping a close watch. When a dozen, half a dozen or even two Members begin to put questions simultaneously, we cannot go on in the manner in which we ought to go. That is why generally, if I find that some Members are.....

An Hon. Member: Excited.

Mr. Speaker: Yes, excited also, but begin to speak without being called upon, I make it a point to see that they are unable to catch my eye. There is no other intention.

Shri Kamath: Sir, with regard to your ruling, does it mean that if a Member wants to raise a point of order at any stage of the proceedings he may be allowed to raise it not just then, but at a subsequent stage?

Mr. Speaker: He may, if permitted. Even in the case of a point of order it has to be left to the discretion of the Chair. Unless a Member is really going to raise a point of order.....

Shri Kamath: How can you know without hearing him?

Mr. Speaker: Even without hearing, many things can be understood.

Shri Kamath: It is strange.

Mr. Speaker: It may be strange to the hon. Member who wants to insist upon his point but not to the Chair.

Shri Sonavane: Any discretion vested in the Chair.....

Mr. Speaker: His points have been disposed of. We shall now proceed to the next item of business.

Short Notice Question and Answer

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN TRIPURA

Shri A. C. Guha: Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have received any reports of Communist and other anti-social elements which have for some time been creating trouble in the State of Tripura;

(b) whether any persons have been kidnapped by such anti-social elements;

(c) if any levy is reported to be exacted from the peaceful citizens even for harvesting their crops; and

(d) whether the Sidhal Police Station has been attacked by armed raiders and eight rifles have been taken away by the raiders only within the last two or three days?

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Rajagopalachari): (a) to (c). We have

been receiving reports that in the Sadar and Khowai Divisions of Tripura anti-social elements have for some time past been creating trouble. Their activities include kidnappings and in some cases it is reported that a levy of cash and grains has been extorted.

(d) Yes, on the 1st March.

Shri A. C. Guha: Has there been any case where the kidnapped persons have been released on the payment of some ransom to the kidnappers?

Shri Rajagopalachari: I am not able to answer it straightaway. I have given the substance of the report I have received but as to whether any person has been ransomed out I will not be able to say just now.

Shri A. C. Guha: Have there been any arrests of these anti-social elements?

Shri Rajagopalachari: Yes, Sir. There have been arrests, recovery of arms and special instructions have been issued to intensify the procedure.

Shri A. C. Guha: Has there been any clash between the Government forces and the Communist forces?

Shri Rajagopalachari: Sometimes.

Shri A. C. Guha: Any casualties on either side?

Shri Rajagopalachari: Troops were despatched on a recent occasion. I have not got the figures of casualties here but there are likely to be casualties.

Shri Kishorimohan Tripathi: May I know if similar anti-social activities have been going on in the State of Manipur?

Shri Rajagopalachari: Yes, Sir.

Shri Kishorimohan Tripathi: Is it a fact that almost a parallel government has been established in the rural areas of the State of Manipur?

Shri Rajagopalachari: I would not admit that at all. No parallel government has been established. It is only a kind of brigandage which is facilitated by the terrain of the country. The jungles help them. They hide themselves in the jungles and they are scoped out now and then by the police and military. They work underground secreting themselves inside the jungles. We can hardly call it a parallel government.

Dr. M. C. Reddy: How many persons have been arrested so far? Is there any evidence that these persons have anything to do with the Communists in that area?

350PSD

Shri Rajagopalachari: There is some evidence that they are Communists but if any further details as to figures are wanted I would like a question to be put and then I would be able to give the information required.

Prof. S. N. Mishra: May I know whether the attention of Government has been drawn to a report emanating from Dibrugarh that some of the arms and ammunition said to have been recovered from the Communists really belonged to a firm?

Shri Rajagopalachari: There is some confusion about that. The firm probably originally owned the dump but that was used by these anti-social elements. They were traced with the assistance of these people but it is a matter for further enquiry.

Shri Barman: Is it a fact that the rice-procurement system is causing much dissatisfaction within the State and the Communists are gaining strength on that account also?

Shri Rajagopalachari: On account of break of communications as a result of the partition and want of roads and rail communications there have been difficulties felt in regard to supplies for sometime past. I may inform the House that we are using air lift for the purpose of meeting the necessary supplies. Every thing is being done to remove the circumstances favourable for Communist activities. But in our country the Communists can find difficult spots somewhere or other for their activities.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: What are the steps which Government have been taking to check all these anti-social activities?

Shri Rajagopalachari: The steps are well known—both police and welfare work.

Shri J. N. Hazarika: May I know whether Government is receiving public co-operation in the States of Manipur and Tripura?

Shri Rajagopalachari: Yes, Sir. A satisfactory amount of cooperation from the villagers is being received. The point to be made in this connection is that it is only success that brings success.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: May I know whether the Government have reasons to believe that these subversive activities carried on in different parts of the country are controlled and co-ordinated from one centre outside the country?

Shri Rajagopalachari: It would not be quite right to put it in that bald

form but they are being appreciated by centres outside the country.

Shrimati Durgabai: May I know whether it is a fact that arms and arms licences have been withdrawn from peaceful citizens?

Shri Rajagopalachari: The process of giving licences for self-defence and the process of withdrawing licences, the question when the risk becomes greater in leaving the weapons with the people than in taking them back—all these have to be considered by Government according to the situation every time. We cannot have a general rule about it. Sometimes if you have arms in the village, it becomes a help to the enemy.

Shri A. C. Guba: In view of the fact that the raiders are getting arms and ammunition from some other region and in view of the fact that the citizens are giving good co-operation to the Government in suppressing these activities, has Government taken any steps to mobilise popular resistance by giving the local people arms and organising them in any way?

Shri Rajagopalachari: Mobilisation consists of a number of things, not necessarily in giving arms.

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

CIVIL AND CRIMINAL COURTS IN DELHI

*2060. **Shri Deshbandhu Gupta:** (a) Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state what was the total number of Civil and Criminal courts in Delhi before August 1947 and what is the number now?

(b) Has any additional accommodation been provided for the additional courts and if not, do Government propose to do so?

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Rajagopalachari): (a) The total number of Civil and Criminal Courts in Delhi was 30 in 1947. The number has since increased to 39.

(b) Hon. Members are aware of the acute shortage of accommodation in Delhi and the difficulties in the way of new construction.

PRISONERS IN DISTRICT JAIL, DELHI

*2061. **Shri Deshbandhu Gupta:** (a) Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state the average number of prisoners which the District Jail, Delhi has been accommodating during the last one year over and above its capacity according to rules?

(b) Is there any proposal to provide additional accommodation for the increasing number of prisoners and to

raise its status to that of the Central Jail and if so, how long will Government take to do so?

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Rajagopalachari): (a) The average population of the District Jail during the year 1950 was 1,255 as against the authorised accommodation for 1,075.

(b) Yes. The construction work is expected to commence in 1951-52 and will be spread over a period of three years.

GRANTS TO UNIVERSITIES

*2062. **Shri Deshbandhu Gupta:** Will the Minister of Education be pleased to state the amount of grants, Capital, Recurring and Special given to each of the following Universities during the last three financial years 1948-49, 1949-50 and 1950-51 from the Centre—(i) Delhi University, (ii) Aligarh Muslim University, (iii) Hindu University, Benaras, (iv) Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, and (v) Gurukul Kangri, Haridwar?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): A statement is laid on the Table of the House. [See Appendix XIV, annexure No. 36.] I may add that Jamia Millia and Gurukul Kangri are not yet recognised by Government as Universities.

BALLOT BOXES

*2064. **Shri Kannanwar:** (a) Will the Minister of Law be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Government of India have placed orders with the Telegraph Workshop at Jabbulpore in Madhya Pradesh for preparing ballot boxes for the ensuing general elections?

(b) If so, what will be the cost of each ballot box?

(c) How many ballot boxes will be required for the whole of India?

The Minister of Law (Dr. Ambedkar): (a) No, Sir.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) Approximately 20 lakhs of ballot boxes will be required for the whole of India.

PENSION RULES

126. **Shri A. C. Guba:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) whether according to the new Pension Rules, class I officers are allowed to have an additional pension, any sum calculated on the basis of the emoluments for posts held by such officers temporarily or in officiating capacity;

(b) whether class II and III officers are allowed any pension, ordinary or

additional, on the basis of emoluments for posts held by them temporarily or in officiating capacity; and

(c) if not, the reasons for such discrimination?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): (a) and (b). No, Sir, except where the post held in an officiating capacity is substantively vacant, in which case the emoluments actually drawn are also taken into account in assessing the pension. The rules for Class II and III officers are the same as those for Class I officers.

(c) Does not arise.

PENSION

127. **Shri A. C. Guha:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have issued new rules for the purpose of liberalising the system of pension;

(b) if so, whether under such rules, officers getting emoluments not higher than Rs. 800 or near about per month would get less than what they were entitled before such liberalisation of Pension Rules; and

(c) if so, the reasons for thus depriving the medium and low-paid officers of the benefit they were getting before such liberalisation and the amount of reduction in each grade?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): (a) The main object of the new rules was not to increase the overall pensionary benefits but to introduce, as recommended by the Pay Commission, some provision for the grant of gratuities and pensions to the families in the event of the death of a Government servant. The new rules provide for death gratuities and family

pensions but the rates of ordinary retiring pensions have been reduced.

(b) Officers of this category, like other officers, receive a reduced rate of pension but if the value of death benefits calculated on an actuarial basis is taken into account, the overall pensionary benefits would not be less than those admissible under the old rules. In fact they would be slightly better.

(c) Does not arise.

DOLLAR POSITION

128. **Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay:** (a) Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state the dollar position of India on the 31st December, 1950?

(b) How far will our urgently needed imports of foodgrains and other articles diminish this amount of dollars in the year 1951?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): (a) and (b). The attention of the hon. Member is invited to paragraphs 18 and 19 of my Budget speech and to the information given in the House on the 5th February, 1951, in reply to Starred Question No. 1151. Briefly, the answer is that India does not hold a separate dollar balance. In view of her membership of the sterling area, her dollar earnings are credited to the central gold and dollar reserve of the sterling area as a whole. India can, however, draw on the central reserve to meet all her reasonable dollar requirements including those required for the foodgrains and other purchases which are to be made in 1951. She shares with the other members of the sterling area the general obligation to ensure that the central reserve is not drawn upon at a rate which would jeopardize it.

Saturday, 10th March, 1951



PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

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1950-51



CONTENTS

Volume IX—from 5th March, 1951 to 30th March, 1951

	<i>Columns</i>
MONDAY, 5TH MARCH, 1951—	
Papers laid on the Table—	
Third Report of the Estimates Committee	3936
Resolution adopted by the Kneseth re rearmament of Germany	3937—37
Indian Standards Institution (Certification Marks) Bill—Introduced	3938
Code of Civil and Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	3938
Jhansi and Ajmer-Merwara Rent Control (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	3938
Motion for Adjournment—	
Acute Scarcity of Cloth	3938—40
Railway Budget—List of Demands	3940—4027
Demand No. 4—Ordinary Working Expenses—Administration	3946—4027
Demand No. 6—Ordinary Working Expenses—Operating Staff	3946—4027
Demand No. 7—Ordinary Working Expenses—Operation (Fuel)	3946—4027
Demand No. 9A—Ordinary Working Expenses—Labour Welfare	3946—4027
Demand No. 15—Construction of New Lines—Capital and Depreciation Fund	3946—4027
Demand No. 16—Open Line Works—Additions	3946—4027
Demand No. 18—Open Line Works—Development Fund	3946—4027
TUESDAY, 7TH MARCH, 1951—	
Railway Budget—List of Demands—Concluded	4028—4117
Demand No. 1—Railway Board	4028—4114
Demand No. 2—Audit	4114
Demand No. 3—Miscellaneous Expenditure	4114
Demand No. 4—Ordinary Working Expenses—Administration	4028—4113 4114
Demand No. 5—Ordinary Working Expenses—Repairs and Maintenance	4114
Demand No. 6—Ordinary Working Expenses—Operating Staff	4028—4113, 4114
Demand No. 7—Ordinary Working Expenses—Operation (Fuel)	4028—4113 4115
Demand No. 8—Ordinary Working Expenses—Operation other than Staff and Fuel	4115
Demand No. 9—Ordinary Working Expenses—Miscellaneous Expenses	4115
Demand No. 9A—Ordinary Working Expenses—Labour Welfare	4028—4113, 4115
Demand No. 10—Payments to Indian States and Companies	4115
Demand No. 11—Appropriation to Depreciation Fund	4115—16
Demand No. 12A—Open Line Works—(Revenue) Labour Welfare	4116
Demand No. 12B—Open Line Works—(Revenue) Other than Labour Welfare	4116
Demand No. 13—Appropriation to Development Fund	4116
Demand No. 14—Appropriation to Revenue Reserve Fund	4116
Demand No. 15—Construction of New Lines—Capital and Depreciation Fund	4028—4113, 4116
Demand No. 16—Open Line Works—Additions	4028—4113, 4116—4117
Demand No. 17—Open Line Works—Replacements	4117
Demand No. 18—Open Line Works—Development Fund	4028—4113, 4117

	<i>Columns</i>
Demand No. 19—Capital Outlay on Vizagapatam Port	4117
Demand No. 20—Dividend Payable to General Revenues	4117
Appropriation (Railways) No. 2 Bill—Introduced	4118—19
THURSDAY, 8TH MARCH, 1951—	
Motion for Adjournment—	
Census Operations in P.E.P.S.U. and Punjab	4120—22
Appropriation (Railways) No. 2 Bill—Passed	4122—44
Taxation on Income (Investigation Commission) Amendment Bill—	
Discussion on Motion to Consider—Not concluded.	4144—73
FRIDAY, 9TH MARCH, 1951—	
Papers laid on the Table—	
(i) Notification under Bombay Port Trust Act; (ii) Statement <i>re</i> redistribution	
of Seats on Port Trust Boards	4147
Taxation on Income (Investigation Commission) Amendment Bill—Consi-	
deration of Clauses—Not concluded	4147—97,
	4198—4247
Statement <i>re</i> Conditions of Trade in Jute	4197—98
SATURDAY, 10TH MARCH, 1951—	
Papers laid on the Table—	
Declarations of Exemption issued under the Registration of Foreigners Act,	
1939	4248
Tariff Commission Bill—Introduced	4249
General Budget—General Discussion—Not concluded	4249—4347
MONDAY, 12TH MARCH, 1951—	
Death of Raja Bahadur Harihar Prashad Narain Singh	4348
Penetration into Assam-Tibet Border by Chinese soldiers	4348—49
Point of Order <i>re</i> Supplementary Questions on Statements	4349—50
Procedure on Motion for Vote on Account	4350—54
General Budget—General Discussion—Not concluded	4354—4431
TUESDAY, 13TH MARCH, 1951—	
Papers laid on the Table—	
Action taken by Government on Assurances, Promises and Undertakings given	
during Second Session of Parliament 1950	4432
Trade Unions Bill and Labour Relations Bill—Petitions presented	4432
Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	4432
General Budget—General Discussion—Not concluded	4433—4528
WEDNESDAY, 14TH MARCH, 1951—	
Motion for Adjournment—	
Scarcity of Yarn	4526—28
Papers laid on the Table—	
General Report of Geological Survey of India	4528
Code of Civil Procedure (Second Amendment) Bill—Introduced	4528
General Budget—General Discussion—Concluded	4528—87
Demands for Grants on Account	4587—4602
Demand No. 1—Ministry of Commerce and Industry	
Demand No. 2—Industries.	
Demand No. 3—Commercial Intelligence and Statistics.	
Demand No. 4—Ministry of Communications	
Demand No. 5—Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department (Including	
Working Expenses)	
Demand No. 6—Meteorology.	
Demand No. 7—Overseas Communications Service.	

WEDNESDAY, 14TH MARCH, 1951—contd.

Demands for Grants on Account—contd

Demand No. 8—Aviation.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 9—Ministry of Defence	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 10—Defence Services, Effective—Army	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 11—Defence Services, Effective—Navy.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 12—Defence Services, Effective—Air Force	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 13—Defence Services—Non-Effective Charges	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 14—Ministry of Education.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 15—Archaeology.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 16—Other Scientific Departments	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 17—Education	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 18—Ministry of External Affairs	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 19—Tribal Areas	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 20—External Affairs.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 21—Ministry of Finance	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 22—Customs	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 23—Union Excise Duties	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 24—Taxes on Income Including Corporation Tax	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 25—Opium	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 26—Stamps	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 27—Payments to other Governments, Departments, etc. on account of the Administration of Agency Subjects and management of Treasuries.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 28—Audit.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 29—Joint Stock Companies.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 30—Miscellaneous Departments.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 31—Currency	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 32—Mints.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 33—Superannuation Allowances and Pensions.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 34—Miscellaneous	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 35—Grants-in-aid to States.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 36.—Miscellaneous Adjustments between the Union and State Governments	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 37.—Resettlement and Development.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 38—Pre-partition Payments.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 39—Extraordinary Payments	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 40—Ministry of Food and Agriculture	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 41—Forest	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 42—Survey of India	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 43—Botanical Survey	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 44—Zoological Survey	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 45—Agriculture.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 46—Civil Veterinary Services	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 47—Indian Dairy Department	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 48—Ministry of Health	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 49—Medical Services	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 50—Public Health	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 51—Ministry of Home Affairs.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 52—Cabinet.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 53—Police.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Demand No. 54—Census	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

WEDNESDAY, 14TH MARCH, 1951—*contd.*Demands for Grants on Account—*contd.*

Columns

Demand No. 101—Commuted Value of Pensions	
Demand No. 102—Payments to Retrenched Personnel	
Demand No. 103—Capital Outlay on Schemes of Government trading	
Demand No. 104—Capital Outlay on Development,	
Demand No. 105—Loans and Advances by the Central Government.	
Demand No. 106—Capital Outlay on Forests.	
Demand No. 107—Capital Outlay on Broadcasting	
Demand No. 108—New Delhi Capital Outlay	
Demand No. 109—Capital Outlay on Civil Works.	
Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill—Introduced	4603
THURSDAY, 15TH MARCH, 1951—	
Ruling <i>re</i> Supplementary Questions on Statements made by Ministers in answer to questions	4604—07
Paper laid on the Table—	
Statement <i>re</i> meetings of Standing Committees.	4607
Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill—Passed	4608—09
Demand for Supplementary Grant for 1950-51—Railways	4609—25
Demand No. 7—Ordinary Working Expenses Operation (Fuel)	4609—25
Taxation on Income (Investigation Commission) Amendment Bill—Passed as amended	4625—53
Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Amendment Bill—Passed	4657—67
Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara Rent Control (Amendment) Bill—Discussions on motions to consider and to refer to Select Committee—Not concluded	4667—73
FRIDAY, 16TH MARCH, 1951—	
Resolution <i>re</i> destitute families of political sufferers—Discussion adjourned	4674—84
Resolution <i>re</i> Elected Legislatures and popular Ministries in Part C States—Discussion not concluded	4684—4741
MONDAY, 19TH MARCH, 1951—	
Leave of Absence from the House	4742
Papers Laid on the Table—	
Directions to New India Assurance Co., Ltd. <i>re</i> Certain Investments	4742
(i) Appropriation Accounts of Railways in India for 1947-48, Part I—Review	
(ii) Appropriation Accounts of Railways in India for 1947-48, Part II—Detailed Appropriation Account; (iii) Railway Audit Report, 1949; (iv) Balance Sheets of Railway Collieries and Statements of all-in-cost of Coal etc., for 1947-48; and (v) Capital Statements, Balance Sheets and Profit and Loss Accounts of India Govt. Railways 1947-48	4743
Election to committees	4743—61
Minimum Wages (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	4761-62
Delhi Joint Water and Sewage Board (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	4762
Employees State Insurance (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	4762
Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara Rent Control (Amendment) Bill—Discussion on Motion to consider—Not concluded	4763—4807
Rubber Prices	4807—17
TUESDAY, 20TH MARCH, 1951—	
Papers Laid on the Table—	
Report of Delegation to Economic and Social Council of U. N.	4818
Election to Committees—	
Standing Finance Committee	4818—19
Central Advisory Council for Railways	4819
Standing Finance Committee for Railways	4819—20

TUESDAY, 1 MARCH, 1951—contd.

Election to Committees—contd.

Standing Committee for Roads	4820
Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara Rent Control (Amendment) Bill—Passed as amended	4821—76
Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill—Motion to consider—Not concluded	4878—95

WEDNESDAY, 21ST MARCH, 1951—

Election to Committees—

Public Accounts Committee	4896—97
Estimates Committee	4897—99
Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill—Discussion on motion to consider—Not concluded	4900—73
Loan to Exchange Bank of India and Africa	4973—85

SATURDAY, 24TH MARCH, 1951—

Papers Laid on the Table—

Fourth Report of Estimates Committee	4986
Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill—Passed as amended	4986—5036
Minimum Wages (Amendment) Bill—Discussion on motion to consider—Not concluded	5036—38
Demands for Supplementary Grant for 1950-51—Railways	5039—57
Demand No. 7—Ordinary Working Expenses—Operation (Fuel)	5039—57
Appropriation (Railways) No. 3 Bill—Passed	5057—59

MONDAY, 26TH MARCH, 1951—

Elections to Committees—

Standing Committees for the Ministries of Commerce and Industry, Communications, Defence and Education	5060—61
Parliament Prevention of Disqualification Bill—Introduced	5061
General Budget—List of Demands	5062—5125
Demand No. 9—Ministry of Defence	5066—5124
Demand No. 10—Defence Services, Effective—Army	5066—5124
Demand No. 11—Defence Services, Effective—Navy	5067—5129
Demand No. 12—Defence Services, Effective—Air Force	5067—5125
Demand No. 13—Defence Services, Non-Effective Charges	5067—5125
Demand No. 96—Defence Capital Outlay	5067—5125
Purchase of Tractors and Ploughs	5125—35

TUESDAY, 27TH MARCH, 1951—

Paper Laid on the Table—

Statement re Fertilizer Transactions	5136
--	------

Election to Committees—

Standing Committees for the Ministries of External Affairs, Food and Agriculture, Health and Home Affairs	5136—38
General Budget—List of Demands	5138—5249
Demand No. 14—Ministry of Education	5144—5206
Demand No. 15—Archaeology	5144—5206
Demand No. 16—Other Scientific Departments	5144—5206
Demand No. 17—Education	5144—5206
Demand No. 48—Ministry of Health	5207—48
Demand No. 49—Medical Services	5207—49
Demand No. 50—Public Health	5207—49

WEDNESDAY, 28TH MARCH, 1951—

General Budget—List of Demands	5250—5323
Demand No. 18—Ministry of External Affairs	5250—5323
Demand No. 19—Tribal Areas	5250—5323
Demand No. 20—External Affairs	5250—5323
Business of the House	5323—25

THURSDAY, 29TH MARCH, 1951—

Business of the House	5326
Statement re Post of Jute Controller	5323—27
Election to Committees—	
Standing Committees for the Ministries of Information and Broadcasting, Labour, Law and Natural Resources and Scientific Research	5327—29
Papers laid on the Table—	
First Report of Public Accounts Committee	5329—30
General Budget—List of Demands	5330—77, 5378—5445
Demand No. 87—Ministry of Works, Production and Supply	5330—77, 5378—5403
Demand No. 88—Supplies	5330—77, 5378—5403
Demand No. 89—Salt	5330—77, 5378—5403
Demand No. 90—Other Civil Works	5331—77, 5378—5404
Demand No. 91—Stationery and Printing	5331—77, 5378—5404
Demand No. 108—New Delhi Capital Outlay	5331—77, 5378—5404
Demand No. 109—Capital Outlay on Civil Works	5331—77, 5378—5404
Demand No. 64—Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research	5404—45
Demand No. 65—Irrigation, Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works —(Met from Revenue)	5404—45
Demand No. 66—Geological Survey	5405—45
Demand No. 67—Mines	5405—45
Demand No. 68—Scientific Research	5405—45
Vapour caused over Delhi by Foreign Aircraft	5377

FRIDAY, 30TH MARCH, 1951—

Motions for Adjournment—

Unidentified aeroplane over Delhi	5446—48
Leave of Absence from the House	5448—49
General Budget—List of Demands	5449—5563
Demand No. 70—Ministry of Rehabilitation	5449—5563
Demand No. 71—Expenditure on Displaced Persons	5449—5563

THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES
(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers.)
OFFICIAL REPORT

4248

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

Saturday, 10th March, 1951

The House met at a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(*See Part I*)

11-56 A.M.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

DECLARATIONS OF EXEMPTION ISSUED UNDER THE REGISTRATION OF FOREIGNERS ACT, 1939

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Rajagopalachari): I lay on the Table a copy of each of the following Declarations of Exemption issued under the Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939:

(1) No. 1/52/50-F.I., dated the 4th December, 1950.

(2) No. 1/53/50-F.I., dated the 6th December, 1950.

(3) No. 1/54/50-F.I., dated the 8th December, 1950.

(4) No. 1/55/50-F.I., dated the 20th December, 1950.

(5) No. 1/57/50-F.I., dated the 30th December, 1950.

(6) No. 1/50/50-F.I., dated the 3rd January, 1951.

(7) No. 1/1/51-F.I., dated the 7th January, 1951.

(8) No. 1/3/51-F.I., dated the 9th January, 1951.

(9) No. 1/4/51-F.I., dated the 15th January, 1951 (3 Declarations).

(10) No. 1/7/51-F.I., dated the 2nd February, 1951.

[Placed in Library. See No. P-143/51].
361 P.S.

4249

TARIFF COMMISSION BILL

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Mahtab): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to provide for the establishment of a Tariff Commission and to regulate its duties and functions.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

“That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to provide for the establishment of a Tariff Commission and to regulate its duties and functions.”

The motion was adopted.

Shri Mahtab: I introduce the Bill.

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION

FIRST STAGE

Mr. Speaker: We shall now proceed to the discussion of the General Budget. But before doing so I have to announce to the House that under Rule 132, I fix that the time-limit for speeches will ordinarily be 15 minutes for each hon. Member excepting the hon. Finance Minister for whom 45 minutes or more will be allowed, if necessary.

If it is desired that a large number of hon. Members should be enabled to participate in the debate, each hon. Member wishing to speak will confine himself to the points that he wishes to make, avoid repetitions and close his speech as early as possible—say, even within ten minutes.

At this stage, the House will be at liberty to discuss the Budget as a whole or any question of principle involved therein.

Shri Goenka (Madras): I deem it a great honour and privilege to have been given the opportunity of initiating the discussion on the Budget presented by one of the ablest economists in our

[Shri Goenka]
 country, I mean the hon. Finance Minister. Personally, I am acting under a great handicap. Some of us, by force of circumstances and by practice, have learnt the art of criticism, and when a good case comes we rarely can do full justice even when we have to support a right cause. But with your co-operation and assistance, Sir, I would like to stand the test, though late last evening when I was called upon to do so I found myself in some trouble.

Let me come to the Budget. I congratulate the Finance Minister for taking us out of the muddled thinking and for a change, giving us a new line of approach. In doing so he has only been able to make the best of a bad bargain. The problems before the country have been most intricate and confounding. I am glad he has faced them with courage and imagination. Let us try to analyse the position. He has been confronted with a world phenomenon, the phenomenon being that of too much money chasing too few goods—particularly in this country, foodstuffs. The ideal solution would be a large and rapid increase in the supply of consumer goods without a corresponding further increase in the money incomes. This, obviously, is not possible overnight. Circumstances will have to be created before we can achieve an increase in the supply of essential commodities. It is of course theoretically possible that sufficiently comprehensive and efficient controls on consumption might have been able to generate sufficient forced saving of finance for both the capital creation programme and for Government's own capital requirements. But since controls have not delivered the goods, this remedy has become practically impossible. Then what are the other remedies?

12 Noon

There are three methods by which money can be intercepted: one by borrowing, another by direct taxation and the third by indirect taxation. For various reasons our borrowing programme has failed. The remedy is not by way of direct taxation for there is a limit beyond which direct taxation cannot be resorted to. Here a question will naturally arise: certain sums of money have been given by way of relief to the richer class of people, by way of double and treble depreciations, in the course of the last two years; why have they not been tapped? I think the answer of the Finance Minister can be that the incentive to look to capital profits rather than to income is increased by the high rate of taxation of incomes without corresponding taxable capital

profits. For various reasons we have abolished the Capital Gains Tax. The other reason he would have considered in this respect is to attract foreign capital, and that is the only justification why this source of revenue has not been tapped. Then the more hopeful line of approach is the third one, indirect taxation. If we do not resort to or succeed in any one of these items, the position in the country can lead us to one of the three paths: open inflation, increased and stricter controls, or monetary deflation and a higher rate of interest.

So far as open inflation is concerned, we all know the dangers of that thing. We have the instances of other countries which permitted open inflation and found that disaster alone was in store. As regards increased and stricter controls, the controls which we already have, have not succeeded. Still more controls will be very uncomfortable; they will not suit the conditions of this country and I do not think we can succeed in more controls. Thirdly, there is monetary deflation which will lead to higher rate of interest. This again has its own drawbacks, and if we go in for it I do not know how our economy will succeed.

A reduction in Governmental expenditure coupled with an increase in indirect taxation leading to a budgetary surplus is the only method and the only way out of this impasse. I am glad that after all the Government have resorted to this step. Now it is an established fact that the simplest and the most straightforward way of forcing saving is for the Government to do the saving on behalf of the community by means of an excess budgetary income over budgetary expenditure. This method has the advantage that once it is started its effect is to some extent cumulative. As you go on it goes on expanding your resources in the following years. The surplus would in the main be used to find capital requirements and to meet the expenditure of the Central and the State Governments in this regard. This money can also be used for the purpose of purchasing Government securities which may be sold by that sector of the community which requires money for other purposes and hence some of this money can be used for that purpose also. At the same time, Government may have to cut down its own luxury expenditure and limit its payments to absolute essentials, however unpopular the cuts may be. This is a very important question to which I would like the hon. the Finance Minister to

apply his mind. I am sure he is already doing so. Whatever may be the consequences, we must avoid all luxury expenditure.

[SHRI M. C. SHAH in the Chair]

If by means of increased taxation and reduced expenditure Government can achieve a Budget surplus of, say, Rs. 100 crores, it might go a long way towards bringing the net income of the public in line with the available supply of consumer goods and simultaneously supplying a large part of the capital needed to finance the country's reconstruction.

Besides the effect of disinflation by means of a Budget surplus, there are the good effects brought about by a reconstruction of credit and rise in interest rates. Above all, a certain amount of sacrifice was necessary on our part as was envisaged in the Colombo Plan to make the plan succeed. By the third quarter of 1947, it had become apparent in England that the policy of forced saving through the compulsion of a controlled inflation had broken down. At that stage, an emergency Budget was introduced in November 1947. It made really a dramatic change in the economy of Great Britain. The change which appears to have begun very suddenly at the end of 1947 converted a true Budget deficit of something like £550 million into a true estimated Budget surplus of about £300 million. This met most of the problems of Britain at that critical juncture and I am glad that the hon. the Finance Minister has after all resorted to the same practice which has been successful in Britain.

So far as surplus revenue budgeting is concerned, the question may again arise as to the incidence of taxation falling upon the poor and middle class persons. Here, so far as this Government are concerned, they represent the poor; they work for the poor; and their ultimate objective is to ameliorate the conditions of the poor. If the rich do not come near them, they have to take the assistance of the poor. Here, I would like to quote what Lord Krishna said in Bhagwad Gita:

*Nishkinchina Vayam Saswat
Nishkinchina Jana Priyaha.*

*Thasmat Prayena Na herdya
Mam Bhajanthi samadyame.*

Shri Kamath (Madhya Pradesh): That is not Gita. And it is not by Shri Krishna in the Gita.

Shri Goenka: It is Shri Krishna—do not worry about it. Shri Krishna talks

to Rukmini—here the Finance Minister talks to the people.

An attempt was made by the former Finance Ministers to lighten the burden of the richer classes in the hope that capital will flow, but their expectations were not fulfilled. Anything like an attempt on the part of the rich people to come to the rescue of the country in the time of need did not fructify and all hopes were falsified. In such a circumstance, it was a meet and proper thing for the Finance Minister to resort to the policy of indirect taxation which he has very successfully done. The taxations are scattered over many commodities. The incidence will not therefore fall on individuals very heavily. The Finance Minister has seen to it that all classes of people are equitably taxed and that is one of the points in favour of this Budget.

At this stage, one question arises. Are we going to pay these very high prices for our imports? Prices of imports have increased considerably and no doubt the prices of exports have also increased. Here the Finance Minister will have to apply his mind and find out ways and means of reducing the prices of imports, particularly foodstuffs whose landed cost price is very high and this creates a lot of difficulties in the country in regard to inflation and high cost of living.

The Finance Minister would have been perfectly justified in cutting down capital expenditure when the capital market was not responsive, but this could only have worsened the economic situation in the country in the long run. When production is curtailed, future prospects would be bleak. The Finance Minister would have been justified, further, in levying more taxes but it seems that he has had the necessary courage to reduce his cash balance to a dangerous minimum. What is he doing? He is still leaving a gap of Rs. 50 crores. He has cut down his cash balances to a very fine limit. The statutory requirements of the Reserve Bank of India are that the Government of India should maintain at least a balance of Rs. 40 crores in their account.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member has already taken fifteen minutes.

Shri Goenka: Does this apply even to the first speaker?

Hon. Members: Give him more time,

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member may conclude soon.

Shri Goenka: Thank you, Sir. I shall finish in no time.

[Shri Goenka]

The hon. the Finance Minister has brought down the cash balances to a very critical point and the capital programme has been such that he would have been justified in raising all the funds required for Central expenditure by raising the taxes, but he took account of the fact that the bulk of the additional taxation has to be paid by the poor and therefore he had to restrict himself to raising taxation only to the extent of Rs. 1 crores, leaving a gap of about Rs. 50 crores, and bringing down the cash position to Rs. 42 crores which as I said is a dangerous point. Probably, his experience as the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India gave him the necessary courage to cut down the figure to Rs. 42 crores.

Then there are one or two points about which I would like to ask the Finance Minister some questions. A partial rise in the taxation on the rich would have had a better psychological effect, but he resisted the temptation. I may ask him to give us his own story about it. Then, when this finance had to be raised, I congratulate the Railway Minister also for raising Rs. 19 crores out of the Railway Budget to finance Rs. 30 crores of capital expenditure, thus leaving a responsibility of arranging only Rs. ten crores from the General Budget. There are certain other sectors from which the hon. the Finance Minister would have certainly got some income. I mean income from the export duty on tea. In the Calcutta Stock Exchange, the brokers were very pleasantly surprised when they found that there was no export duty on tea, because this was one item on which they thought that the Government would intercept the profits arising out of devaluation and rise in prices. But that was not to be. I am sure the hon. the Finance Minister will consider the matter and go into the question and see whether that source could not be usefully tapped.

According to me, the hon. the Finance Minister has under-estimated his income. He has estimated an income of Rs. 30 crores from export duty on jute. If only he would go into the figures of past years he would admit that he is going to get not less than Rs. 50 crores out of export duty on jute. Again he has under-estimated the revenue from imports by about Rs. 15 crores.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee (West Bengal): In rising to speak on the Budget, one would naturally extend one's good wishes to the new Finance Minister for his heroic efforts in tackling a situation which was both difficult and complicated. It is not my intention—for time will not permit me—to go into details

of the Budget, or even to touch upon various matters of policy concerning it. I would only like to refer to a few important aspects of the various problems which have arisen on consideration of the Budget.

Personally speaking, I welcome the decision of the Finance Minister to take a comprehensive view of both the revenue accounts and the capital budget accounts in assessing the correct financial position of the country. But I cannot congratulate him on the manner in which he proposes to meet the deficit in the capital budget account. The net result of what he proposes to do will be to reduce the cash balances to about Rs. 42.78 crores. Our cash balances stood at the time of partition at Rs. 270 crores. On first April 1950 they stood at Rs. 149 crores. On 31st March 1951 they would stand at Rs. 95 crores and on 31st March 1952 they would stand reduced to Rs. 42.78 crores. According to the Finance Minister himself Rs. 50 crores would be considered to be a safe margin. But what he proposes to do will reduce it even by about Rs. eight crores more.

Secondly, the deficit in the revenue account has been due mainly to his transferring some of the items which previously came under capital budget and have now been placed under revenue account. Thereby he has transferred about Rs. eight crores. If he had not done that, the budget estimate would have ended with a surplus of about Rs. three crores. Now, how does he propose to meet this deficit in the capital budget? Naturally the way in which it should be met is by means of borrowing, or if there are ample reserves one can draw from them. The Finance Minister has frankly admitted that it is impossible to get money from the market. While last year it was expected that he would get Rs. 70 crores he got only Rs. 30 crores. This year his expectation is that he will be able to raise about Rs. 100 crores out of which he proposes to set apart about Rs. 87 crores for repayment of loans. He expects about Rs. 44 crores from small savings. Now, supposing history repeats itself. Then what happens to the country? Either the Government projects will have to be abandoned, or they will have to be severely curtailed or further drawings will have to be made from our slender cash balances. I therefore, do feel that the financial position of the Government and of the country is far more serious than what appears to be. No doubt, some patch work has been done and the Finance Minister somehow met the situation for the time being and postponed the evil day. It does not solve the real

problem; nor obviates the dangers that lie ahead of us.

I would have expected the Finance Minister to say something as to why capital formation is not possible in the country. Why is it that people are not responding to Government loans? Or, why is it that private floatations are not forthcoming to the extent that was previously expected? Relief to the tune of about Rs. 18 crores was given last year by taxation relief. Even that has not produced any result. In vain I looked for an explanation in the Finance Minister's statement, or at least a discussion on this very vital issue. Is there sufficient money available in the country? If there is, why is it not coming forward? If there is no money, then what is going to be our future? The big capital projects which Government have undertaken are going to cost us about Rs. 600 crores in the course of the next few years. Already commitments have been made. Where is all this money going to come from? If the Colombo Plan is to be implemented, it will require about Rs. 1,000 crores to be raised from within the country. Is there expectation of any small fraction of that money being raised from the country in the coming years? One would have expected a discussion of these vital problems in the Finance Minister's statement, so that the matter could have been put before the country with great clarity and force.

Again, I do not find in the Government's policy any declaration as to how the grave economic situation in the country is going to be met—unless you say that a policy of drift is itself a matter of policy! There is nothing to indicate as to what actually the ills are from which the country is suffering, what the maladies are from which the country is suffering and how you are going to overcome them. If you have committed mistakes in the past, please acknowledge that the mistakes have been committed. But, let us, at the same time, find out how you propose to move in the future so that we may get out of the morass in which we have entered.

So far as the taxation is concerned, my hon. friend Mr. Goenka spoke with considerable hesitation, because I know much of what he was saying he did not mean. But so far as the taxation programme is concerned, it does hit the middle and the poor people. The proportion of indirect taxation has come to nearly 60 per cent. None knows better than the Finance Minister that the normal distribution between direct and indirect taxation in any progressive country would be about 50:50.

Now, here you have taxed people in an indirect way. Rs. 31 crores the Finance Minister has asked for and through the backdoor my hon. friend the Railway Minister got about Rs. 19 crores. Rs. 50 crores has come by way of indirect taxation and it is going to hit those classes of people who today are suffering the most—the middle class and the lower middle class.

The darkest spot in the Budget is that we are almost reaching the end of our resources. What are the other taxes which you can impose? If I could think aloud there is the possibility of the death duty being imposed; but that matter has been shelved. I know there are difficulties. You may impose a land tax throughout the country. You may reinvoke the salt duty, though there may be sentimental objection to that. You have followed this policy of prohibition, trying to pursue an ideal which has landed you in disaster in many of the States and in the entire economy of the whole country. Is there time enough to go back upon any of such matters, and create conditions in the country which will make it possible for the Government to function more efficiently and effectively?

Government has taken advantage of many windfalls. Government was entitled to it, just as it has suffered under the groan of many natural calamities. Even poor Korea comes as a scape goat off and on—earthquake or Korea—and not Government's own inefficiency or fault or incapacity to tackle problems. But if we look at our increased revenues from exports, the Finance Minister rightly pointed out in his speech that one should not try to depend on these large exports for too long a period. They are due to the worsening of the international situation and things may suddenly change and our frantic efforts for world peace may result in the disappearance of the demands for jute from India. We cannot depend for ever on the possibility of exporting goods from India for the purpose of meeting the present international situation.

So far as stock-piling is concerned I would like to know from the Finance Minister whether Government has any plan for stock-piling in the interests of India. Supposing war breaks out and the situation worsens, it will be necessary for Government to depend on many vital things which the country itself does not produce. I did not discover in the Budget any plan for spending any money for a planned stock-piling in the interests of India's national economy. I do not know if there are any secret plans going on

[Dr. S. P. Mookerjee]

which the Finance Minister has not disclosed.

I shall now refer to the Indo-Pak Agreement. I will not go into details at the present moment. I may have time to do so in the course of the discussion on Demands for Grants. But frankly speaking, so far as this agreement is concerned—the political aspect of it—nothing could have been more humiliating for India than the manner in which this agreement was effected. If India wanted to have such an agreement, India could have made it long ago on much better terms and saved a lot of humiliation and misery to millions of people. But India deliberately wanted to pursue a particular line of policy which was consistent with our national interest; and overnight that policy was changed. Whether it was due to far-sighted or short-sighted statesmanship or due to defeatism or cowardice I do not know. But it has left a bad taste in the mouths of all because the country feels that it has been let down by its Government.

Leaving aside the political aspect of the agreement and considering the economic aspect, it was well known that one hundred Pakistan rupees were not worth 140 Indian rupees. In Calcutta and other places in the non-official market the rate was about Rs. 110 or 112.

Shri Sidhva (Madhya Pradesh):
Rs. 105.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: It was between Rs. 105 and Rs. 112. Then why was it that Rs. 144 were accepted unconditionally? We are not exactly a beggar at the door of Pakistan. Pakistan also needs vital goods from us. The Finance Minister must have read the speeches and writings of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, the Chief Minister of East Bengal and comments of newspapers which are supporting the Pakistan Government. They claim that a great victory has been achieved, that India came with bended knees before Pakistan and wanted mercy and that mercy in all its glory has dropped from Pakistan upon India. Why this national humiliation? Look at the economic point of view. The price of Pakistan jute has gone up. The Indian jute mills had to close down for twelve days. The matter was under the control of Government. Did not the Government know even a month before that the mills will have to close down? The jute is there in India which could have carried the mills on for a few weeks more. But the jute is held up by people who wanted to speculate. You de-control jute prices today and you are going to allow these people to

make crores of rupees by virtue of the stocks which they have held back during the last few weeks. The price of jute in Pakistan has gone up. You have de-controlled it in India today. You had to do it, you had no other option. Prices have shot up. What about prices of other commodities? Will you be able to hold on to your control on cotton, because you will get six lakhs of bales of cotton from Pakistan the price of which is Rs. 3,000 per candy there, while the Indian price is about Rs. 1,000? Can you expect to continue the control on Indian cotton? If you have to decontrol, what will be the repercussion on the prices of food-grains and other commodities? This will immediately give rise to further sharp increases in prices and cost of living. That is one matter which the Finance Minister, knowing that it was one of the weakest points in his Budget speech, just skipped over—that is, so far as the failure of Government to control the rise in prices is concerned. But that affects the economy of the country in a most tremendous fashion. Government has failed during the last few years to control rise in prices, and today it is almost giving it up in despair, as something which is impossible of achievement. In vain do we find in the Budget, much as we may try, some formulation of policy which may be able to take advantage of the mistakes which we committed in the past and give a new call to the people so that a change may come in the condition of millions of people who are oppressed and depressed by steadily worsening economic conditions.

I have nothing to say against big projects which Government have taken in hand. I know personally that some of them are extremely desirable and they are necessary to the re-building of national economy. I am even prepared to concede that it will take a few years for us to have the full results which will yield considerable fruits for improvement of the economic condition of the people. But the problem before the country is not concentration of our major resources on these long-term projects but concentration on short-term projects. We have got to solve this food problem. We shouted that we are going to make India self-sufficient in food. What declarations were not made by the Prime Minister from his place here last year to the effect that he would even allow the people of India to face starvation than go back on his decision of making India self-sufficient by 1951! But what is the sorry spectacle which we witness today? Self-sufficiency in food has become one of the standing jokes so far as India is concerned. You now propose to import four million tons of

foodgrains, plus you expect a gift of two million tons from America. We stand not as individual beggars, trying to adjust our things and somehow make both ends meet, but the whole nation stands as a beggar before the world asking for food from somewhere, jute from somewhere, and something else from somewhere else. Meanwhile the country is about to be choked by corruption, black marketing and profiteering. That is a state of affairs, which has most dangerous potentialities affecting the safety and stability of the nation. I would have expected in the proposals of Government some concrete enumeration of policy indicating that while we do not propose to give up the long-term projects, those at any rate which are concerned with the development of the great economic resources of this country, at the same time we propose to set apart twenty, thirty or forty crores on short-term projects—irrigation, supply of seeds and manures for purposes of growing more food, reclamation of land etc. I know on a small scale these things are there in the Budget, - but they are extremely inadequate, I also lay great stress on development of small industries. I would have expected that some schemes were forthcoming from Government for a consolidated and integrated development of small industries embracing the whole country. There is no other hope for us. If we have to wait until we get the full fruits of these long-term projects which we have set in operation, I am sure by that time the country will die and it may not also be possible for us to find all the money we need for the purpose of even half-completing all these big tasks that we have taken in hand.

So far as the economic policy of the Government is concerned I hope we shall have an opportunity of discussing this matter when the details of the Budget will be taken up. But food, cloth and shelter are the three main things on which Government's failure is colossal and on which the country expects a new lead from the Government, if it is to function with the willing confidence and co-operation of the people.

Today we are living in very difficult circumstances. I have no desire merely to blame the Government or abuse the Government because we are trying to solve a problem of a magnitude which perhaps has had no parallel in any other part of the world. But the way in which Government is pursuing its policy is not the way in which a solution will be found. Somehow the gap between the Government and the people is increasing rapidly day by day. It is no use Government blaming the

activities of particular groups or sections. There may be such parties or sections or groups who may desire to create troubles, but the main tragedy of India today is hunger which Government has failed to avert. And if today you have millions of people who have not the means of the barest subsistence and do not know how to live from day to day and night to night, it is impossible for us to expect that they will for ever observe peaceful methods for the purpose of either facing slow death or allowing you to misgovern.

I therefore ask Government to wake up to the dangers that lie ahead. This Budget from some points of view is completely barren, it is cheerless, it is colourless, it is spineless. It brings to you a pathetic picture of somehow carrying on the affairs of Government,—that also I know has been done with considerable difficulty by the Finance Minister for whom personally I have the deepest regard and admiration. Some bolder steps and some bigger imagination have got to come forward if problems have to be successfully tackled on a nation-wide scale for the amelioration of the conditions of the people of this land.

Shri Kala Venkatarao (Madras): I very much welcome the Budget that has been presented by the hon. Finance Minister. In doing so I would like to address myself to one important aspect of budget-making. The Budget goes a thousand ways to the root of the prosperity of individuals, to the relation between classes and to the strength of the Governments themselves. The present Budget apart from the arithmetic of it, must also solve the problems that are facing the country today and I am certain that we shall go the right way in solving them. The Congress Governments are in charge of the country. We have got a name, an ideal and a programme and we have to judge the Budgets that are presented to the State Legislatures as well as here on that basis, namely, how far our present budgeting is going to reach the ideal. The Congress has stood all these years for the creation of a co-operative Commonwealth which was called *Ram Rajya* by the Father of the Nation. Now, in this Budget if we can find anything that will go towards that ideal, we shall be very much satisfied. The present Budget, I feel, is good in one way. In that it is establishing a new precedent, that is, taxing in order to meet the capital requirements of the country. This is a very important feature to which every well-wisher in this coun-

[Shri Kala Venkatarao]

try ought to subscribe. People are afraid of change, but I should like to agree with Mr. Fosdick who once stated:

"History's current is sweeping us into the future and the illusion that security is dependent upon the absence of change is perhaps the most dangerous form of imbalance, which plagues the minds of men."

Divergencies of opinion regarding economic belief are bound to be there and each 'ism' feels that it has got the cure-all, but I believe that the cure-all for this country can only find its source in the teachings of the Father of the Nation. The hon. gentleman who spoke before me complained so much about our difficulties but did not himself offer any solutions except a few which I will examine a little later.

The Congress Working Committee sometime last year passed a resolution requesting the Government of India to appoint a National Planning Commission. Its objectives are: a just order of society, progressive increase in standard of living, best utilization of the resources of the country and regional and national self-sufficiency. The Government and the country were good enough to respond and today we have a National Planning Commission which is striving hard to give us a short term plan and a long term plan. My hon. friend, Dr. Mookerjee was bitterly complaining that there is no short term programme for the Government. (An Hon. Member: He is not here). Anybody who has seen the Budgets of the State Governments as well as that of the Central Government will find that they are not devoid of such plans. Really there are a number of schemes which have begun to fructify or which are going to fructify in the very near future and therefore the complaint that everything has been left to 'starvation' is not correct.

Then, there is no gainsaying the fact that the country is really in a bad economic situation. Everybody knows it. We know that there is poverty and that poverty is increasing on account of a number of circumstances, including the pressure of population, which is peculiar not only to our country but to a number of other Asian countries. This is resulting in the falling off of the standards of life. There is another difficulty, perhaps due to historical circumstances, that many of our people are vociferous about their rights and are not at all mindful of their duties. Therefore if we want to solve the problems that are facing us in the econo-

mic field, there are only two things to be done. Firstly we should take to austerity and secondly we should also look to greater production. About this question of austerity, on behalf of the Government, the Congress Working Committee and the All India Congress Committee have appealed to the country more than once. People feel that some magic can be done and that tomorrow morning we can find our *Ram Rajya* established. The Father of the Nation when he started his great movement for the freedom of our country taught us to fight and also taught us the need for the constructive programme. We heard him about the former and responded but had we responded with equal vigour as regards the constructive programme, the country would not have been facing the economic situation with which it is faced today. I feel that we should now accept this position.

Criticism has been made about the need to save and invest. It is estimated that while we are producing to the tune of Rs. 6,000 crores a year, we are consuming about 98 per cent. and we are only saving two per cent. out of it. Unless we save at least eight per cent., we will not be able to get the money necessary both for our mid-term projects as well as our long-term projects. In order to achieve this object, we should make less use of scarce products or we must find alternate products to satisfy our needs. I would like to narrate an example from the history of Japan. We know that about 16 years ago our markets were full of the products from Japan. The Japan mill cloth was selling at 3½ annas a yard. Japan does not produce a single lb. of cotton and how could Japan sell us at such cheap rates here after bringing it from a long distance? There used to be a rule in Japan that every lb. of cotton imported into the country must be met by the export of a lb. of produced mill cloth. How did Japan clothe itself? There were rich pine forests in the north capable of producing a gum. They had standard cloth made from out of that gum and from Emperor Hirohito to the common man they were wearing the standard cloth; they wore the standard cloth and exported their products and thus Japan became one of the great industrial nations of the world. Today we should also follow the same example. We must use less of scarce materials or at least we must find alternate products, use them and spare the other things for exporting to other countries and find out the wherewithal to bring into the country the 'know-how' as well as the capital

goods that are needed to put this country on the way of progress.

Now, as I told you, I do not like to go into the other details in the Budget. One important feature is about taxation. I am very glad that the Finance Minister has made use of taxation to meet the capital needs of the Budget. I very much support him in that matter. But, I agree with Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee to this extent, namely, that the taxation measures of this country must be re-examined so that they will not impinge very much upon the middle classes as they are doing now. We cannot but agree that the increase in the Railway fares plus the taxes that are imposed now by the hon. Finance Minister, will certainly create a burden upon the middle classes and the lower middle classes. Therefore, we have to re-examine our tax structure and improve our methods of taxation.

There is one more matter that I would like to impress upon the hon. Finance Minister and that is about regional development. If you do not lay stress on regional development and if you create depressed areas as in England and Wales, you will not succeed. Therefore, I feel that in the interests of democracy, so that the common man may understand the needs of the Government and the programme of the Government and help them, regional development is an absolute necessity. In this connection, I would only like to mention the case of linguistic provinces. If we want to have real democracy, our programmes must be understood by the common man who is to be our master and we must teach him in his own language. Till now, we used to get votes by promising a post-office in a locality. In the future, we will not get any votes unless we promise a 'new world'. Therefore, it is going to be a difficult problem to approach the 170 million voters who are to be our masters. It is but just that the country should be divided regionally and developed regionally. Such regions must be demarcated on a linguistic basis.

Shri Sidhva: It will only create more provincialism and more jealousies.

An Hon. Member: The cat is out of the bag.

Shri Kala Venkatarao: The cat cannot be out of the bag when rats are abroad in the country.

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee characterised the Budget as cheerless, colourless and spineless. I am very sorry that he should have come to

that conclusion. I do not understand why, in spite of all the difficulties, we should feel cheerless or colourless or spineless. A powerful gentleman like him should never feel spineless.

Shri Kamath: He said that the Budget is spineless.

Shri Kala Venkatarao: I do not refer to the gentleman himself, but to his opinions. I have heard him very carefully and I am sorry to state that in spite of his high eloquence, he has not made even a single suggestion as to how to get out of the economic morass about which he so much complained. It is wonderful that all the four suggestions he has given as regards jute, increasing the land revenue, salt tax, and prohibition, are, except in one case, against the interests of the country and the great policy to which the Congress stands committed as a useful programme. I have no time to go into those proposals in detail.

I am glad that the hon. Finance Minister is a silent high-powered automobile. The hon. Prime Minister has added a roaring jeep for his support in the person of the Minister of State. I am perfectly certain that the roaring of his assistant and the high power capacity of the Finance Minister will find a solution to the situation facing us and the country and that the next Budget will show the way for the establishment of real *Ram Rajya* for which the Father of the Nation has striven his best.

Shri Hussain Imam (Bihar): It is my painful duty to come in the midst of these congratulations and encomiums to bring to the notice of the House certain facts which will speak for themselves. I do not wish to characterise the facts by any adjectives myself.

The Budget speech of the hon. Finance Minister lacks many essential items which usually are expected from the Finance Minister of a democracy. He should present to the House a correct statement of affairs of the country and should also try to convince those who are sitting in the House and the people outside in the country. It is not enough that he should be satisfied himself; the satisfaction must be of the man in the street, the citizens of the country. I find that it is singularly lacking in this respect. He has not, I regret to say, made any efforts to convince us that his taxation proposals were essential, that the country had no other alternative to meet the capital demands except through this method of taxation and that all efforts were made to tap the capitalist

[Shri Hussain Imam]

market and had failed. If he had done that, we would have felt that the circumstances were such that he could not have done otherwise. My complaint is that he and his advisers have failed to give us the picture with which they are faced. They do not care for the satisfaction of others. In support of the sweeping remark that I have made, I wish to bring certain facts to the notice of the House.

I went into the Library to see the Revenue and Finance accounts of the Government of India. I was surprised to learn that the accounts upto 31st March 1946, only were available in the Library. No accounts of the subsequent periods have been sent to the Library. Even the accounts of 1946 came in in the month of November, 1950.

Shri Kamath: A war casualty?

Shri Hussain Imam: It is one of the casualties (*An Hon. Member:* Partition?) not of partition, but of Independence, *Swaraj*.

The next item which struck me was the gross difference between the figures presented by Government in the two papers which they have presented to us, the Budget of Central Government and the Explanatory Memorandum. I am not going to take up the time of the House and my own by going into the details of the figures. I would invite the attention of every Member of the House to page 14, item 5 of the Explanatory Memorandum from which it will be seen that the two figures given for Expenditure of the Government of India do not tally and the difference is of a very considerable magnitude; it is something more than, I should say, seven per cent. in actuals. There is much difference between the actual amounts of expenditure as given in the Budget estimates and as given in the Explanatory Memorandum. That shows how lax the work is being done today.

I would invite the attention of the House and ask the hon. Members to tell me if they are aware of the enormous surplus which has accrued to the Government of India during the last two years. It is of the order of 117 crores according to the Explanatory Memorandum. Not a word has been said by the hon. Finance Minister in the whole of his speech thanking the people for having been taxed so much and for giving him the surplus to carry on the work. When he was not prepared for surpluses, he had surpluses. God help India when he comes prepared to squeeze us and take surpluses out of us.

I must invite the attention of the House to this consistent policy of Government to under-estimate the income and over-estimate the expenditure. If it had been the case with the budget estimate alone, that would have been perhaps excusable, because they are 596 days ahead as the Budget is presented on the 28th February and the year closes on the 31st of March of the next year. But just 31 days before the close of the year they come before the House with revised figures and yet they err to such a huge extent! In such a case can there be any excuse? I will give the results for the two years only for which I have been able to get the accounts and for which alone accounts have been given in these papers. It was estimated that there will be a deficit of 5.29 crores in the two years 1948-50. But just a few days afterwards, the reality was that there was a surplus of as much as 117 crores. Is this the way to present figures to the House? Is this the way a democracy should be treated? Is this the way in which we are to feel that we have got a Government which is really mindful of our interests?

Shri Kamath: This is the transition.

Shri Hussain Imam: No, the transition period expired in 1947 before the partition, and since partition I have not been able to find the accounts for the seven and a half months of that year. The only thing that I could find I am presenting to the House. We find that the expenditure was over-estimated by 77 crores and the income was under-estimated by 37 crores resulting in a surplus of Rs. 117 crores. This is the condition in this Department.

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): Which year is that?

Shri Hussain Imam: I am referring to the year 1948-49 and to the year 1949-50. The figures for 7½ months in the year 1947-48 I could not find.

And then, has any attempt been made to tap the capital markets in India? These guess estimates—that is what they are though a few minutes back they were called revised estimates—show a surplus of seven crores and I will not be far wrong if next year you find that the surplus of the year is as much as Rs. 25 to Rs. 30 crores. The story that our balances will be reduced to an uneconomic level has been repeated *ad nauseam*. From the papers of the year 1948-49 I find that prediction for the closing

balance for 1948-49 was Rs. 57 crores. The budget estimate of 1949-50 also brought before us the frightful spectre of a closing balance of Rs. 58 crores. And 1950-51 prediction was 78 crores. He has repeated it again this year of 43 crores closing balance. But always we have been having a sufficiently comfortable closing balance of more than Rs. 150 crores, for both the years that I have mentioned, and I am confident that even this year he will prove to be a Job's comforter to us.

I was saying that endeavours have not been made to tap the capital market of.....

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member has three minutes more.

Shri Hussain Imam: I started only at ten minutes to one o'clock.

Mr. Chairman: You started at twelve minutes to one.

Shri Hussain Imam: I was referring to the fact that endeavours have not been made to tackle that capital market. The suggestion was made and very widely canvassed in the papers that he will offer income-tax free bearer bonds, even with short currency. But that has not been done. Also the rate which he is offering to the market is uneconomical and that is amply proved by the endeavours of the last two or three years. How can you create cheap capital with conditions such as these? That is not possible.

Shri Venkataraman (Madras): Why bearer bonds?

Shri Hussain Imam: I am not going to spend the limited time at my disposal on fruitless discussions. I will confine myself to two or three items.

What are the effects of this Budget? The first effect is that he has removed the small subsidy which he was paying on imported cotton. That will raise the price of cloth. The price at which Pakistan cotton can be landed in India is of the order of Rs. 300 Indian, per maund. How is this going to work unless we remove the control on cloth prices as the Government has been forced to do in the case of the price of jute? How are you going to work it? Take again this question of devaluation. Here I am glad that even when we discussed the matter in October 1949, I said I differed from the Government and I said that was following England blindly. We must have our own measure of devaluation and not a measure suggested by the United Kingdom. The price of jute is Rs. 57 per maund and as a result you had to decontrol. As was pointed out by my hon. friend Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, the inter-

nal prices are bound to go up and I fear that the food prices are also sure to go up. Otherwise there will be less cultivation and more food trouble next year. All these things will follow because we have followed the example of the U. K. blindly, senselessly and uselessly. It is only by our having our own devaluation or re-valuation that we can get out of the morasses in which we now are. Food prices have been inflated with the result that even rationed articles have to be sold at 25 per cent. more than previously. There will be further rises in the coming years. Thus inflation is being engendered instead of being checked by the Budget which the hon. Minister of Finance has brought before the House. It is true that taxation is a measure of scooping up unnecessary purchasing power; but where there is no unnecessary purchasing power, where they are living hand to mouth is this the way in which you will check the rising prices? There is to be an increase of five per cent. on the import schedule. That will also increase the price of everything instead of bringing them down. May I most humbly submit to the House and to the Government and to the hon. Minister that we would do well to consider this revaluation issue calmly, quietly and above all, with an open mind. This superiority complex used to be associated with the old bureaucratic regime of the foreign power, but that still seems to remain and the opinion of the people and their fears are brushed aside. I want that the Government and the hon. Finance Minister should turn a new page and take the willing co-operation of the House and if that is done, I am confident that without imposing much taxation, you can still balance the Budget, provided of course you take the measures necessary which will bring balance even in your capital budget.

Mr. Chairman: The House will now stand adjourned to 2-35 P.M.

The House then adjourned for Lunch till Thirty-five Minutes Past Two of the Clock.

The House re-assembled after Lunch at Thirty-five Minutes Past Two of the Clock.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA in the Chair]

Shri Shiva Rao (Madras): The keynote of this year's Budget seems to be a desire on the part of the Finance Minister to place the finances of the country in a sound position for Government which will come into power after the General Elections. That is

[Shri Shiva Rao]

an objective which deserves the full support of the House.

He referred in his speech to the six years Colombo Plan for implementing which he estimated a total expenditure of 1800 crores. That is in addition to the normal expenditure of administration of the new Government, which will thus be compelled at the very beginning of its new career to enter on an era of heavy borrowing and of increased taxation, if it is to live up to the standards of a full-fledged welfare State.

An occasional five rupee note sent on the eve of the Budget to the Finance Minister or to his successor is not going to relieve him of his anxieties. One must be a realist in this matter and also see both sides of the picture; that is to say, not only the Government's requirements but also the taxpayer's capacity to meet his numerous obligations. Let me take the Finance Minister's own figures to see the gap between his hopes and realisation. Our opening balances were 270 crores at the time of the Partition. They will be 43 crores at the end of the next financial year, if his expectations materialise. During this period of three years, against a loan and investment programme of 345 crores, actual realisation was only 176 crores—just about half. For the coming year, he has estimated loans and small savings at 140 crores, undeterred by the fact that he could obtain only 81 out of 110 crores this year. I hope he will prove right in claiming that 140 crores for 1951-52 is not an over-optimistic figure. But the heavy taxation in the coming year, the great bulk of which will fall on the middle classes, will leave an even smaller margin for investment than in 1950-51. I hope the Finance Minister will tell the House at the end of this debate whether he has any intention of redeeming this year the promise given by his predecessor to conduct an examination of the entire tax structure in this country.

During these three years, as Mr. Goenka pointed out this morning—though his criticism seemed to be more like support—big business got a series of substantial concessions. Mr. Shanmukham Chetty assumed in 1948 that it would all, as he put it, "be ploughed back into industry". We have seen few signs of it happening. I had suggested to his successor two years ago not to pursue that policy, but to earmark the funds so obtained, roughly 20 crores in 1949-50, for a national housing campaign in the industrial

areas. That suggestion, I regret to say, received no support from Dr. Matthai.

Shri Sondhi (Punjab): Successor or predecessor?

Shri Shiva Rao: In passing may I say that I am glad that at last there is to be a national Housing Board this year. It would be interesting to know how the Finance Minister proposes to finance the operations of the Board and what will be its composition and functions. The growth of slums and the acute housing congestion in our industrial areas during the last thirty years have been the biggest obstacle in the way of a healthy development of Indian industry. That building costs can be brought down considerably has already been proved by the Bombay Housing Board. The Faridabad township is a striking example of successful co-operative building, with building costs brought down to less than Rs. five a sq. foot. Whether it is a coincidence or not, the C.P.W.D. has now agreed to reduce its overhead charges from 17½ per cent. to nearly ten per cent. There is room for further economies in the building operations of Government, both on the civil and on the defence sides. Research and constant vigilance are essential for bringing down building and maintenance costs to a minimum.

Let me go back to the point I made earlier. The Finance Minister has explained that in the period to which I have referred, of over three years the Government's net overseas expenditure, for the purchase of foodgrains, stores and equipment, has been over 400 crores. Can we look in the coming years for relief in regard to any of these items? In respect of investments in State projects and river schemes, can we hope for some returns in the near future to lighten the recurring burdens on the taxpayer? Let me give the House one example. In Madras—those were the latest figures available to me—as against an expenditure of 15 crores in 1949-50 on hydro-electric and irrigation schemes, the return from some of these partially completed schemes was 3.17 crores of gross revenue. There are no similar figures to hearten the taxpayer in the Budget before us.

While on this point I would like to ask the Finance Minister for some light regarding Mr. Gorwala's new appointment. He is reported to have been asked by the Planning Commission to look into the administration of Development Projects. Why by the Planning Commission, may I ask and not directly by Government? Will the

House have an opportunity to discuss his report before Government take a decision? Also, what will be the precise scope of his enquiry? Will he look into the implications of State management of certain projects? I hope Mr. Gorwala will be authorised to examine the policy of the Labour Government in England in regard to the financing of nationalised concerns and their administration before he comes to his final conclusions.

The main point, if I may repeat it, is this: that the taxpayer finds it extremely difficult to bear the present burden of State expenditure even under existing circumstances; much less will he be able to do so, if the new Government, in transforming itself from a police State into a welfare State, undertakes the implementation of the Colombo Plan. Therefore, there must be, immediately, a clear and vigorous policy initiated first, in the direction of a drastic curtailment of unremunerative expenditure and second, of stimulating adequate returns from State-managed projects. These two objectives the Finance Minister must pursue with energy and determination and without any delay.

May I now say a word about the Estimates Committee? We have made three reports and a fourth, I hope, will be placed before the House before the end of this session. There may be legitimate differences of opinion on whether the Estimates Committee could have done even more useful work by giving less attention to details but by covering a larger number of Ministries. It is a new organ of Parliament, and some of the Ministries have not yet really reconciled themselves to their estimates being examined by a Committee of Parliament. Nevertheless, I venture to observe that the Committee's reports and findings are worthy of serious consideration, both by Government and the House. I would also make the suggestion that there should be close liaison between the Estimates Committee and the various Standing Committees, and in particular the Standing Finance Committee.

To one subject I would like to refer in brief terms, namely, defence expenditure. I have no objection to certain items under defence being transferred, as they have been this year, from capital to revenue account. The Finance Minister's line of reasoning seems to me to be sound, and it is in accord with normal practice. What does make me uneasy is this: that in the past the House, in its zeal to have a strong defence force, has given undue encouragement to the

Defence Ministry to increase its expenditure. The expansion of the Navy and the Air Force is necessary, and even heavier expenditure may be inevitable, not only next year but for a number of years. The same remark applies to our territorial army, on which it is proposed to spend only 35 lakhs in 1951-52. But there is a good deal of extravagance which should be firmly controlled, because we cannot afford to increase our total expenditure on defence in attempting to build up a balanced, efficient and modernised fighting force. In fact, we must try to bring down our defence expenditure as much as possible. Is there any country in the world which enjoys the luxury of three commanders-in-chief, or even one, in peace time? I strongly believe there is room for economy on the maintenance of buildings and installations which will cost Rs. 10.71 crores in the coming year. Take again stationery and printing for the Army—Rs. 58 lakhs, comparatively a small item, but is it necessary, even in regard to stationery and printing, that the Defence forces should be separate from the civil administration? There are several other heads under which economies can and should be effected. Why should military dairy farms cost the exchequer Rs. 1.67 crores, while receipts amount only to Rs. 24 lakhs? The affairs of the Canteen Department need careful looking into.

I brought to the attention of the House last August two matters of some importance. Five hundred and forty-five wooden crates were lying in an exposed condition on the sands of the Madras beach for five years until a few burst open during the summer of last year, disclosing trucks in first-class condition. These trucks have been estimated by the Army authorities themselves at Rs. 136 lakhs. But I find no corresponding reduction in defence expenditure for the current year because of this windfall. I would also remind the House that I referred in August last to the dumping into the sea of material condemned as surplus to requirements by the Defence authorities. Let me by way of contrast give the House a brief passage from the latest report of the Estimates Committee of the House of Commons in England:

"Destruction by explosion is only resorted to where ammunition is too dangerous to dispose of by other means. Ammunition when broken up yields steel, brass and high explosive fillings, the latter yielding material from which fertilisers can be made".

[Shri Shiva Rao]

I fear that there is not sufficient liaison between the different wings of the Defence Ministry on the purchase side, which will cost Rs. 11-59 crores in England alone. Articles which may be surplus to the requirements of the Army may be required by the Navy or the Air Force, or *vice versa*. Is the Finance Minister satisfied that every effort is now made to pool together the demands of the various fighting forces, and a careful examination made of the available material before fresh orders are placed abroad? One or two very disagreeable instances came to the notice of the Estimates Committee. There is a reference in its first report to the purchase of jeeps, and I would ask the Finance Minister to be much stricter in his scrutiny of defence estimates. It is not right that he should throw all the sacrifice on the civil side of the administration.

If I may turn briefly to one or two other matters, I welcome the provision of Rs. ten lakhs for the expansion of the Intelligence Bureau. The importance of this Bureau deserves adequate recognition from the House, especially as was pointed out by the Home Minister this morning, subversive elements are becoming increasingly resourceful in some parts of the country. It is therefore necessary that Government should do everything possible to strengthen the Bureau. The provision of funds alone is not enough. In the last two or three years its usefulness has been crippled by lack of adequate accommodation, and I hope the Home Ministry will repair that omission without further delay.

Regarding the anti-corruption police force, I would suggest that this may be brought under the control of the Intelligence Bureau. I believe that one factor which hampers its activities is the condition that before proceedings can be started against officials, and in particular gazetted officers, the previous sanction of the Ministry concerned is necessary. I would suggest that the present rule may be modified so that henceforth such sanction may be obtained only from the Home Ministry. Unfortunately, one cannot always be sure of preserving secrecy in the Secretariat, and premature leakage may have the effect of evidence disappearing.

One last word before I sit down. I wish I could say something in approval of Government's policy in regard to cottage industries. I am certain that if the Ministry of Commerce and Industry were energetic about it,

a good and growing market can be built abroad for a number of these industries, finding employment for thousands of workers and earning dollars for us.

बाबू गोपीनाथ सिंह : बजट किसी राष्ट्र के लिए केवल आमदनी और खर्च का लेखा नहीं है। मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ कि बजट में राष्ट्र के निवासियों की आशाओं का तथा उन के सुख और उन के दुःख का भी लेखा होना चाहिये। हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी अपने नाम से और काम से 'देश मुख' हैं, वह हमारे स्पोकस्मैन (Spokesman) हैं। लेकिन मैं कुछ ऐसा महसूस करता हूँ कि जो आशाएँ हमारे राष्ट्र को उन से हैं वह इस बजट के जरिये से पूरी नहीं हो रही हैं। कांग्रेस एक क्रान्तिकारी संस्था है। उस का काम भी ऐसा ही हुआ है, उस की सफलताएँ भी ऐसी ही हुई हैं, और अब भी उस का दावा है कि वह क्रान्ति की ओर चल रही है, देश में एक नेशनल रिवोल्यूशन (National revolution) लाना चाहती है, क्लासलेस सोसाइटी (Classless Society) बनाना चाहती है। उस का लक्ष्य यही है। लेकिन क्या मैं पूछ सकता हूँ कि कांग्रेस संस्था से जो आशा हमारा देश लगाये हुए हैं, क्या हमारी सरकार भी उसी ओर चल रही है? मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है, जैसा कि मैं ने गत वर्ष भी कहा था, कि हमारी वह आशाएँ पूरी नहीं हो रही हैं।

मैं आप से निवेदन करूँगा कि जरा आप देखिये कि आप का खर्चा कितना ऊँचा है, आप के ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव इक्सपेंसेज (administrative expenses) कितने हेवी (heavy) हैं, वह किन्तु बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं। आप ने सन् ४८ और ४९ में इकानमी कमिटी (Economy Committee) बनाने की फ़िक्र की और

हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने अपने बजट में हमें आश्वासन दिया है कि उन्होंने पांच करोड़ रुपये की बचत की है। लेकिन अगर आप इस बात को देखें कि सन् ४८ और ४९ में हमारा ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन (administration) पर क्या खर्चा था और इस वक्त क्या खर्चा है तो आप देखेंगे कि पांच करोड़ की बचत केवल हमारे लिए धोखा मात्र है। दरअसल ५८ करोड़ का खर्च हमारे यहां बढ़ा है। मैं आप को केवल एक विभाग की मिसाल से यह सिद्ध कर दूंगा कि खर्च कितना बढ़ता चला जा रहा है। आप देखें कि ऐक्स्टरनल ऐफेअर्स मिनिस्ट्री (External Affairs Ministry) में परसाल ४३ अफसर थे, तो इस साल ९२ अफसर हैं। यकायक ४९ अफसर बढ़ जाते हैं। अगर हम यह भी मान लें कि बंगाल के लिए चार अफसर रखे गये हैं चूंकि वहां नया माइनारिटी प्राबलम (Minority problem) खड़ा हो गया है, और जिस को आप जस्टीफ़ाई (justify) भी कर सकते हैं, तो बाक़ी ४५ अफसर जो आप ने यकायक बढ़ा दिये हैं यह कैसे आप जायज़ साबित कर सकेंगे इस में मुझे शक है।

मैं यह भी महसूस करता हूँ कि आजकल की जो गवर्नमेंट है वह ठीक उसी पुराने ढंग पर चल रही है जैसी कि पहले चलती थी। गांधी जी ने एक बार लार्ड रीडिंग के लिए कहा था, आप सब लोगों को याद होगा, कि "आइदर दी सिस्टम बिल डिवावर हिम आर ही विल डिवावर दी सिस्टम" ("Either he will devour the system or the system will devour him!")। जब लार्ड रीडिंग आये थे तो उन की बड़ी तारीफ़ की गई थी और यह उन के सम्बन्ध में कहा गया था। लेकिन आज की हालत देखने से तो ऐसा

मालूम होता है कि "दी सिस्टम इज डिवावरिंग दी कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट" ("The system is devouring the Congress Government")। मुझे उस सिस्टम (system) में कोई खास तबदीली नहीं दिखाई देती है। तिलक महाराज ने भी एक बार सरविसेज (Services) के बारे में कहा था "अवर सरवेंट्स हेव बिकम अवर मास्टर्स एंड वी वॉट टू बी मास्टर्स अगेन" ("Our servants have become our masters and we want to be masters again!")। लेकिन मैं आप से कहता हूँ कि आजकल की गवर्नमेंट भी ब्यूरोक्रेटिक गवर्नमेंट (Bureaucratic Government) ही है, आजकल की गवर्नमेंट सरविस रिडिन गवर्नमेंट (Service-ridden Government) है और सरविसेज के जो आदमी हैं वही उस के मास्टर्स हैं। यह आप का ग़लत ख्याल है कि आप मास्टर्स हैं।

चूंकि मेरे पास समय बहुत कम है, इसलिये मैं दो एक बातें, दो एक प्वाइंट्स (points) ही, आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। अगर आप अपने मुल्क में सचमुच सुधार करना चाहते हैं, अगर आप चाहते हैं कि अपने देश में कांग्रेस का नाम हो, कांग्रेस की धाक हो और देश का कल्याण हो, तो जो मौजूदा मिनिस्ट्रीज़ (Ministries) हैं उन को आप रीअरेंज (rearrange) कीजिये, उन को नयी तरतीब दीजिये और नये ढंग से मुल्क का संचालन कीजिये। इस के लिए इस बात की ज़रूरत है कि जिस तरीके से आप ने बाहरी हमले से देश को बचाने के लिए एक डिफ़ेंस मिनिस्ट्री (Defence Ministry) बना रखी है, इसी तरीके से अपने देश को उन ताकतों से बचाने

[बाबू गोपीनाथ सिंह]

के लिए जो आप को नष्ट करना चाहती हैं, जो आप के समाज को बिगाड़ना चाहती हैं और आप की सरकार की नींव को भी उखाड़ फेंकना चाहती हैं, उन ताकतों से अपनी रक्षा के लिए, उन से बचाव करने के लिए, एक पॅरेलल डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री (parallel Defence Ministry) होम फ्रंट (Home Front) पर भी आप बनायें और उस मिनिस्ट्री के चार्ज (charge) में यह विषय हों :

Corruption in services, black marketing, tax evasion, adulteration of food-stuffs, ghee, edible oils, chemicals and medicines, maintenance of standards and hoarding.

यह चीजें अगर एक मिनिस्टर के चार्ज (charge) में हों और वह मिनिस्टर पूरी ताकत रखता हो, जिस के ऊपर कि सरविसेज राज्य न कर सकें, बल्कि वह मिनिस्टर सरविसेज पर पूरे अस्तियार से राज्य कर सके तो इस मुल्क के लिए अच्छा है। मैं कोई खास नाम तो नहीं लेना चाहता, लेकिन यह जरूर समझता हूँ कि ऐसा मिनिस्टर होना चाहिये कि जो सूझबुझ का हो, जो इनीशियेटिव (initiative) रखता हो, जिस में ताकत हो, जिस में बोलडनेस (Boldness) और करेज (Courage) हो, जिस में हिम्मत से काम करने का जस्बा हो। और अगर आप चाहेंगे तो आप की मौजूदा कैबिनेट (Cabinet) में भी ऐसे मिनिस्टर मिल जायेंगे जैसे कि श्री हरेकृष्ण मेहता, श्री रफी अहमद क्रिदवाई। हमारे त्यागीजी भी अगर आगे आवें तो वह इन मौजूदा हालात में बहुत कुछ उलट फेर कर सकते हैं।

दूसरी चीज जो मैं जरूरी समझता हूँ वह यह है कि एक मिनिस्ट्री फ़ार नॅशनलाइजेशन, रीबिल्डिंग एंड रीकंस्ट्रक्शन

(Ministry for nationalisation, rebuilding and reconstruction)

आप के पास होनी चाहिये। जब तक आप राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं करेंगे, जब तक आप उत्पादन के साधनों को ठीक नहीं करेंगे तथा जब तक आप के देश की आर्थिक नींव ठीक नहीं बैठेगी, तब तक आप देश का कल्याण नहीं कर सकते। मैं यह समझता हूँ कि आप बैंक्स (Banks) और इश्योरेंस (Insurance) कम्पनीज़ के नॅशनलाइजेशन (nationalisation) से शुरू करें। जब तक आप ऐसा नहीं करेंगे, तब तक आप के देश को पूँजीपतियों से जो खतरा रहता है वह दूर नहीं होगा। कैपिटलिस्टों (Capitalists) से, पूँजीपतियों से, आप को हर समय असहयोग मिलता है, वह हर बात में सैबोटेज (sabotage) करते हैं; वह कभी किसी चीज को घटा देते हैं, कभी किसी चीज को बढ़ा देते हैं, कभी आप के घटों रूई की कमी कर देते हैं, कभी जूट की कमी हो जाती है और कभी किसी और चीज की, हालांकि वह सब चीजें मौजूद रहती हैं। कभी वह कह देते हैं कि हमारे पास वस्त्रों का ओवरस्टॉक (overstock) है। कभी वह ऐसी परिस्थिति पैदा कर देते हैं कि चालीस रुपये का भी एक घोंटी जोड़ा नहीं मिल सकता है। अस्तु मैं चाहता हूँ कि एक ऐसी मिनिस्ट्री आप के पास हो जो इन चीजों को पहले देखे और रीकंस्ट्रक्शन की ओर आप के देश की सम्पत्ति को ले जाये। मैं आप से कहता हूँ कि इस देश की जो असली आवश्यकताएँ हैं वे प्रथम ध्यान मांगती हैं। ऐसी बातों में भ्रूख है, निवास स्थान की बात है, स्वास्थ्य है, शिक्षा है और वस्त्र है। इन चीजों की जरूरत पहले है और कोई बजट

इसी नाप से नापा जायेगा कि आप ने मुल्क की पहली ञ्चरुतें पूरी करने के लिए क्या क्या काम किये। आप की बहुत लम्बी लम्बी स्कीमें हैं, दस पंद्रह साल में उन का नतीजा जाहिर होगा। लेकिन देश आज आप से जवाब चाहता है। छः महीने बाद जब आप इलैक्टोरेट (electorate) के सामने जावेंगे तो वह पूछेंगे कि बताइये हमारी बेकारी कितनी दूर हुई, हमारी भूख कितनी दूर हुई, कितने मकान आप ने हमारे लिए बनाये। आप ने सन् १९४८ में वादा किया था कि आप मजदूरों के लिए दस लाख मकान बनावेंगे। आप से मैं ने गत वर्ष पूछा था कि दस वर्ष के प्रोग्राम (programme) के मुताबिक आप के पास १/५ यानी दस लाख का १/५ अर्थात् दो लाख मकान सन् १९५० में बन जाने चाहियें थे। लेकिन आज आप इस मौजूदा बजट को देखें, तो सिवाय १,२०० मकानों के, जो कि आप ने बम्बई में बनाये हैं, कोई मकान नहीं बने हैं। क्या इस रेट से आप चलेंगे तो आप अपने किसी भी वादे को पूरा कर सकेंगे? पब्लिक (Public) आप को झूठा समझेगी या सच्चा समझेगी यह आप स्वयं निर्णय कर लें। आप कह सकते हैं कि यह कठिनाई है, यह मुश्किल है। लेकिन देश आप की कठिनाइयों को दलील और आप की मुश्किलत की वकालत को नहीं समझ सकता। देश तो यह देखेगा कि आप ने क्या किया; किस तेजी से काम किया और देश की तकलीफें कितनी दूर हुईं।

मैं आप से यह भी कहता हूँ कि दुनियां में रादर (rather) एशिया में—दो ही ऐसे मुल्क हैं इस वक्त जिन पर कि दुनिया की निगाहें लगी हुई हैं। एक है चीन और दूसरा है आप का

हिन्दुस्तान। चीन में डिमाक्रेसी (Democracy) का एक्सपेरिमेंट (Experiment) न होकर, डिक्टेटरशिप (Dictatorship) का एक्सपेरिमेंट हो रहा है। आप अपने यहां सेक्युलर डिमाक्रेसी (Secular Democracy) का एक्सपेरिमेंट कर रहे हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप चाहते हैं कि डिमाक्रेसी का एक्सपेरिमेंट सफल हो तो आपको अपनी नीति में परिवर्तन करना पड़ेगा, वरना, जिस तरह से च्यांगकाई शोक ने अपने देश में डिमाक्रेसी का एक्सपेरिमेंट किया और जिन मुसीबतों का सामना च्यांगकाई शोक को करना पड़ा, मुझे भय है कि उस तरह का खिलवाड़ कर के कहीं आप भी उसी हालत में न आ जायें। [Chairman rings the bell] मैं अब खत्म कर रहा हूँ। अगर आप की डिमाक्रेसी सफल करनी है, आपको यह दिखाना है कि डिक्टेटरशिप के मुकाबले में डिमाक्रेसी ज्यादा सफल हो सकती है तो आप को उसी तेजी, जीबट, बहादुरी और लगन के साथ काम करना पड़ेगा जिस तरह से डिक्टेटरशिप में डिक्टेटरशिप होते हुए भी लोग तेजी के साथ काम करते हैं। मैं आप से कहता हूँ कि डिमाक्रेसी, गणतन्त्र, कोई इतनी प्यारी चीज नहीं है, कोई इतनी बड़ी चीज नहीं है कि लोग भूख के मुकाबले में, बीमारी के मुकाबले में और मकान न होने की हालत के मुकाबले में भी उसे पसन्द करेंगे। इस अवस्था में लोग डिमाक्रेसी को पसन्द करें और डिक्टेटरशिप को रिजेक्ट (reject) कर दें, ऐसी उम्मीद गलत है लोग खुशी से उसी सिस्टम का अपनावेंगे जो जनता की आवश्यकताओं को पूरा करेगा। वह आप की दिक्कतों को महसूस नहीं करेंगे। उनके लिए यह काफी नहीं है कि

[बाबू गोपीनाथ सिंह]

आप बड़े डिमाक्रेट हैं। अस्तु मैं यही चाहता हूँ कि आप ऐसे तरीके पर चलना शुरू करें जिससे दुनिया आपको एक सफल गणतन्त्र समझे और वह तरीके आप छोड़ दें, जिन पर कि आप अभी तक चल रहे हैं।

(English translation of the above speech)

Babu Gopinath Singh (Uttar Pradesh): The Budget of a country is not merely an account of its income and expenditure. It should, to my mind, also contain an account of the people's hopes and expectations, of prosperity and sufferings. Our Minister of Finance is, of course, worthy of his name; he is really 'Deshmukh', that is, spokesman of the country. I feel the Budget presented by him is not going to give to the nation what it was expected to give. The Congress is a revolutionary organisation. Its activities and the results achieved thereby have all been revolutionary. Even now it claims that it is heading towards revolution and wants to bring about a nation-wide revolution and sponsor a classless society. This is what it aims at. May I ask whether the Government are following the same path which our countrymen have been expecting the Congress to follow? I regret to say, as I had said last year also, that they have not come to our expectations.

I would submit to the Government to see for themselves how heavy their administrative and other expenditures are and with what speed they have been rising. The Government had proposed to form an Economy Committee in 1948-49; and now the hon. Minister of Finance has assured us that an economy amounting to Rupees five crores has been made in the present Budget. If you distinguish between the expenditure in 1948-49 and that in the present year, you will see that this economy amounting to Rupees five crores is nothing but a mirage. In fact, the expenditure has increased by 58 crores. To prove the fact as to how much the expenditure has increased, I would only quote an example relating to the Ministry of External Affairs. While last year there were only 43 officers in this Ministry, the number has jumped up to 92 this year. As many as 49 officers have been added. Presuming that four of these officers

were appointed for Bengal on account of a new minority problem being created there and that their appointments are justifiable, how can the appointment of the remaining 45 officers be justified?

I feel the existing Government are strictly following in the footsteps of their predecessors. The house might be remembering what Gandhiji had once said about Lord Reading, that is 'either the system would devour him or he would devour the system.' Such were the words which were said in praise of Lord Reading when he came to India. But now it so appears that 'the system is devouring the Congress Government.' I do not find any remarkable change in that system. Shri Tilak too had once said these words about the services: 'Our services have become our masters and we want to be masters again.' But the present Government is a bureaucratic one. It is a service-ridden Government, and the services are its only masters. The Government are wrong if they consider themselves to be masters of the services. As I have got very little time at my disposal, I will only like to refer to a couple of points more. If the Government sincerely desire to see the progress of their country, the high prestige of the Congress and the prosperity of the nation, it is high time that they should re-arrange the existing Ministries and re-organise the country's administration on entirely new lines. For this it is imperative that as we have got a Defence Ministry to defend ourselves from external attacks, in the same way, there should be one parallel Defence Ministry to deal with the home front so that we may guard ourselves against such internal evil forces as want to destroy us, corrupt the entire society and overthrow our Government. This Ministry may be given charge of corruption in services, black marketing, tax evasion, adulteration in foodstuffs, ghee, edible oils, chemicals and medicines, maintenance of standards, and hoarding. If these subjects are given to one separate Minister and he is conferred with such powers as may enable him not to be governed by the services but to keep a strict control over them, the results will be much encouraging for this country. I do not wish to mention the name of any particular person in this connection, but this much I do think that such a person should possess some necessary qualities required for this purpose, such as, foresight, initiative, moral strength, boldness, courage and the sentiment to act courageously. Some persons may be picked up for this purpose even from the existing Cabinet. Take

for example, Shri Hare Krushna Mahtab, Shri Rafi Ahmad Kidwai and even Shri Tyagi, if he so desires, can do a lot under the present circumstances.

The next step which I consider as essential is that there should be a Ministry in charge of Nationalisation, Rebuilding and Reconstruction. Until and unless the Government nationalise the industries, reorganise the various factors of production, and strengthen the financial foundations, there is no likelihood of India prospering. The danger to the country from the capitalists will not disappear unless the Banks and Insurance Companies are duly nationalised. The capitalists never co-operate with the Government and always indulge in the sabotage activities in as much as they create artificial shortages and surplus of any commodity. That is why we find sometimes the shortage of cotton while at others that of jute or any other particular thing, in spite of the fact that all things exist as usual. There are occasions when they say that they have got overstock of cloth. Again, they also create such circumstances in which we find *Dhoties* being not available even at Rs. forty a pair. I, therefore, want some separate Ministry to look into these matters and direct the country's capital towards reconstruction. The real necessities of this country of ours relate mainly to food, accommodation, health, education and cloth. These are the prime necessities of life. The merits of the Budget shall be judged by the fact as to what measures have been provided for meeting the country's requirements in that regard. The Government have made lofty schemes and it will take about ten to fifteen years for them to complete those plans. The people demand an explanation from the Government. Six months hence, when the elections will be held, the electorate will call upon the Government to tell them as to what steps they have taken to end unemployment and starvation and how many new houses they have built for them. In 1948, the Government had promised to construct as many as a million houses for the labourers. I had submitted last year that according to the ten-year programme, one fifth of the target figure, i.e. two, lacs of houses should have been constructed till then. But we find that excepting 1,200 houses which have been built at Bombay none has so far been constructed. In view of the above fact will it be possible for the Government to fulfil any of the promises made by them? Let them decide for themselves whether the

public will consider them to be truthful or otherwise. The Government may say that there are difficulties and hardships in the way; but the people are not going to appreciate the arguments in favour of their difficulties. They are only concerned with what the Government have done for their betterment and what grievances have been redressed by them.

I may tell the House that there are only two countries in the world—rather in Asia—upon which all eyes of the world are fixed. They are India and China. While in China an experiment of Dictatorship is being made, in India it is the experiment of secular democracy that is being undertaken. If the Government want this experiment of democracy to end in success they should revise their policy lest they should also suffer the same consequences which Chiang Kai Shek had to face while doing an experiment of democracy in his own country. Before I close, I may tell the Government that if they want to make the democracy a success and if they want to prove that democracy as compared to dictatorship is more liable to be successful, they will have to take action with the same promptness, courage and enthusiasm which the people under dictatorship regime use to display. Democracy and Republic are not worth purchasing in the face of our starvation, diseases and shortage of houses. It is incorrect to think that under the present circumstances people will prefer democracy to dictatorship. People, on the other hand, would gladly embrace any such Government as might meet their requirements. They would not appreciate the difficulties which the Government are facing. The mere fact of having a democratic Government would not satisfy them. I therefore keenly desire the Government to follow such a path as may enable them to be recognised as true and triumphant Republican Government and set aside the policy which they have been adhering to so far.

ठाकुर लाल सिंह : श्री अध्यक्ष महोदय :

आज हम अपनी आजादी के तीसरे, तीसरा तो खतम हो गया, चौथे बजट पर बहस कर रहे हैं और हमें खुशी है कि जो हमारी हालत पहले की उससे मुकाबले में आज हम अपने आपको ज्यादा कमजोर नहीं पाते। उस वक्त अन्वेषण जरूर था कि हमारी हालत बहुत कम-

[ठाकुर लाल सिंह]

जोर हो जायगी। लेकिन रिज़र्व फंड (Reserve Fund) के कम होते हुए भी हालत उतनी खराब नहीं है और आज जो नक़शा हमारे सामने हमारे फ़ायनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब ने पेश किया है अगर वह अक्षरशः सत्य उतर जाये और उसके मुताबिक अमल हो जाये तो यकीन है कि जाहिरा तौर पर जरूर ही कामयाब साबित होंगे। लेकिन मैं यह आप से जरूर अर्ज़ करूंगा कि हिन्दुस्तान आज़ाद होने के साथ साथ एक बड़ा देश भी होने के लायक है।

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

हमारे हिन्दुस्तान में अभी तक जो कुछ तरक्की है वह थोड़ी सी जो कुछ दिखाई देती है वह शहरों तक ही महदूद है। यह साफ़ है और इसमें कोई भी शक नहीं है कि असली हिन्दुस्तान अभी तक गांवों में है और अभी बहुत मुद्दत चाहिए जब कि हम हिन्दुस्तान को शहरी हिन्दुस्तान कह सकें।

१.० से ज्यादा फी सदी आबादी हिन्दुस्तान के गांवों के कामों पर निर्भर है लेकिन जो कुछ हम अपनी तरक्की का काम अभी तक कर रहे हैं, और अपना रुपया जो मुल्क की तरक्की में रख रहे हैं, उस में क्या कोई हिस्सा गांवों की तरक्की में भी खर्च किया जा रहा है। असली हिन्दुस्तान अब तक सोता है। यह कया जाता है कि अब हम आज़ाद हैं, लेकिन उस हिन्दुस्तान की जो गरीब जनता है, वह इस आज़ादी को महसूस नहीं कर पाई। वह तो ऐसा समझती है कि हमने परदेसियों की हुकूमत से अपने आप को छुड़ाने के लिए यह तमाम मुसीबतें बर्दाश्त की थीं, लेकिन इस नई हुकूमत में न तो खाने को हमें मिल रहा है और न पहिने को कपड़ा

मिल रहा है। इसका इन्तज़ाम करना कोई बहुत मुश्किल काम नहीं है। हम अपना एक प्लानिंग कमीशन (Planning Commission) बनाते हैं और दूसरे बड़े बड़े काम बड़ी बड़ी स्कीमें अपने सामने लाते हैं, लेकिन छोटी छोटी बातों पर बहुत कम ध्यान देते हैं और इनके लिए कहते हैं कि हमारे पास रुपया नहीं है।

अभी हमारे एक मित्र ने कहा कि लोनस् (Loans) जो फ्लोट (float) होते हैं तो अब लोंगों का भरोसा हमारी तरफ़ नहीं है, हमारी गवर्नमेंट की तरफ़ कम है और काफी रुपया हमको नहीं मिलता। हम को चाहिए कि छोटी स्कीमों की तरफ़ ध्यान दें और कोऑपरेटिव सिस्टम (Cooperative System) या किसी दूसरे तरीके से हम गांवों में ले जायं, तो हमें भरोसा है कि हमको गांवों से कुछ एक करोड़ रुपया उन स्कीमों को चलाने के लिए मिल सकता है और वह रुपया उन्हीं गांव वालों से लेकर उन्हीं की तरक्की में लगा दिया जाय और उस रुपया से वहां ऐसे ऐसे काम खोले जायं, जिस से कि वह गांव वाले अपनी तरक्की कर सकें। जहां तक कपड़े की कमी का सवाल है, तो उस के लिए तो हमारे गांधी जी ने पहले ही समझ लिया था कि इस के हल का एक मात्र उपाय खादी के व्यवसाय को प्रोत्साहन देना है, खादी का देश भर में घर घर में प्रचार करना है और वह समझते थे कि अगर इस खादी के काम को फिर से जिन्दा नहीं किया गया तो एक दिन ऐसा आने वाला है कि हमें एक चिन्दी के लिए भी कपड़ा नहीं मिल पायेगा। अफ़सोस हम ने उन की बात की न माना और आज हम वह बुरा दिन

देख रहे हैं। हमारे गांवों में चरखे थे और हैं और और भी चरखे आसानी से बन सकते हैं और गांव में खादी तैयार की जा सकती है, रई काफ़ी गांवों में मौजूद है और अगर उसके डेवलपमेंट (development) के लिए खादी के काम को तरक्की करने के लिए अगर कुछ करोड़ रुपया हम सर्फ़ कर दें, तो यह मिल वालों की जो आज मुसीबत है, कपड़े की किल्लत है और ब्लैक मारकेटिंग (Black Marketing) का रोना है और दूसरी तमाम मुसीबतें हैं वह सब आसानी से हल की जा सकती हैं।

मैं इस का तरफ़दार नहीं कि भुल्क पर और ज्यादा टैक्स लगाया जाय। मुश्किल यह है कि जिनके सिर पर हिन्दुस्तान का शासन चलाने का भार है, वह बहुत ऊंची मंजिल पर हैं और आम हिन्दुस्तान की जनता उनके बनिस्बत बहुत निचली मंजिल पर है। अभी परसों यहां पर एक फ़िल्म दिखाया गया था कि इंग्लैंड की पार्लियामेंट किस तरह बैठती है और हम सबन उस फ़िल्म को देखा। उस में जान नाम का एक शरूस् आपने देखा कि फावड़े से अपने खेत में कोई चीज़ खोद रहा है, और उसको पार्लियामेंट का मेम्बर बनाया जाता है। वह वहां खेती की हालत से वाकिफ़ है, वह वहां के आदमियों में रहता है और वह वहां पार्लियामेंट में अपने आदमियों की हालत को ठीक तरह से रखता है और इस वजह से वह कामयाब भी होता है। लेकिन आज जो हमारे ऊपर गवर्नमेंट है, उसमें मुमकिन है कुछ लोग पिछले जमाने में पब्लिक (public) के साथ में टच (touch) में रहे होंगे, लेकिन आज उनका सम्बन्ध जनता से नहीं रह पाया है, और वह उन के दुःख, दर्द को नहीं समझ पा रहे हैं।

इंग्लैंड की पार्लियामेंट और डेमोक्रेसि (democracy) पर हम चल रहे हैं और उस को अनुकरण कर रहे हैं, ऐसा बताते हैं और जिनकी कि हमने नकल की है, वहां की पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर आज भी किसान हैं और किसान अपने आपको बतलाते हैं और किसानों की भलाई के वास्ते बात करते हैं, लेकिन अफसोस की बात है कि यहाँ हिन्दुस्तान में किसानों की भलाई के वास्ते कुछ भी सोचा नहीं जाता और कुछ भी नहीं किया जाता।

अंग्रेजी राज्यकाल में जब अंग्रेजी हुकूमत थी, तो यहां की सर्विसेज (services) नौकर थे, वह यह महसूस करते थे कि हुकूमत हम से ज्यादा अवलमन्द है और अपने काम में होशियार है और वगैर कोई चू चरा किये हुये जिघर वह लोग नकेल घुमाते थे, घुमते थे। लेकिन मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि वहाँ ऐसा समझने लगे हैं कि अब मामला उलट गया है और मुझ से कुछ आई० सी० एस० (I.C.S.) साहबान से बात हुई और ऐसा जान पड़ा कि वह लोग अपने को ज्यादा अवलमन्द समझते हैं, हालांकि यह ठीक नहीं है, केवल ज्यादा पढ़ लेने से और डिग्री प्राप्त कर लेने से ही अवलमन्दी नहीं आती जब तक पूर्व तजुर्बा न प्राप्त हो। अक्ल और इल्म अब तक यह दोनों साथ साथ नहीं चलते, तब तक भलाई नहीं हो सकती। और जब तक नौकरों और गवर्नमेंट में रियल कोऑर्डिनेशन (real co-ordination) और कोआपरेशन (co-operation) नहीं होता और सर्विसेज सेवा भाव से काम न करें, तब तक भारत का कल्याण नहीं हो सकता। सर्विसेज को भारत की भलाई के लिये नीचे आना है, नीचे वालों की हालत पर उस स्तर पर उतरना है और उस पर काम करना चाहिये।

[ठाकुर लाल सिंह]

यह ठीक है कि हम पर टैक्स बढ़ा और ज्यादातर मिडिल क्लास (middle class) वालों को उसका भार उठाना पड़ता है। मुझे तो खुशी है कि कर तम्बाकू और इसी किस्म की दूसरी नशीली चीजों पर बढ़ाया गया है और मुझे कुछ अच्छा नहीं लगा जब मैंने यह सुना कि मेरे कुछ दोस्तों ने उसका विरोध किया। मैं तो चाहता था कि एक सिगरेट दो दो आने और चार चार आने में बिके, और यह जो पीने वाले हैं अगर उनके पास इतना पैसा है तो वह अपना पैसा कुर्बान करें और यह ठीक है कि बहुत से ऐसे पियक्कड़ मिलेंगे जो इतनी महंगी बिकने पर भी नहीं छोड़ेंगे। तो ऐसे लोगों की मुझे कोई परवाह नहीं। जब शराबी को शराब पीने की आदत हो जाती है तो वह अपने बच्चों और स्त्री को घर में भूखा छोड़ कर शराबखाने में पीने के खातिर जाता है और मैं तो यहां तक जाऊंगा कि जिसको दो सौ रुपये से ज्यादा तनख्वाह मिले, अगर उसको सिग्रेट पीता हुआ देखा जाय, तो उसकी पे (pay) कट (cut) कर दी जाये, उसको कोई हक नहीं है कि वह ऐसी ऐयाशी में मुबतिला हो। आज हिन्दुस्तान जब ऐसी मुसीबत से गुजर रहा है, तो होटल और रेस्टोरेटन्स (Restaurants) में बार (Bar) बने हुये हैं। मैं एक दिन एक सिनेमा में गया और वहां सिनेमा के पास एक बार है, मुझे प्यास लगी, तो वहां लिखा था कि ओनली टिकट होल्डर्स (Ticket holders only) यहाँ शराब पी सकते हैं और वहां मैंने बड़े बड़े आदमी बैठे हुये शराब पीते देखे और ऐसे आदमियों को कोई हक नहीं है कि वह हमसे ज्यादा तनख्वाह लें और ऐसे कामों में और ऐसी बेहूदा बातों में रुपया बर्बाद करें। और मैं तो समझता हूँ कि शराब जैसे नशे

पर अगर २००, ३०० फी सदी टैक्स भी लगाया जाता तो बुरा न था। एक दूसरी बात आज जो यह प्राहिबिशन (Prohibition) किया गया है, तो मुझे मालूम पड़ा है कि उस की वजह से अब हर एक घर में शराब की भट्टी बन गई है और जिनके बड़े लम्बे चौड़े मकान हैं, वह वहां उसको बनाते हैं और इस्तेमाल करते हैं, तो ऐसे प्राहिबिशन से कोई फायदा नहीं और इसके बजाय तो शराब पर बहुत ज्यादा टैक्स लगा दिया जाये और शराब की मद से जो सरकार को आमदनी हो सकती है, उसको क्यों न लिया जाये और यह टैक्स जितना ज्यादा लगाया जाये उतना अच्छा है।

और यह प्लानिंग कमीशन जो बन रहा है, मैं समझता हूँ कि बड़ी बड़ी स्कीमों के अलावा वह हमारी छोटी छोटी लेकिन नितान्त आवश्यक स्कीमों और बातों पर ध्यान देगा और जिन पर कि देश की तरक्की निर्भर करती है। अभी मैंने कल पढ़ा कि विनोबा भावे ने पैदल हैदराबाद की यात्रा आरम्भ कर दी है और बारह मील रोज वह पैदल चलेंगे। उनका ऐसा करने का मकसद यह है कि जनता को यह बतलायें और उसके दिल पर यह प्रभाव डालें कि देखो इस वक्त अब रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम की नितान्त आवश्यकता है और मुझे पूरी उम्मीद है कि जनता उस काम से असर लेगी और प्रभावित होगी, लेकिन देखना तो यह है कि उससे हमारे यहां की सरकार में जो हमारे कर्णधार हैं, वह भी प्रभावित होते हैं या नहीं।

वह कहां तक अपना रुपया कांस्ट्रक्टिव वर्क (Constructive work) के लिये देंगे। भारत सेवा संघ अभी नया शुरू किया गया है। वह सब कुछ कर सकता है लेकिन यहां तो यह हाल है कि जब तक ऊपर नहीं आते हैं और जब तक एडमिनि-

स्ट्रेशन (administration) हाथ में नहीं आता है तब तक कांस्ट्रक्टिव वर्क का नाम लेते हैं और यहां आने के बाद सब कुछ भूल जाते हैं और उसकी तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता। याद रखिये कि हिन्दुस्तान के गांवों को जो कि हिन्दुस्तान की जान है, अगर जाग्रत न किया गया तो वह अपने आप जाग्रत हो जायेंगे।

म कांग्रेस को इसलिये अच्छा नहीं समझता हूं क्योंकि मैं उसमें हूँ लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान में जितनी सस्थायें हैं उन में से मेरी राय में कांग्रेस ही एक ऐसी संस्था है कि जिसमें लायक से लायक और नेक से नेक आदमी मौजूद हैं। सिर्फ कोआरडिनेशन की तरफ तबज्जह न देने की वजह से यह सब खराबियां हो रही हैं। वरना कोई वजह नहीं है कि यह खराबियां रह जायें अगर कांग्रेस वाले और सरविस वाले एक दूसरे के साथ कोआरडिनेट करें। हम में इनफीरियारिटी कम्प्लेक्स (Inferiority Complex) नहीं होना चाहिये कि हम आई० सी० एस० से अच्छे नहीं हैं, और आई० सी० एस० को भी यह समझना चाहिये कि हिन्दुस्तान सब का है। अगर देश में खराबी होगी तो उनकी भी हालत अच्छी नहीं रहेगी। आगे इतनी सुलझी हुई गवर्नमेंट होने की आशा नहीं है। जो भी किया जा रहा है वह अच्छा है, अच्छी अच्छी स्पीचेज (speeches) हो रही हैं। लेकिन मैं देशमुख साहब से यह प्रार्थना करूंगा कि अगर वह इस बजट में से कहीं से बचा कर विलेज इंडस्ट्रीज (Village Industries) पर कुछ खर्च कर सकें, गांव वालों को उठाने की तरफ, उनकी ऐजुकेशन (Education) और हेल्थ (Health) की तरफ कुछ दे सकें तो उन को फिर इतना रुपया प्रोज पर खर्च नहीं करना होगा। गांव का हर आदमी सिपाही होगा और

बक्त आन पर वह देश के लिये तैयार रहेगा। यह नहीं होगा कि मुसीबत के वक्त हमें दो तरफ अपना मोर्चा बनाना पड़े, एक तो देश में भुखमरी की वजह से जो आफत पैदा होगी उसको बचाने के लिये और दूसरा दुश्मन से बचाने के लिये।

तालीम पर और मंडीकल (medical) पर बहुत कम ध्यान दिया गया है। भोपाल पहले ही से बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ है। पारसाल दो लाख रुपया सोशल ऐजुकेशन (Social education) के लिये मंजूर किया गया था उसी तरह से जैसा कि दिल्ली में दिया जाता है। मुझे बड़ी खुशी हुई। मैं अपने डाइरेक्टर को लेकर यहां आया और दिल्ली के गांव गांव में घूमा और सोचा कि दो लाख रुपया यह मिल जायेगा और कुछ रुपया हम इकट्ठा करके कुछ काम करेंगे। मैं यहां के डाइरेक्टर से भी मिला। और अपने गांव वालों से कहा कि तुम्हारे लिये यह करेंगे। लेकिन एक पैसा नहीं मिला। इस साल भी यह बहुत कम कर दिया गया है। यूनीवर्सिटीज (Universities) को तो रुपया दिया जाता है, पर अगर आप गांव की शिक्षा के लिये, सोशल ऐजुकेशन के लिये कुछ कर सकें तो हिन्दुस्तान आपका ममनून होगा इसलिये कि आप हिन्दुस्तान को एक बड़ी मुसीबत से जो शायद आगे आने वाली है बचा सकें।

(English translation of the above speech)

Thakur Lal Singh (Bhopal): Sir, Today we are debating on our third free budget, nay the fourth, for the third is done with already, and we are glad to find that we are not worse off now than we were before, for we did have an apprehension then that our position was going to deteriorate. But in spite of the fact that our reserve fund is low our position is not so bad, and if the picture drawn for us by the hon. Minister of Finance were to take shape fully and were to be followed up in action we are sure that, to all appearances, our

[Thakur Lal Singh]

success will be a proved fact. With all that, however, I must say that it is not enough for India just to be a free country; it must also be a great country.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair.]

The progress that India has made thus far is scant progress. Whatever progress we discern is limited to the cities only. It is a patent fact, beyond all shadow of doubt, that real India is still to be seen in the villages and it is still going to take a long time before India comes to connote urban India. More than seventy per cent. of our population depends for a living on activities carried on in the villages. But, in pushing forth our development programme so far, have we been expending any portion of the funds that we have earmarked for such development, on the development of the villages? Real India still sleeps. It is said we are free now but the poor masses of India have not yet been able to experience that feeling of freedom. They say they suffered all that in order to free themselves from foreign domination but that under the new regime they are getting neither food to eat nor clothes to wear. This is not very difficult to manage. We appoint a Planning Commission and also formulate big plans and schemes but pay little attention to the trifles which we dismiss with the plea that we have no funds.

One of my friends remarked just now in regard to the loans that are floated by us that people do not trust us any longer, that their faith in our Government has waned, that we have been unable to secure enough money and that we had better turn our attention to smaller schemes and approach the villages by means of the co-operative system or by some other means for, in that case, we could obtain a few crores of rupees from the villages for putting these schemes into practice. That money which is to be obtained from the village people should be spent on their own uplift. Works should be started with the help of that money which might help them in their own advancement. In so far as the question of cloth shortage goes it has already been laid down by Gandhiji that the one and only remedy is to encourage *khadi* and to carry the message of *khadi* to every home in the country. He had also realized that if *khadi* was not revived a day would come when we would not be able to get cloth for our barest needs. What a pity we did not listen to his advice

and today we are witnessing the evil day. Spinning wheels were and still are available in our villages. More of them can be made easily and *khadi* can be produced in the villages. Cotton is available in plenty in the villages. If, for its development, for giving a fillip to *khadi*, we were to spend a few crores of rupees we could easily find a solution to the problems which are today facing the millowners, the shortage of cloth, the curse of the blackmarket and the various other ills.

I am not in favour of the country being burdened with any more taxes. The difficulty is that those who are responsible for the running of the Government of India live on a very high strata while the general masses of India live on a much lower plane comparatively. Day before yesterday we were shown here a film showing the working of the British Parliament. We all saw that film. We saw therein a man named John, working in his field with a shovel. He gets elected to the Parliament. He is conversant with the prevailing agricultural conditions for he lives among the people. He is thus able to represent properly the case of his constituents and is on that account successful. In the case of our Government, however, although there may be some among them who might have been in touch with the public once, they no longer have any contact with the people and are no longer in a position to appreciate their difficulties or realize their sufferings. We are said to follow the British Parliament and the British democratic pattern. But among the Members of the Parliament, whose traditions we have adopted, there are farmers even today. They call themselves farmers and talk about their welfare but it is a pity that here in India nothing is thought or done about the farmers.

During the British regime people in the services regarded themselves as servants, they had the feeling that the Government was wiser than themselves and knew its business. Accordingly, they used to obey orders tacitly. I regret to say, however, that they have come to feel that things have changed now. I happened to talk with some I.C.S. officers and got the impression that those people regard themselves wiser, although this is not a fact. Wisdom does not come merely with the acquisition of high academic qualifications and a degree unless they are coupled with experience. Wisdom and education must go hand in hand if good results are to be obtained. Until the Government and its servants act in real co-

ordination and co-operation with one another and until people in the services discharge their duties in a spirit of service India cannot attain her salvation. The services have got to step down a bit in the interest of India's welfare. They have got to step down to the lower plane of the common man and work at that level.

It is true that our taxes have been increased and the burden has fallen mainly on the shoulders of the middle class. I am glad the increase has been made in respect of tobacco and other intoxicants of that kind and I am unable to appreciate the attitude of some of my friends who have opposed this. I should indeed be glad if cigarettes come to be sold at two to four annas a piece. As for the drunkards, if they happen to possess money in such abundance let them sacrifice it. And, the fact is that you would find plenty of addicts who would not give it up even when it is sold so dear. For people of that type I have scant regard. When a person becomes addicted to drinking he would let his wife and children starve at home and himself go to the tavern for a drink. I would go even so far as to say that if anyone whose salary exceeds two hundred rupees is seen smoking a cut should be made in his pay for he has no right to indulge in a luxury of that kind. Today when India is passing through such difficult times you find hotels and restaurants provided with bars. Once I happened to go to a cinema and as I felt thirsty I went along to the bar attached to it. A notice was displayed there, 'Only ticket-holders can drink here'. There I found big fellows sitting and drinking. Now, these fellows have no right to be paid higher salaries than others if they are to waste their money on such inanities. I even hold that even if a 200 or 300 per cent. tax had been levied on a thing like wine there would have been nothing wrong in it. I am told that with the introduction of prohibition distillation of liquor is now going on in every home, that people who have big and extensive houses, have the distillation done there. What is the good of a prohibition of that kind? Instead, why not impose a very heavy tax on liquor and thus have the income that can be obtained on that account. And, let this tax be as high as possible.

As for the Planning Commission that has been appointed, I hope that besides attending to the big schemes it would also consider our small but extremely essential schemes on which depends the future advancement of the country. I read only yesterday that Shri Vinoba Bhave has started on a

tour of Hyderabad. He would be doing twelve miles daily on foot. His aim in doing so is to impress upon the people the great necessity of constructive work. I am fully confident that the people would be impressed by this but the point is will there be any effect on the people in our Government, who are the arbiters of our fate. How far are they going to utilize their money for constructive work? The Bharat Sewa Sangh is a newly started organisation. It can achieve anything. But the tendencies are such that they talk of constructive work only so long as they do not get a lift and the administration falls into their hands, but as soon as they find themselves here they forget all about it and pay no attention to it. Do not forget that if awakening is not brought to the villages of India, which are her very soul, they would wake up by themselves.

I do not like Congress just for the reason that I am a Member of it but because I think that out of all the organisations in India this is the only one which has the finest and the ablest persons in it. All our troubles are due to the fact that enough attention is not paid to co-ordination for if there were co-ordination as between the Congressmen and the services these troubles would be no more. We must not suffer from any inferiority complex that we are not better than the I.C.S. people and the I.C.S. people must also realize that India belongs to all of us. If there is trouble in the country they too are not going to continue well-off. Any better-ordered Government is difficult to anticipate. Whatever is being done is good. The speeches being delivered are nice. But I would appeal to Shri Deshmukh that if he can find some money somewhere in this Budget to be spent on village industries, on rural uplift, and on their health and education, he need not in that case spend so much on defence. Every man in the village would then be a soldier and be ever ready to serve his country in time of need. We would not in that case have to fight on two fronts, viz., to combat the misery of starvation that would come in the wake of a war and also to beat off the enemy from without.

Very little attention has been paid towards education and medical relief. Bhopal is already a very much backward area. Last year two lakhs of rupees were sanctioned for social education in the same way as in the case of Delhi. I was greatly pleased. I came here along with our Director and toured all the villages of Delhi. I thought to myself here were two lakhs:

[Thakur Lal Singh]

of rupees to which we could add by collecting subscriptions and then we could do something. I also met the Director here. I even announced to people in my village that we were going to do such and such things for them. But we did not get a single penny. This year the amount has been very much reduced. Money is of course granted to the universities but India would be obliged to you if you could do something for education in the villages, for social education, for that way you might save India from a possibly impending catastrophe and a serious one too.

Shri Mirza (Hyderabad): The hon. the Finance Minister has introduced a new technique in presenting his Budget. He has combined capital and revenue expenditure and removed some items from capital account to revenue account. This is not the orthodox way and there are some people who see great danger in such combination. They have warned him that it is not wise, and sometimes dangerous, to mix business letters with love letters and that they should be in separate compartments. Anyway, I am not really very much worried about the technique of the Budget, but I have been trying to see what was at the back of the hon. the Finance Minister's mind when he was framing his Budget. Because, Budget is not a housewife's account book: it has not only to balance the revenue and the expenditure of a country but at the same time to plan and spend in such a way that it leads to greater welfare of the country as a whole. And after listening to his speech very carefully I feel that two considerations that influenced him were, one, inflation, and the other, capital formation. The havoc that inflation has caused here and elsewhere is well-known and I need not repeat it. To meet inflation there are open only three ways. Either he must withdraw the currency from circulation or reduce the purchasing power of the people, or increase production so that it comes to a par with the money in circulation, or, the third way is to withdraw the currency as a whole and introduce new currency as was done in some countries in Europe and even in Asia.

The last method is a drastic one and rarely adopted except in case of a crisis at the time when inflation is out of hand. So, naturally, he could not resort to that. As regards increasing of production, the time at my disposal is not sufficient to go into the reasons why production is not gaining ground.

But one thing is quite obvious that all through the war we have been accumulating currency and having no scope for expanding our production machinery. Naturally, therefore, any amount of increase in the productive capacity of the present machinery will not suffice to meet the large currency that is in circulation in the country. Therefore, the only thing left for him was to reduce the purchasing capacity of the people and also combine with it a certain amount of expenditure so that the production may rise in the future.

In doing this he has to fall back on the common people because, after all, about seventy per cent. of our people are agriculturists. And it is pure and simple mathematics that when the majority is of the poor people the supply also has to come from that class. Everyone has got sympathy with the poor people and Dr. Syama-prasad Mookerjee raised a very lurid picture of the cruelty and high-handedness of the Finance Minister in taxing the poor people. While doing that he suggested measures like salt duty, doing away with prohibition and something of that kind, and also of course death duties about which he knows full well as a lawyer that there are difficulties in the way. And I think if he gives his strong support in getting through those pieces of legislation which are necessary before introducing those duties, he will have his dream of death duties realized. Salt duty, doing away with prohibition and things like that— are they not taxes on the poor? How is he going to escape from the dilemma? You have got to give to the poor classes the money that you want to get from them. The essential thing to remember is this that while you get money from the people it must be ploughed back in such a way that the benefits of the expenditure of the money that you get from the poor go back to the poor. It is not that we are getting money from the poor. The more important thing is whether we are giving the money back to the poor and the working classes. Even the Labour Government in England had to tax the poor man's beer. You cannot escape from that position. It is no use speaking to the gallery when the serious question of the Budget of a big country is being considered. Therefore, while supporting the Budget proposals of the Finance Minister I also would like to press at this juncture that there is a point of view which says that you must cut down expenditure and postpone development programmes, take short term projects and let the long term projects wait for a while. To that my answer

is this: that the longer you postpone the development programme, the more difficult it would be for you to finance it, because, after all how are you going to finance the development programme? It is only through your savings, and savings in the last analysis is the difference between the production of goods and the consumption of goods. It is a slow process and if your national income is to be increased, it must increase at such a pace as to cope with the increase in population; not only with the increase of population but the simultaneous increase for a higher standard of living. So your national income cannot go on at that rate which is desirable for financing development programmes in the future. The sooner you get determined to sacrifice and go through all the privations that are necessary and the country is made to realize that it is a national problem and it is a national emergency, and it is for the welfare not only of this country but to all our children that we are taking this step, the better for all of us.

While on this subject of inflation, I would like to say a few words about corruption. There has been a lot of talk not only in this House but also in the streets of India that there is corruption, corruption everywhere but what I would like the House to take into account is this, that this talk of corruption is really doing greater damage than good which the sponsors are seeking from their declarations. The existence of a certain amount of corruption is bad, but the existence of an atmosphere that there is corruption everywhere is really worse. If you take a tour of countries of Europe after the first World War or after this War where there has been inflation, you will find that the morality and also corrupt practices differ from country to country and the degree to which they differ is equal to the degree of the difference in the inflation of those countries. I have seen it myself that when Germany's mark was running into millions, the morale of the country was at its lowest ebb; there was nothing that we could not buy in that country, but the moment the Renten mark was introduced and the currency was stabilized, it was as if by magic that the character of the whole people, the attitude of the whole people changed and the corruption that existed before disappeared overnight. If you handle this question of inflation by determination, you will find that a host of your problems will be solved and all this corruption that you talk so much today will to a great extent disappear.

The other thing is the capital formation. We have heard a great deal about the capital being shy, because direct taxation has increased. We talk about nationalization; then again capital is not forthcoming; it is shy; we reduce direct taxes and again capital is shy; we go and proclaim that we do not wish to nationalize this industry and that industry and give all assurances, but still capital is shy. I wonder how long will the Finance Minister woo this shy maiden with a scented bouquet. Do you not think it is time that we tame the shrew with a scented whip? Are there not other reasons for this shyness of capital. Is it not that capital is finding better investment elsewhere? Is the Finance Minister not aware of the amount of money that goes for financing black market? Is the Finance Minister not aware that a number of rulers and well-to-do classes who were the investors before Independence have not only transferred—I would say smuggled their wealth—abroad? Is the Finance Minister not aware that a great deal of dollar accumulations are being made by the most unscrupulous merchants taking advantage of the internal and external prices of exported goods? How does he propose to canalize this accumulated wealth abroad and in undesirable places?

I will come to the expenditure side and the one item that is really important is that of Defence. We are spending about more than half of our revenue in financing Defence. Naturally any economy must look towards that head. Before Independence India had natural frontiers. After the tragic partition of the country, we have reduced our resources, but we have increased our frontiers. Not only we have increased our frontiers but the frontiers that we have got now are more vulnerable than before. Naturally our Defence requirements have increased. So to reduce the Defence expenditure, we can only look towards our Prime Minister because on his foreign policy and on the support that his foreign policy gets from outside and this country will depend the reduction or the decrease of expenditure on Defence. So, I think we must concentrate more on united effort and united outlook and support wholeheartedly the foreign policy of the Prime Minister, because division here would mean greater expenditure on Defence.

Besides, after all Defence expenditure is unproductive expenditure. Can we not make this productive? Do not the Sappers and Miners in the army in war time lay roads and so on? Can we not utilise our army for doing similar work in peace-time? I think

[Shri Mirza]

there is room for some effort to be made in this direction.

There is a great deal of talk about economy. The Estimates Committee has given us a lot of information, but I say with great hesitation—there are quite a number of important people on the Estimates Committee—I do not agree with their approach. If you have got Rs. 100 crores to spend and you want Rs. 25 crores saving, you can just take a knife and cut 25 per cent. off and that is a very simple thing to do. But whenever economy is tried, I have found that it is only the poor clerks and the poor peons that get retrenched. Apart from that when people have taken Government service, they enter it because of a sense of security that it gives them and if you take that very thing away, then really you are doing a great wrong. After all, it is the purpose of the State to find full employment for every citizen of the country and that is the ideal we have to aim at and there are countries who have already done that. That is not the reason that we should all the time talk of economy only in terms of men. You can do economy in terms of goods, if you like, but unless you provide alternative employment to these people, that is those who come below Rs. 500, I think that measure will not be justified. Besides, it is the middle class, which really forms the backbone of the country, which suffers. While we are talking of economy, in Hyderabad, we have got a dual administration. We have got two tahsildars, two talukdars and even among the Ministers, there are four I.C.S. men and four Congressmen. We are spending crores which could easily be saved. Of course, it is a matter for the State; but the question of economy is one which covers the whole country. We are being governed by twins.

One last thing and I have finished. While on the question of economy, people talk about austerity. One has to realise that, after all, this reduction of salaries and fixing the salaries of Ministers at Rs. 500, and so on, are mere shibboleths. Unless they represent some attitude of mind, they have no meaning whatsoever. Austerity, after all, is a hard thing; it is a thing which has some compulsion about it. It is an unpleasant thing; it is a thing which does not last long. What is required in this country is not austerity, but asceticism. It is pleasant, it is voluntary. While austerity will last for a short time, asceticism will last a life time. It is that attitude which Mahatma Gandhi realised because he knew the Indian mind. To the Indian mind asceticism is associated with goodness. You should make an appeal

on the score of asceticism and get rid of all this pomp and show. I recognise that this pomp had a place in the Government of the country and it did play an important part. But, those attitudes are changing and new ideologies are working and it does not serve the same purpose for Government as it did once upon a time. I would appeal especially to the leaders here who can guide the country. If you start asceticism and create in the country a consciousness of sacrificing and building up the whole country as one people, I think we will go a long way.

श्री एम० पी० सिन्हा : माननीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप का बहुत ही शुक्रगुजार हूँ, कृतज्ञ हूँ, कि आप ने मुझे अपने विचारों को रखने का मौका दिया है। लेकिन साथ ही साथ जिस तरह से मैं आप को धन्यवाद दे रहा हूँ, मैं माननीय फायनेंस मिनिस्टर (Finance Minister) साहब के बजट (Budget) का स्वागत करने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ और वह इसलिए कि जिस देश में भूख की ज्वाला से इतने लोग मरते हों, जिस देश के लोगों को कपड़े न मिलते हों, वहाँ इस बजट का स्वागत कैसे हो। मैं सच्ची घटनाओं का बयान कर रहा हूँ कि अभी हाल ही में जिस जिले के रहने वाले भारतवर्ष की रिपब्लिक (Republic) के प्रेसीडेंट (President) साहब हैं, डाक्टर राजेन्द्र प्रसाद साहब, उस जिले में कफ़न के लिए भी कपड़ा नहीं मिला।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : कौन जिला ?

श्री एम० पी० सिन्हा : छपरा जिला। मैं बिहार प्रांत का रहने वाला हूँ और वहाँ मरदे को कफ़न के लिए कफ़न का कपड़ा भी नहीं मिला। मैं जब दस रोज पहले पटना से यहाँ आ रहा था तो बहुत से लोग मेरे पास आये। वह भूखे थे, उन की आँखें भूख की ज्वाला से धँसी हुई थीं, उन की हड्डियाँ उभरी हुई थीं,

जन के पैरों में छाले पड़े हुए थे, उन की देह पर वस्त्र नहीं था और वह कराह रहे थे। उन्होंने मुझ से कहा कि हमारी सरकार को क्रायम हुए तीन साल से ज्यादा वक्त गुजर गया लेकिन क्या आम जनता की तकलीफें और मुसीबतें रफा हुईं? उन्होंने मुझ से यह प्रश्न पूछा और कहा कि यदि तुम हमारे रिप्रेजेंटेटिव (Representative) हो तो हाउस आफ् पार्लियामेंट (House of the Parliament) में जा कर हमारे विचारों को हाउस के सामने रखो। ओर आज मैं एक जिम्मेवार व्यक्ति की हैसियत से एक मेम्बर आफ् दी पार्लियामेंट (Member of the Parliament) की हैसियत से, एक जिम्मेदार मेम्बर आफ् पार्लियामेंट की हैसियत से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज देश में जितना असन्तोष फैला हुआ है, जितना अविश्वास फैला हुआ है, मैं ने कभी इतनी असन्तोष और अविश्वास की भावनायें नहीं देखी थीं। भूख की ज्वाला के कारण लोग परेशान हो रहे हैं, लोगों की हालत जानवरों की हालत हो रही है। आप मुझे माफ् करेंगे यह कहने के लिए कि हम तो यहां वन महोत्सव मनाने के काम में लगे हुए थे, हालांकि वन महोत्सव के काम को बहुत दिन गुजर गये। लेकिन फिर भी मैं कहूंगा कि अगर उस वक्त आप प्लानिंग (Planning) करते, कोई स्कीम (Scheme) लाते और वन महोत्सव न मना कर आम जनता की नब्ज को देखते, उस के दिल की धड़कनों को मापते, तो मैं कहता हूँ कि जितने लोग मर रहे हैं उतने लोग नहीं मरते। किन्तु आप ने ऐसा काम नहीं किया। आज आप के सामने देश में जिस तरह से ब्लैक मार्केटिंग (Blackmarketing)

और प्रीफ़ीटियरिंग (Profiteering) का बाजार गर्म है, न सिर्फ़ वस्तुओं के साथ बल्कि ह्यमन लाइव्ज (Human Lives) के साथ जिस तरह ब्लैक मार्केटिंग की जा रही है, यह हमारे लिए चिन्तनीय और शोचनीय विषय है। आज देश रसातल की ओर जा रहा है और इसे हमें रोकना ही है। मैं निहायत अदब के साथ कहूंगा कि यद्यपि हमें हमारे माननीय अर्थ मंत्री साहब प्रिय हैं, वह हमारे मित्र हैं, लेकिन जनता हमें उन से ज्यादा प्रिय है। इसलिए मैं यह कहूंगा कि आज आप का और हम सभी का यह फ़र्ज हो जाता है कि हम जनता की आवश्यकताओं को, उस की जरूरियात को, पूरी करने की कोशिश करें। और यदि हम उन को पूरा करने की कोशिश नहीं करेंगे तो मैं हाउस से कह देना चाहता हूँ कि आप उस ज्वालामुखी के तट पर बैठे हुए हैं, वालकैनो (Valcano) के तट पर बैठे हुए हैं कि वह कभी भी भभक पड़े। जिस तरह से आज देश में असन्तोष की ज्वाला फैल रही है, जिस तरह से सरकार के प्रति अविश्वास हो रहा है, जिस तरह से हम गालियां सुन रहे हैं, जिधर हम जाते हैं उधर ही हमें गालियां दी जा रही हैं, तो मैं कहूंगा कि ऐसी हालत में सरकार को सजग हो कर काम करना चाहिए। मुझे भय है कि कहीं जनता की यह ज्वाला इतनी न भभके कि जो मौजूदा सरकार है उस को शायद कहीं अलग न होना पड़े।

आज मैं ने ब्लैक मार्केटिंग और प्रीफ़ीटियरिंग का जिक्र किया है। मैं निहायत अदब के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि इतनी कोशिशों के बाद भी आप

[श्री ऐम० पी० सिन्हा]

इसे बन्द नहीं कर सके। आप अपने पड़ोसी राष्ट्र चीन को देखें। अभी हाल ही में एक वर्ष पूर्व जहाँ ब्लैक मार्केटिंग और प्रोफीटियरिंग का बाजार गर्म था वहाँ जब सरकार बदली तो ब्लैक मार्केटिंग और प्रोफीटियरिंग रुक गयी और इनफ्लेशन (Inflation) गायब हो गया। क्यों? साढ़े तीन वर्ष के अन्दर जब से हमारी सरकार कायम हुई हम अभी तक इस को रोकने में सफल नहीं हो सके। मैं निहायत अदब के साथ कहूंगा कि जब तक आप सोशियल स्ट्रक्चर (Social Structure) को, होल सोशियल स्ट्रक्चर (Whole Social Structure) को नहीं बदल देते हैं, जब तक आप आर्थिक विषमता को दूर नहीं करते हैं, जब तक आप आर्थिक समता नहीं लाते हैं, जब तक आप इन कटुताओं को नहीं मिटा देते हैं, जब तक आप जनता के प्रिय भाजन नहीं होते हैं, और जब तक आप सिविल लिबर्टीज (Civil liberties) के नियमों का उल्लंघन करते हैं, और प्रिवेंटिव डिटेंशन बिल (Preventive Detention Bill) के जरिए उन लोगों के विरुद्ध कार्रवाई करते हैं—मैं शायद कुछ कटु हो रहा हूँ लेकिन कहना ही पड़ता है—जो लोग सिविल लिबर्टीज के हिमायती हैं, जो लोग ब्लैक मार्केटिंग और प्रोफीटियरिंग को रोकना चाहते हैं, उन्हें डर है और भय है, आशंका है कि कहीं बही प्रिवेंटिव डिटेंशन बिल उन्हीं पर न लाद दिया जाये। जब तक यह सब बातें हैं, तब तक आप देश का भला नहीं कर सकते। इसलिये, जनाब वाला, मैं कहूंगा कि हमें बहुत शोच समझ कर काम करना है। आप दिनों दिन

टैक्स बढ़ाते जाते हैं। क्या यह आम जनता का बजट कहा जा सकता है? क्या यह मध्यम वर्ग का बजट कहा जा सकता है?

मैं यह कहने के लिये तैयार हूँ कि न तो यह आम जनता का बजट है, और न मध्यम श्रेणी के लोगों का बजट है हाँ किसी हद तक यह उन लोगों का हो सकता है जो आज भी गरीब जनता का शोषण करने की मस्ती में चूर हैं। मैं शिकायत की नज़र से नहीं, नुक्ताचीनी की नज़र से नहीं, बल्कि एक शुभचिन्तक की हँसियत से कहूंगा क्योंकि मैं तो कांग्रेस का एक पुराना खादिम हूँ, सेवक हूँ और पिछले बीस, पन्चीस वर्षों तक मैं ने कांग्रेस और देश की सेवा की है और इस गवर्नमेंट (Government) को लाने में हमें भी जितना त्याग और कुर्बानी करनी पड़ी थी की थी और इस इमारत को खड़ा किया है, लेकिन अगर हमारी गलतियों के कारण यह इमारत ढह जाये, नेस्तनाबूद हो जाये, तो उस से मुझे बड़ा दुख होगा, दर्द होगा और हमारा सिर लज्जा और शर्म से झुक जायेगा। मैं अदब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम जनता पर सक्तियां न करें, टैक्स (taxes) न बढ़ावें जिस तरह से आज हम आम जनता पर, मेरा इशारा टूबैको टैक्स (Tobacco tax) से है। अध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे क्षमा किया जाय, रेलवे फेयर (Railway Fare) बढ़ाया गया, मेरी जबान बन्द रही, गीक आम जनता उस से एफ़ेक्टेड (affected) होती है, और अब यह जो टूबैको टैक्स लगाया गया है, उस से आम जनता बहुत एफ़ेक्टेड हुई है। सरकार अगर चाहती तो इस प्रकार के टैक्सों के बजाय और दूसरे साधनों से रुपय ले सकती थी, और दूसरे टैक्स रूग

सकती थी और अगर माननीय अर्थ मंत्री साहब मुझ से कभी इस विषय में बात चीत करें, तो मैं उन्हें विश्वास दिलाता हूँ कि मैं और और साधन रुपये जमा करने के उन की दृष्टि में लाऊंगा, जिस के जरिए आप टेक्स बढ़ा सकते थे। लेकिन आम जनता के ऊपर तम्बाकू टैक्स लगा कर आप गरीबों पर सारा इसका भार डालते हैं। साथ ही साथ मैं निहायत अदब से अर्ज करूंगा कि पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने गत वर्ष कहा था, मुझे दिन याद नहीं है, और मैं उस समय इस हाउस का मेम्बर भी नहीं था, किसी अखबार में मैं ने पढ़ा था कि हिन्दुस्तान का डिफेंस (Defence) आम जनता की गुडविल (Goodwill) पर ही निर्भर करता है। १८० करोड़ रुपये आप रक्षा के ऊपर खर्च कर रहे हैं, मुझे इस में एतराज नहीं, बेशक कीजिये, लेकिन अगर आप डिफेंस के ऊपर इतने रुपये खर्च कर रहे हैं, और आम जनता के अन्दर सरकार के प्रति इतना असन्तोष है और वह रोटी और कपड़े के लिए तरस रही है और उसके आप विश्वासपात्र नहीं हैं, तो क्या आप समझते हैं कि जब मौक़ा आयेगा, आम जनता का पूरा सहयोग आप को प्राप्त हो सकेगा ?

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : कभी नहीं ।]

श्री एस० पी० सिन्हा : इस लिये मैं चाहूंगा कि डिफेंस पर आप जितने रुपये खर्च करते हैं, उस में कमी कर सकते थे और आसानी से कम कर सकते थे। मैं ज्यादा नुक्ताचीनी नहीं करना चाहता हूँ, लेकिन मेरा विश्वास है कि अगर आप डिफेंस के ऊपर से थोड़ा खर्चा हटा कर जनता की सहूलियत के लिए भोजन देने के लिए, खर्च करते तो उस से ज्यादा फ़ायदा होता। अभी जो यह भी मोर फ़ूड कम्पेन

(Grow More Food Campaign) चलता है, माऊ कीजिये, उस की नाकामयाबी किस तरह से हुई है, मुझे कहना नहीं पड़ेगा, सब लोग जानते हैं जिस तरह से वह योजना नाकामयाब रही। यही नहीं और भी आप जितनी स्कीमें चलाते हैं वह बाद में सारी स्कैन्डलस् (Scandals) बन जाती हैं। फ़र्टिलाइजर (Fertiliser) का स्कैन्डल हुआ, जूट (jute) का स्कैन्डल हुआ, ट्रैक्टर स्कैन्डल हुआ, Tubewells स्कैन्डल हुआ, और दामोदर वैली प्राजेक्ट (Damodar Valley Project) की स्कीम भी जिस तरह आपने कामयाब बनाने की कोशिश की, लेकिन अभी तक कामयाब नहीं बना सके, तो क्या यह हमारे लिए शर्म की बात नहीं है? मैं क्या कहूँ आजकल तो हमारे देश भर में स्कैन्डलों की भरमार सी हो रही है और हमारे यहां बिहार में भी बड़े बड़े स्कैन्डल हुए जैसे Molasses Scandal। खैर मैं नहीं चाहता हूँ कि इस हाउस में उन का जिक्र करूँ और हमारे यहां किस तरह की क़ैफ़ियत है। अगर सरकार चाहती तो यह क़ैफ़ियत नहीं रह सकती थी। प्रेसीडेंट (President) की इमर-जेन्सी पावर्स (Emergency Powers) में यह पावर है कि अगर वह देखे कि किसी स्टेट (State) में ठीक तरह से काम नहीं हो रहा है और वहां ब्लैक मार्केटिंग और करप्शन का बाजार गर्म है, तो उन को अस्तित्थार है कि वह वहां की गवर्नमेंट को भंग कर के अपने अधीन कर ले और वहां का शासन चलाये। लेकिन इतने खुले स्कैन्डलस् हुए जिन के नाम मैं नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ और कुछ नहीं किया गया।

अन्त में मैं आपका ज्यादा वक्त नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ एक बार फिर

[श्री एम० पी० सिन्हा]

नोट आफ़ वार्निंग (Note of warning)

दे देना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार अब भी सजग हो जाये और मैं यह साफ़ कह देना चाहता हूँ कि पहले का जो रवैया है, ढांचा है, अगर आप उस को नहीं बदलते हैं, वही शासन का तरीका अगर जारी रहा, और वही ब्लैक मार्केटिंग जारी रही और करप्शन का बाज़ार गर्म रहा, तो माफ़ करें हमारे मिनिस्टर साहबान, क्योंकि बहुत सी बातों में वह अपनी असमर्थता प्रकट करते हुए यह कह दिया करते हैं कि यह आई० सी० एस० (I. C. S.) वालों ने कर दिया, सेक्रेटरी (Secretary) ने कर दिया, हम क्या करें, तो अगर ऐसी हालत बनी रहती है और अगर आपने मौजूदा ढांचा नहीं बदला, तो मैं कहूंगा कि सरकार पर एक बड़ी आफ़त आने वाली है और जनता आप को और भी अविश्वास की नज़र से देखने लग जायेगी और हमारा सिर लज्जा से, शर्म से नीचे झुक जायेगा। इन चन्द शब्दों के साथ मैं इस बजट का स्वागत तो नहीं करता हूँ, लेकिन अपने अर्थ मंत्री की क्राबलियत को मैं मानता हूँ, उन की योग्यता में कोई सन्देह नहीं है और उन की कर्तव्य परायणता को भी मैं अच्छी तरह जानता हूँ, उन के सेवा भाव से भी मैं भली प्रकार परिचित हूँ, मैं उन से प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि कृपया देश के कल्याण के लिये इस ढांचे को शीघ्र बदलें और उस की जगह गांधी जी के आदर्श पर एक ऐसा ढांचा क्रायम करें, ताकि भारतवर्ष के प्रत्येक पुरुष, स्त्री और बच्चे को भरपेट अनाज मिले और पहनने को कपड़े मिल सकें और उन की जिन्दगी की सारी ख़रियात पूरी हो सके। इन शब्दों के साथ अख्यस महोदय मैं आप को एक बार फिर बन्धाव देता हूँ।

(English translation of the above speech)

Shri M. P. Sinha (Bihar): Sir, I am very grateful to you for having given me this opportunity to express my ideas here. But I am afraid that I may not be prepared to welcome the Budget presented by the hon. Minister in the same manner in which I have thanked you. The reason is that a country, where so many people die of hunger and where they do not get any cloth to cover their bodies, can ill afford to welcome such a Budget. I am narrating true facts when I say that only recently cloth was not available even for shrouds in the district wherefrom comes our President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Bihar): Which district?

Shri M. P. Sinha: It is Chhapra District. I am a resident of the Bihar Province and there cloth can not be had for shrouds even, in order to cover the dead bodies. When I was to come to this place from Patna ten days ago, many persons approached me. They were hungry, their eyes were sunken with hunger, they had become bony, their feet were sore, their bodies were naked and they were groaning. They told me that more than three years have passed when our Government was established and asked me whether the woes and miseries of the people had been mitigated. They asked me this question and told me that if I was their representative I should express their feelings in this House. And today I want to tell you as a responsible person and as a responsible Member of Parliament that I have never seen feelings of dissatisfaction and non-confidence so grave and acute as they are today in the country. People are embarrassed because of hunger; their condition is becoming like those of animals. You would excuse me when I say that we have been busy with "Vanmohotsava" celebrations; although much time has passed since we celebrated it. But even then I say that if we had planned at that time and brought forth some scheme and instead of celebrating "Vanmohotsava" would have tried to understand the people then so many people would not have died as are dying at present. But you did not do like that. It is a matter of anxiety and sorrow for us that blackmarketing and profiteering, not only in goods but in human lives also, is going on unchecked in this country before your very eyes. Today the country is heading towards an abyss and we have to save it. I would most respectfully say that if our hon. Minister of Finance is dear to us, our

people are dearer to us. Therefore it becomes the duty of all of us that we should try to fulfil the needs and necessities of our people. If we do not try to this effect, I would like to tell the House that we are sitting at the top of a volcano, which is likely to burst out at any moment. The manner in which dissatisfaction is spreading, and in which non-confidence against the Government is mounting in the country and the manner in which we are receiving abuses from all the quarters wherever we go, keeping that in view I would submit that the Government should proceed very carefully. I am afraid that lest the fury of the people may not take such a violent form as to force this Government to quit.

Today I made a mention of black-marketing and profiteering. I most respectfully beg to submit that you have not been able to check it. Look towards your neighbour nation, China. Only about a year back where there was blackmarketing and profiteering in full swing, there is nothing of that sort today, it stopped and the inflation vanished as soon as the Government changed. Why have we not been able to check it during all these three and a half years, which is the life time of our Government? You can do no good to your country so long as you do not change the whole social structure, do not cure economic ills and remove economic disparity and bring about economic equality. You cannot do it unless you do not end these evils, and do not become the beloved of the people. As long as you deny the civil liberties and with the help of the Preventive Detention Bill take action against those very people who are trying for civil liberties and want to check blackmarketing and profiteering—I am speaking something bitter but it cannot be helped—you cannot do anything good for the country; because these people fear that they may not fall victims of the self-same Preventive Detention Bill. Sir, this is why I submit that we have to proceed with our work after careful thinking. You are increasing taxes day by day. Can it be called a common man's budget? Can it be called a middle class budget? I am prepared to say that it is neither a common man's budget nor a budget of the middle class people. No doubt, to some extent, it can be called the budget of those who are intoxicated with the lust of exploiting the poor even today. I would not speak as a critic or a man who has any grievances against you but as your well-wisher, because I am an old servant of the Congress and during the last twenty or twenty-five years have served the Congress and the country and have sacrificed as much as

we could to bring this Government into existence and to erect this edifice. But if this edifice collapses and perishes due to our follies, it would be a matter of great sorrow to me and would also be very painful; my head will bend down in shame. I would like to ask you not to commit atrocities on people and not to increase taxes on them. We are doing these excesses to the common people, my reference is towards the tobacco tax. Sir, I hope you would excuse me, I remained silent when the railway fare was increased though the common people were affected by it. They are much affected by it. Had the Government wanted they could have obtained money from sources other than this one and could have levied other taxes. If the hon. Minister of Finance would care to have a talk on this subject with me any time, I assure him that I will bring to his view some other sources by which he can raise money. But by levying tobacco tax you have laid the whole burden on the poor people. Moreover I most respectfully beg to submit that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said last year—I do not remember the date and I was not a Member of this House at that time but I read it somewhere in a newspaper—that the defence of India depends upon the goodwill of the common people. You are spending 180 crores of rupees upon defence. I have no objection on it, indeed you should spend it. But when on the one hand you are spending so much on defence while on the other there is so much dissatisfaction among the people, they are suffering for want of food and clothing and they have no confidence in you, do you think that when the time will come you will have their co-operation?

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Never.

Shri M. P. Sinha: So I would like to submit that you were in a position to cut your expenditure on defence to a great extent and very easily. I do not want to criticize you much but I believe that had you made a cut in your defence expenditure and would have spent this sum for providing some amenities to the people and for giving them food, better results would have been achieved. I need not say what was the outcome of the 'Grow More Food Campaign'. All of us know how miserably it failed. Not only this scheme but whatever schemes you launch they end in scandals in the long run. We had the fertilizer scandal, the jute scandal, the tractor scandal, the tube-well scandal and all other scandals. The Damodar Valley Project too did not succeed in the way in which we had expected it to succeed. So is it not then a matter of shame for

[Shri M. P. Sinha]

all of us? What would I say? There are numerous scandals going on in our country today. We had major scandals in Bihar just as the molasses Scandal. I do not want to make a mention of all those things in this House and I have no desire to give you an account of what is happening in our country. Had the Government desired, condition would not have remained like that. Under the Emergency Powers our President can dissolve the Government of any State, can bring it under his control and can rule it, provided there was black-marketing and corruption going on unchecked in that State and the administration did not function properly. But there have been so many scandals, I do not want to name them but in spite of that nothing was done.

Last of all, I do not want to take much of your time, but I want to give you a note of warning, that it is high time that the Government should be alive to the situation. I want to tell you plainly that if you do not change your past behaviour, and the old structure of the Government; and if the same old administrative machinery continued to function with all the black-marketing and corruption, a misfortune of great magnitude is going to fall over this Government, the people will lose their faith in you more quickly and our heads will bow down in shame.

The hon. Ministers would please excuse me for saying all these words; but is it not so that they too express their helplessness in many a thing and say that this thing was done by the I.C.S. people and that thing was done by the secretary and so what they could do. If the things do not change and the condition continues to remain as such then I am afraid that the Government is heading towards a catastrophe, we will lose the confidence of the people of our country and our heads will bow down in shame and humiliation. Sir, with these words while I do not welcome this Budget but appreciate the ability of our Minister of Finance. There is no doubt in his efficiency and I know it well how dutiful he is. I am well aware of his sense of service. I would like to request him to please bring a change in this structure soon for the good of the country and establish a new structure in its place on the basis of the Gandhian ideal, so that every man, woman and child may get sufficient food to eat and sufficient clothes to wear, and their necessities of life may be met. With these words, Sir I thank you once again.

Acharya Kripalani (Uttar Pradesh): My sympathies are with the Finance Minister. He has somehow to square the Budget and he has to act under certain limitations imposed by the policies of the Government. Ever since this Government came into power, its policy has been not to tax capital. This we have rationalised. We say that if capital is taxed there will be no money for private production or for public investment. In this process we have lost crores of rupees in the last three years and more. But there has been no increase in private enterprise and there has been no increase in public borrowing. Under such circumstances the Finance Minister is compelled to fall on the device of amalgamating capital expenditure and revenue expenditure. He might give very specious reasons for this amalgamation; but the fact is that this puts a very heavy burden upon the present generation. The present generation has already, in all conscience, paid a very heavy price for independence. It is not just to make it pay again through the nose.

If capital is not to be taxed and the revenue and capital expenditure are combined, the only course left for the Finance Minister is to tax the common man and this he has done. But in this there is an inconsistency about the Government policy. Government has said from the house-tops that it wants to check inflation. But if you tax the common man, and his every day needs the spiral of prices goes on rising and it increases inflation.

Anyhow, it is not the Budget which is bothering the common man, because he does not understand its implications. What bothers the common man is either the policies or the want of policies of our Government.

The greatest cause of anxiety is about the everyday primary necessities of life—food and clothing. We are told that three years is a very short time to set things right; indeed three years is a moment in the life of a nation. But I submit it is time enough to see the direction in which things are moving, but we see no direction.

In the matter of food there seems to be no policy, no integrated plan, no concerted action. Successive Ministers have made conflicting statements confusing the public mind. But in one thing they have been unanimous and that is about self-sufficiency. A costly campaign of 'grow more food' has been carried on for all these years. After four years the enquiry recently made by a Government bank of the highest importance has declared that the 'grow more food' campaign has been a 'costly

failure'. Not only this, but it is pointed out that considerable amounts have been diverted to non-food crops or utilised for non-agricultural and unproductive purposes.

However let us see what actually is the food position. I have here with me a book of statistics issued by the Food Department. It is a strange book of figures, where no directions are given.....

Shri Kamath: Book of numbers.

Acharya Kripalani: And what do I find there? After great investigation I find that the population of India is estimated at 350 millions, production of cereals at 45.3 million tons. If you allow a ration of 16 oz. per adult and eight oz. per non-adult, which has never been done in this country, and put the ratio of adult and non-adult population at a conservative estimate of 50:50, we get 43 million tons, which means that we have a surplus of two million tons. These are Government figures and I submit that we are already self-sufficient in food. This is what the Government authoritative figures indicate.

Shri Sidhva: That is what I have been saying for the last three years.

Shri Kamath: Mr. Sidhva has been vindicated.

Acharya Kripalani: Take it from another point of view. We are told that the rationed population is 124.8 million, that is about 36.6 per cent. of the population. The total procurement is only 46.3 lakh tons, which is about eleven per cent. This means that millions of people are getting more than 16 oz. and eight oz. per adult and non-adult respectively or else there is hoarding. From this it will be plain the procurement policy has been a failure. In spite of these figures given by the Government we are told that there is a ten per cent. deficit. An American went and enquired from province to province. Every province had learnt the lesson so well that every body said there is a ten per cent. deficit. The 'grow more food' campaign has resulted by all accounts in an one per cent. increase. If we take into consideration the increase of population it only means that our deficit is ever-growing and there can be no success in what is called the self-sufficiency programme.

4 P.M.

Again, we have failed to achieve even a partially stable price-level. The food problem contains two factors, as the hon. Minister of Food ought to know and I hope he knows—the supply factor and the price factor.

These have got to be carefully co-ordinated and planned. The prices paid to the food grower are much too low to warrant the cultivator's efforts. In Gujerat, from where our Food Minister comes, I heard that Government gave for cereals a price which is lower than what the cultivator gets in the market for fodder. In the circumstances how can you expect the cultivator not to feed his cattle with cereals instead of fodder, which is more dear? Our rationing is irrational and our control is uncontrolled even as our whole life is uncontrolled.

Again it is a notorious fact that there is no link between our experimental stations and the cultivator. There is no connection whatsoever, (*An Hon. Member:* it is the missing link.) and we absolutely waste all the money we spend on agriculture experimental stations.

Apart from all these things the greatest trouble arises from anti-social forces of hoarding and blackmarketing. I was told by the Agriculture Minister or the Food Minister—he is both and nowadays Ministers conduct more departments than they can conveniently manage.....

Shri Hussain Imam: That is economy.

Acharya Kripalani: And it will surprise you, that this black-marketing is going on openly. It is quite possible and I have seen it that many times the ration shop is short of commodities but the black market is never short of them. If one wants quality commodities they can only be had in the black market, not in the ration shops and most people who can afford it go to the blackmarket. Friends like Mr. Tyagi from Dehradun take only Dehradun rice which does not come into the open market.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA
in the Chair]

Then, the very merge rations that we get are adulterated. May I submit that neither black-marketing, nor hoarding nor adulteration are natural calamities. They are man-made calamities and I submit they are Government-made calamities. These problems are connected with the honesty, integrity and efficiency of the administration. From the beginning I have raised my voice, and I shall continue to raise my voice as long as I am a Member of this House, against this administrative inefficiency and corruption. It must be stopped. I believe that no scheme of ours can prosper if the administration is inefficient and corrupt. It is our instrument for working out our plans. We might have planning, but who will execute the

[Acharya Kripalani]

plans? A corrupt administration, an inefficient administration? I submit that this planning will be an utter failure unless we sharpen our instrument of administration. In the beginning whenever I talked of corruption, I was told that those who talked of corruption produced that phenomenon. I did not know I was living in the days of Aesop's fables where it is written, if you cry, "Wolf, wolf", wolf appears. It is a strange thing that in modern times when we are living in a realistic age if we cry, "Corruption, corruption", corruption will appear even if our administrators are honest. I thought that we had done with Aesop's fables and we had advanced in science and knowledge or atleast in commonsense. In the beginning we were assured that the services were "worth their weight in gold". But since that was said, much water has flown under the bridge. We have any number of scandals, we have any number of muddles. There is the sugar muddle, the jute muddle, the food muddle, the fertilizer muddle. We have heard of sundri of which the members of our Government are enamoured. I do not know what it is, somebody told me there is a sundri scheme. Then, there are the prefabs, hard board hutments, central tractor factory. In all these muddles the losses due to inefficiency and corruption run into crores of public money. These are known, how many unknown muddles there are, God knows! Yet one Minister told us that corruption is controlled. I am sure it is controlled, as sugar, food, cement and many other commodities are controlled. Some people in the administration must be responsible for these things. What has been done to them? In public affairs even gross negligence is a crime and if it cannot be punished by courts of law it must be punished departmentally. But all that we have heard is the resignation of one officer in all these years. Others responsible for these muddles are where they were, if they have not been actually promoted. The public therefore, can be excused when they say that if formerly the services were worth their 'weight in gold' today some of them are worth their weight in diamonds to their families.

Yet, in spite of this we have the habit of blaming the people for this sorry state of affairs. Let us cease blaming the people. We have deprived them of direction and will. Will cannot function without a direction. An organisation's direction and will are the will and direction of the leadership. It is said that the country is in the slough of depression. It feels frustrat-

ed. Each class feels frustrated. The labourer and the *kisan* are frustrated though wise men say that the capitalists' wealth has trickled down to them and they are getting more than enough today. So also are the middle and the lower middle classes, the backbone of democracy, frustrated. Officials, high and low, feel frustrated though their emoluments, especially in the upper ranks, are disproportionately higher than in any country in the world. Over and above that, they have advantages denied to others. It is they who run the administration and the Ministers get their briefs readymade and yet are they discontented. The industrialists and merchants are frustrated, though the Government is believed to patronise big business. The *zamindar* is frustrated. The prince on his nominal throne and with his high-sounding titles is frustrated, and the beggar in the street is frustrated. Have we understood the meaning of this collective frustration? Frustration in organised society, like a nation, sociologically means that well-directed co-operative effort and action are not possible. When that is not possible it is said that the people have lost their morale. In a group people lose their morale only when the leadership fails. It is just as in an army. An army can survive a defeat and even many defeats if the Generals do not get unnerved and there is orderly retreat and reformation for the future fight. It is not defeat or the difficulties of the situation that unnerve a group, it is the failure of leadership. The great heroes of the world were defeated very often but their courage never failed. The people therefore followed them with empty stomachs in the mouth of cannons. Remember our old history. Remember Rana Pratap. His armies failed but his courage and faith never failed. So, he could create soldiers even from the primitive Bhils and raise money from a miserly *banta* and give his last fight to the Moghul empire and arrest its advance. Remember Shivaji, ever defeated ever triumphant. Remember Guru Govind who raised soldiers from dust and of whom it is said that he made sparrows into hawks (*chidvon se bagh banaya*). How often was he defeated to rise again indomitable! Remember him whom we have seen and under whom we worked. How often was he defeated and yet every defeat was an incentive to greater effort. How often did his Satyagraha fail and how often did he prepare for the next fight! Even after 1945 he wanted to give one more battle to British imperialism before he had done. We have seen him turning dust into gold. And today, the gold he miraculously created we are by a con-

trary alchemy sedulously turning into its original dust. Why is this so? Not because the people have failed. The starving and naked Bhils did not fail Rana Pratap; the emaciated Malvas did not fail Shivaji. Under Guru Govind the lower class soldiers gave as good an account of themselves as proud and brave kshtariya warriors. Tender little girls brought up in the lap of luxury and old women of high families faced British imperialism as heroines before our own eyes. Our eyes have seen a vision which we cannot forget. Yet today we are timid of heart and weary in body, though the mission of leadership has fallen upon our shoulders and it has been placed there by fate and circumstances. The choice is yet before us. Either we go down in history as those who, after creating a Revolution under a leader of genius and insight like our beloved Bapu, succeeded in consolidating it, or we go down as those who in recent times failed and their names are a byword of contempt and ridicule.

It is not too late even now, and if we fail I see nothing but confusion and chaos in this country. If such evil days are to be our lot, let it not be said by future historians that voices of warning and protest were not raised. Let those of us in high places not close their ears to such voices, because the only voice that we are prepared to hear is the voice of flattery and self-praise from those who desire some temporary advantage out of us. A humble younger brother told the mighty monarch of Lanka these memorable words: "It is as easy, oh king, to find people in this world who speak sweet words, as it is easy to find listeners to such words. But it is as difficult to find those who speak the bitter truth, as it is difficult to find those who will listen to such truth." May God give us the wisdom and strength! May Bapu's blessings be upon us, though we deserve them not; but he treated us as his children and he forgave us our trespasses, when he was in our midst.

श्री बी० एस० आर्य : सभापति महोदय, आज आप ने बजट पर मुझे अपने विचार व्यक्त करने के लिये जो मौका दिया है उस के लिये मैं आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ। मैं एक ऐसे इलाके का रहने वाला हूँ कि जो इलाका इस देश में बहुत ही पिछड़ा हुआ है और अभी हाल में, आप को शायद मालूम होगा कि, तिब्बत के चीन के कम्यूनिस्टों के आतंक के कारण हमारे जिले गढ़वाल में इस

समय लोग बहुत आतंकित हैं, लोग बहुत भयभीत हैं। बद्रीनाथ और केदारनाथ की घाटियों में तिब्बत के कुछ लोग आ कर इधर उधर जंगलों में घूम रहे हैं और पशुओं को उठा कर ले जा रहे हैं और लूट मार की सबरें वहाँ से आ रही हैं। हाल ही में आप को शायद मालूम होगा कि वहाँ से एक ड्यूटेशन (deputation) हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी के पास आया था और उस ड्यूटेशन (शिष्ट मंडल) ने, उस जिले की अपनी कठिनाइयों को प्रधान मंत्री जी के सन्मुख प्रस्तुत किया था। उन्होंने बताया था कि वे लोग बोर्डर (border) पर हैं और वहाँ हर समय उन को खतरा है। किन्तु बजट के देखने से मालूम पड़ता है कि उन पिछड़े हुए इलाकों के लिए बित्त मंत्री जी ने कोई ऐसी राशि नहीं रखी है जिस से कि वहाँ की रक्षा की जा सके। यद्यपि हमारी प्रांतीय सरकार उस दिशा में सतर्क है और उसने वहाँ के लिए कुछ काम शुरू भी कर दिया है। किन्तु यह तो देश की रक्षा का प्रश्न है और यह केन्द्रिय सरकार का विषय है। इसलिये केन्द्रिय सरकार को वहाँ की रक्षा का प्रबन्ध करना चाहिये। आसाम से लेकर काश्मीर तक जो फ्रंटियर (frontier) हैं, अगर उस फ्रंटियर की रक्षा का कोई ठीक प्रबन्ध सरकार ने नहीं किया तो वहाँ किसी भी समय निःसन्देह ऐसा खतरा उपस्थित हो सकता है कि जिस से वहाँ की शान्ति भंग हो जाये।

मैं आप के ध्यान में एक बात यह भी लाना चाहता हूँ कि उन पिछड़े हुए इलाकों में आने जाने के साधन नहीं हैं। मैं अपने यहाँ के बारे में जोर दे कर कहना चाहता हूँ कि बद्रीनाथ और ऋषीकेश के बीच में लगभग १७१-१७२ मील की दूरी है। वहाँ तक जाने के लिये एक साधारण सड़क पर १२० मील तक मोटर जाती है और वहाँ से

[श्री बी० एस० आर्य]

आये सब यात्रियों को पैदल ही चलना पड़ता है। अगर किसी भी समय कोई खतरा उपस्थित हो गया तो वहाँ तक आप लोगों को इन्तजाम करने में बड़ी कठिनाई होगी। इसलिये सरकार को खास तौर से उन पिछड़े हुए इलाकों का ध्यान रखना चाहिये।

मैं वित्त मंत्री जी के ध्यान में एक बात यह भी लाना चाहता हूँ कि आज कल वहाँ पर हर प्रकार की कठिनाई है, जैसे कि वहाँ पर आज कल नमक का अभाव है, आज कल वहाँ पर चने का अभाव है। यह सब चीजें यहाँ से वहाँ तक इसलिये नहीं पहुँच पातीं कि यहाँ से वहाँ तक ले जाने में किराया-भाड़ा बहुत पड़ता है। हमारे कृषि और खाद्य मंत्रीजी ने जो भाव चने का मुकर्रर किया है, उस भाव को देखते हुए अगर विचार किया जाये तो वहाँ पर चना नहीं मिल सकता है। हापुड़ की मंडी में १३ रुपये मन चना मिलता है। उस चने को अगर बरीनाथ में ले जाया जाये तो मेरा अपना विश्वास है कि ५० रुपये किराये पर लग जायेंगे। फिर आप अन्दाजा लगाइये कि वहाँ पर जा कर चना किस भाव पर लोगों को दिया जा सकता है। यही हालत नमक की है। नमक लगभग तीन महीने से वहाँ नहीं मिल रहा है। अभी हाल में वहाँ के कोऑपरेटिव फ़ेडरेशन (Cooperative Federation) के सेक्रेटरी ने एक पत्र मुझे लिखा था जिस की प्रतिलिपि मैंने ट्रांसपोर्ट मिनिस्टर महोदय के पास भेजी है। उन्होंने लिखा कि सांभर लेक में वैगन (wagons) नहीं मिल रहे हैं जिस के कारण गढ़वाल में पहाड़ों को नमक नहीं पहुँच रहा है। तो यह कठिनाइयाँ आज भी विद्यमान हैं। मैं आप को यह भी बता देना चाहता हूँ कि स्वराज्य की लड़ाई में हमारे पहाड़ी प्रदेश ने, हमारे पिछड़े हुए इलाकों

ने कोई कम हिस्सा नहीं लिया। वहाँ के हज़ारों नौजवानों ने उस आज़ादी की लड़ाई में हिस्सा लिया और उन का यह ख्याल था कि जब इस देश में अपनी सरकार स्थापित होगी तो उन को भी कुछ राहत मिलेगी, उन की भी कुछ भलाई होगी। लेकिन लगभग तीन साल होने को आते हैं, अभी तक उन इलाकों के लिए सरकार ने कुछ भी ऐसा कार्य नहीं किया जिस से कि वह यह समझें कि यह हमारी अपनी सरकार है और स्वराज्य होने के बाद उन को किसी प्रकार की राहत मिली है। यह कठिनाइयाँ हैं इस इलाके की। हमारे वित्त मंत्रीजी अपनी स्पीच के दौरान में कहते हैं कि पैसा बड़े बड़े धनियों ने दबा रखा है और वह मारकेट (market) में नहीं आता है, इस कारण जो बड़े बड़े कार्य हैं वे अच्छी तरह से नहीं किये जा सकते हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार ने इस सम्बन्ध में कभी विचार भी किया कि किस तरह से वह रुपया जो धनियों ने दबा रखा है वह बाजार में आये और उस रुपये से सरकार कुछ फायदा उठा सके। सरकार को चाहिये तो यह था कि वह कुछ ऐसी योजना बनाती जिस से कि वह पैसा बाजार में आ सकता। लेकिन सरकार ने उस ओर बिल्कुल भी ध्यान नहीं दिया।

एक और बात वित्त मंत्री जी ने अपने भाषण के आरम्भ में कही है कि जब से कोरिया की लड़ाई शुरू हुई है तब से बाहरी देशों से कच्चे माल की बहुत मांग हो रही है और यहाँ से काफ़ी कच्चा माल बाहर मंगाया जा रहा है। लेकिन हमारी सरकार के जो भाव होते हैं वह तो ऐसे भाव होते हैं कि जिन से हमारे मुल्क की आर्थिक हालत सुधर नहीं सकती। अगर आप चाहते हैं कि आप के मुल्क में अधिक पैसा आये, अधिक धन आये, तो मेरा अपनी सरकार के सामने यह सुझा है

कि आप अपने रुपये की कीमत को फिर से ठीक कीजिये तो फिर मेरा अपना विश्वास है कि आप को काफ़ी पैसा मिलेगा। आज तक आप ने डीवैल्यूएशन (devaluation) कर के अपने यहां से जो राँ मैटीरियल (raw material) बाहर भेजा है उस को आप ने बहुत ही सस्ता बेचा और दूसरे लोग आप को बहुत महंगा सामान देते हैं। मेरा यह सुझाव है कि इस पर अगर सरकार फिर से विचार करे तो मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार को काफ़ी आय इस में हो सकती है।

इस के साथ साथ मैं आप से एक और निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। आप ने अपनी स्पीच के दौरान में यह भी कहा है कि गांवों में ब्रांच पोस्ट आफिससेज (Branch Post offices) हैं जिन में आप डिपोजिट्स (Deposits) और सेविंग्स बैंक अकाउंट (Savings Bank Account) खोलने की सुविधा दे रहे हैं। यह तो ठीक है कि आप गांवों के लोगों के पास जो पैसा है उस से नेशनल सर्टिफिकेट्स (National certificates) खरीदवायें। वह आपके यहां डिपोजिट करेंगे और आप के सर्टिफिकेट खरीदेंगे। यह तो आप ने गांव वालों के लिए योजना बनाई है। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जो लोग करोड़ों रुपये दवा कर बैठे हैं उन के लिए भी आप ने कोई योजना बनाई है? अभी यहां पर तम्बाकू पर टैक्स लगाने के बारे में एक माननीय साथी कह रहे थे कि सचमुच उस का भार तो उन गांव वालों पर पड़ता है जो बेचारे बहुत गरीब हैं। अगर आप इस तरह से गरीबों पर टैक्स लगायेंगे तो उन में एक बड़ा असन्तोष पैदा हो जायेगा। इसलिये मैं आप से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आप उस टैक्स को गरीबों पर न लगायें। गरीबों में

आज बड़ा असन्तोष है। सचमुच में हमारे देश की गरीब जनता तो यह विश्वास किये हुए थी कि स्वराज्य होने के बाद उस को खाना, कपड़ा और रोटी मिलेगी। लेकिन इस सरकार की स्थापना के बाद देश में जो कठिनाइयां उपस्थित हुईं और सरकार के सामने भी जो कठिनाइयां आईं उन की वजह से देश की गरीब जनता को अभी तक कोई लाभ नहीं पहुंच पाया और जनता बहुत परेशान है। अगर सचमुच में हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे देश की गरीब जनता सुखी हो तो आम तौर पर जो गांव में रहने वाले लोग हैं, जो गांवों में ८२ प्रति शत जनता रहती है, उन की भलाई का ह्याल आप को रखना पड़ेगा। अगर आप उन की भलाई का ह्याल नहीं रखते हैं तो आप अपने कर्तव्य का पालन नहीं करते हैं। आप ने बजट में डिफेंस (defence) के लिये १८० करोड़ रुपया दिखाया है। १८० करोड़ रुपया आप फ़ौज पर खर्च करेंगे। सचमुच में यह तो देश की रक्षा की दृष्टि से देखना है और जैसा आपने इस को रखा है यह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है। लेकिन आप ने एयर फ़ोर्स (Air force) में जो रकम रखी है वह तो बहुत ही कम है। २४ करोड़ रुपया तो बहुत ही कम मालूम होता है। अगर आप ने एयर फ़ोर्स को नहीं बढ़ाया तो आप अपने देश को मजबूत नहीं बना सकते हैं। इसलिये मेरी तो आप से यह विनय है कि आप को एयर फ़ोर्स के लिए बड़ी रकम रखनी चाहिये थी और हमारे देश में जो गौजूदा फ़ोर्स है उस को ज्यादा ताक़तवर बनाना चाहिये।

आप ने इकानामी (economy) के बारे में कहा है कि सरकार इकानामी कर रही है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इकानामी का अभिप्राय यह है कि आप

[श्री बी० एस० आर्य]

सिर्फ छोटे छोटे नोकरो को, उन क्लर्कों को, जिन को कि बहुत कम तनख्वाह मिलती है अलग कर दिया जाये। क्या आप इस तरह से देश की इकानामी को ठीक करना चाहते हैं। इस से देश की इकानामी ठीक नहीं हो सकती, इस से तो देश की इकानामी खराब होगी। वह बाहर जायेंगे, और वहां जा कर अपना असंतोष जाहिर करेंगे, वहां जा कर डिमोन्स्ट्रेशन (demonstrations) करेंगे और उन का सरकार के खिलाफ एक बड़ा संगठन बन जायेगा। अगर सचमुच में आप चाहते हैं और मुल्क की इकानामी को ठीक करना चाहते हैं, तो जिन बड़े बड़े अफसरों को आप तीन, तीन और चार हजार रुपया माहवार तनख्वाह देते हैं, क्यों नहीं आप उन से कहते कि वह कुछ कम लें। अधिक धन के वह सरकार से बॉन्ड (bonds) खरीद लें और सरकार आगे चल कर उन को वह रुपया दे दें जिस में वर्तमान काल में तो काफी बचत इस तरह हो जायेगी। लेकिन होता यह है कि छोटे छोटे लोगों को आप इकानामी का पाठ पढ़ाते हैं और कुछ बड़े बड़े लोगों को आप सदैव पालते रहते हैं और उन को बड़ी बड़ी तनख्वाहें देते रहते हैं। मैं कहूंगा कि यह आप न्याय नहीं करते हैं साधारण जनता के साथ आप अन्याय करते हैं। मेरा यह सुझाव है कि अगर आप सचमुच में चाहते हैं कि मुल्क की आर्थिक दशा सुधरे तो सब में समान बंटवारा होना चाहिये और समान बंटवारे से आप मुल्क की आर्थिक स्थिति को सुधारने में सफल हो सकते हैं। इस के साथ साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो विकास की योजनायें सरकार ने प्रारम्भ की थीं, बड़े बड़े काम इस अर्से में सरकार ने हाथ

में लिये, और बड़े जोश के साथ लिये, और प्रारम्भ भी किये, लेकिन उन में से अधिकांश असफल रहे। इस असफलता का एक मात्र कारण यह है कि आपने नातजुर्बेकार लोगों के द्वारा वे काम शुरू करवाये। और इस सिलसिले में मैं एक उदाहरण अपने ही जिले का देना चाहता हूँ। मेरे जिले में मरोडा डाम की एक योजना उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार ने प्रारम्भ की और उस की सरवे में २२ लाख, २७ हजार, ६२७ रुपया खर्च किया। वह योजना ३३ करोड़ रुपये की थी। उस का अभी तक कोई परिणाम नहीं निकला। तो ऐसी स्कीम बिल्कुल बेकार है। अगर २४ लाख रुपये से वहां पर छोटे छोटे पावर हाउस बनवाते, इरीगेशन चैनल्स (irrigation channels) खुदवाते, और उन के चरिये गांवों और खेतों में पानी दिया जाता, तो मेरा विश्वास है कि वहां की आर्थिक हालत और वहां की अन्न की हालत भी बहुत कुछ अच्छी हो सकती थी। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपने वक्तव्य को समाप्त करता हूँ।

(English translation of the above speech)

Shri B. S. Arya (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity of expressing my views on the Budget. I belong to a place which is one of the most backward areas of our country. As the House is probably aware, our people in the district of Garhwal are terror-stricken these days on account of the recent activities of the Chinese communists in Tibet. Some people, who have come down from Tibet, are wandering about in the jungles and valleys of Badrinath and Kedarnath. They lift cattle, and reports of loot and robbery are also coming in. The hon. Members perhaps remember that a deputation waited upon our Prime Minister recently and appraised him of difficulties experienced by the people of that district. They had submitted that as they lived on the border were, therefore, always open to danger. But

seeing the Budget, I find that the hon. Minister of Finance has not provided any amount of money for these backward areas so that protection and security might be afforded to them. Although our State Government is alert in that direction and has also adopted certain measures, but it is a question of the defence of the country, which is the responsibility of the Central Government. Therefore, Centre must take adequate steps to provide security and protection. If suitable security measures are not taken all along the frontier right from Assam to Kashmir, there is certainly a possibility of peace being disturbed in that area.

Another point in that connection is that there are no suitable means of communications and transport in these areas. Regarding my place, I wish to emphasize that between Badrinath and Rishikesh, there is a distance of about 172 miles and the bus goes only up-to 120 miles and that also on an ordinary road and after that one has to walk the rest of the distance. If there is a danger at any time, it will become very difficult to reach that place and control the situation. Therefore the Government must take special care of these backward areas.

Yet another point which I would like the hon. Finance Minister to take notice of, is that there is scarcity of practically all the things in those parts, for example, there is scarcity of salt and gram these days. These commodities do not reach there on account of high costs of transport. If we consider the rates of gram as fixed by our Minister of Food and Agriculture I am sure it cannot be made available there at that rate. Gram is selling for thirteen rupees per maund in Hapur mandi, and if that gram is taken to Badrinath, I believe, as much as fifty rupees will have to be spent on transportation alone. So one can imagine the rate at which people there would get it. Similar is the case with salt. Salt has not been available there for the last three months. Recently the Secretary of Co-operative Federation there had written me a letter, a copy of which I have sent to the hon. Minister of Transport. It was written therein that wagons were not available at Sambhar Lake with the result that salt was not reaching Garhwal and other mountain places. These conditions continue even today. I wish to tell the House that the part played in the Freedom struggle by our hilly tracts and backward areas was not a mean one. Thousands of our young men there took part in the fight and with the hope that they would receive

some comforts and benefits after the establishment of national government. But nearly three years have passed and nothing has so far been done in those areas whereby people may have felt that it is their own Government and they have got some sort of comforts after the country becoming independent. So these are the difficulties of this area. During his speech the hon. Minister of Finance had said that money has been hoarded by those who are very rich and it is not coming in the market with the result that they cannot undertake bigger projects that they have proposed to do. I want to ask whether the Government have at any time cared to find ways and means so that this hoarded money may come out and be utilised by the Government. The Government ought to have formulated a scheme whereby this money could have come in the market. But they have not paid any attention whatsoever towards that.

The hon. Minister of Finance in the beginning of his speech had also said that there has been a great demand for raw materials since the war broke out in Korea and large quantities of raw materials from our country are being demanded. But the prices asked by our Government are such that they can never improve the economic condition of our country. If the Government desires that more money should come to our country, I would suggest that they should once again revise the value of rupee. Then, I am sure, they would get enough money. The raw materials exported after devaluation have been sold at very cheap rates while others give their goods to us at higher prices. Therefore, I suggest that if the Government reconsiders this matter, it can have sufficient income thereby.

I would like to submit another point along with it. He has also said in his speech that in the branch post offices in the villages facilities of deposits and Savings Bank account are being provided. It is good that the village people should be asked to buy national certificates out of their savings. They will deposit the money and buy these certificates. This is the scheme for the village people but I want to ask whether the Government have made any scheme regarding those who have hoarded crores of rupees. Just now an hon. friend speaking about the tax on tobacco said that it would really hit hard those villagers who are very poor. If taxes are imposed in this way on the poor, it would create much dissatisfaction among them. I therefore request that that taxes should not be imposed on poor people. Already there is discontentment among the

[Shri B. S. Arya]

poor classes. The poor people of our country had been hoping that they would get enough food and enough clothing after freedom. But the troubles that followed the establishment of this Government and also the difficulties that came before the Government have resulted in the fact that the poor have not been benefited in any way so far, and they are very much disturbed. If we really desire that the poor classes should be happy, we must pay due attention towards the welfare of rural people, who constitute 82 per cent. of our population. The Government fails in its duty if it does not care for their welfare. The hon. Minister has provided a sum of rupees 180 crores for the defence expenditure. Surely, it must be considered from the point of view of country's defence and it is a very important matter. But the sum provided for Air Force is very small. Twenty four crores of rupees seem to be less. If the Air Force is not strengthened, the country will not become adequately strong. Therefore, I submit that more money should have been allotted for Air Force and that the present force should have been further strengthened.

The hon. Minister said that the Government is effecting economy. But I ask whether economy only means retrenchment of lower staff and clerks who are getting very small salaries. Is it the way of setting the country's economy right? I am sure, it will only result in a further deterioration of our economy and not in its improvement. These retrenched persons will go about expressing their dissatisfaction. They will stage demonstrations and will organise themselves against the Government. If the Government sincerely desires to improve our economy, why do they not ask high officials getting three or four thousands rupees per month, to accept lesser salaries for the present. For the remaining amount of their salary, they can purchase Government bonds payable after a certain period. In this way the Government will be able to save a good deal of money. But what actually happens is that the low-paid staff is made to suffer for reasons of economy and high officials are always given protection and paid fat salaries. So, I will submit that justice is not being meted out to these common people of our country. If it is the sincere desire of the Government to improve the economic conditions of the country, it should bring about equal distribution. I would also like to point out that most of the development schemes and huge projects which the Government had very enthusiastically undertaken have

failed and the only reason of this failure is that inexperienced persons were made in charge of these works. In this connection I wish to give an example of my own district. The Government of Uttar Pradesh made a thirty three crore rupees plan of Marora Dam in my district and they spent twenty-two lakhs, twenty-seven thousand six hundred and twenty seven rupees in its survey, but nothing has been achieved as yet. So, such schemes are useless. Had these twenty four lakhs of rupees been spent on constructing small power houses and irrigation channels for irrigating fields and supplying water to villages, I believe there could have been much improvement in the economic condition and the food situation of that area. With these words, Sir, I close.

श्रीमती कमला चौधरी : सभापति जी, यद्यपि आचार्य कृपलानी के भाषण के पश्चात् मैं अपने मन में बोलने की कोई उमंग नहीं पा रही हूँ, किन्तु आप ने जब कृपा करके मुझे बोलने का अवसर दिया है, तो मैं भी बजट पर अपने विचार रखने की चेष्टा करूंगी। मुझ से पूर्व माननीय मेम्बर श्री महा माया प्रसाद जी ने कहा था कि मैं इस आगामी वर्ष के बजट का स्वागत नहीं कर सकता। सभापति महोदय, मैं आप के द्वारा अर्थ मंत्री से कहना चाहती हूँ कि मैं इस बजट का स्वागत करती हूँ, किन्तु भारी निराशा के साथ। क्योंकि मैं देख रही हूँ कि बजट की आय समयानुकूल यथेष्ट नहीं है। मुझे मालूम है कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय, अर्थ शास्त्र के विद्वान पण्डित हैं और साथ ही देश जिस आर्थिक संकट से गुजर रहा है, उस को समझना एक योग्य और विद्वान अर्थ शास्त्र के पंडित के लिये जटिल परिस्थिति को समझना कोई मश्किल बात नहीं है, सब को मालूम है और मुझ से पूर्व बात से वक्ताओं ने बड़ा मार्मिक वर्णन देश की परिस्थिति का देश की शरीरी का देश के वर्तमान आर्थिक संकट का किया है। तो इसलिये अवश्य ही हमारे अर्थ मंत्री

देश की परिस्थिति को समझते हैं और जानते हैं कि गरीबी के कारण हिन्दुस्तान की जनता यह आशा करती थी और मेरा भी ऐसा ख्याल और विश्वास था कि इस वर्ष का बजट जो इस संसद में पेश किया जायेगा, वह बहुत अधिक परिवर्तनशील होगा, बहुत अधिक क्रान्तिकारी होगा और पूंजीवाद में एक बहुत बड़ी तबदीली हमें दिखाई देगी और उस से यह होता कि कम से कम बजट के उपस्थित होने के बाद जो देश में निराशा फैली हुई है, वह निराशा नहीं होती, और कम से कम व्यवहारिक रूप क्षणिक सांत्वना इस देश की जनता को प्राप्त हुई होती। लेकिन मैं यह देखती हूँ कि आज वह सांत्वना, वह राहत, आज हमारे देश की गरीब जनता नहीं महसूस कर रही है। यद्यपि हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने इस प्रकार का बजट हमारे सामने रखा है जिस से मैं यह कहने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ कि वह एक साम्राज्यशाही हुकूमत के मंत्री जैसा है या वह बजट जनता का शोषण करने वाला है, लेकिन फिर भी जितनी महान समस्याएँ हैं, जितनी बड़ी बड़ी दिक्कतें हैं हमारे मुल्क के सामने हैं, मुझे ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि उन दिक्कतों को पूरा करने के लिए, उन सारी समस्याओं को हल करने के लिए इस प्रकार का बजट काफी नहीं है।

मैं मंत्री महोदय को घन्यवाद देना चाहती हूँ और उन का आभार मानती हूँ कि उन्होंने सिगरेट, बीड़ी, शराब आदि नशीली चीजों पर कर लगा कर एक नई दिशा, एक नया मार्ग दिखाने का हमें प्रयत्न किया है। साथ ही उन्होंने कुछ और कर भी इस प्रकार के लगाये हैं जिस से यह कहा जा सकता है कि उन्होंने

इस बात का पूरा ध्यान रखा है कि जो वर्ग आज पीड़ित है, जो वर्ग गरीब है और जो शोषित है, उसके ऊपर और अधिक भार न पड़े, यद्यपि प्रत्यक्ष रूप से या अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से वह भार उन पर पड़ता ही है। ऐसा मैं समझती हूँ, मैं साथ ही स्वीकार करती हूँ कि मैं कोई अर्थ शास्त्र की पंडित नहीं, और इस विषय में मेरी तुच्छ बुद्धि एक बहुत ही सीमित हद तक पहुंचती है, लेकिन फिर भी जिस तरह का यह कंगाल मुल्क है, जैसी हमारे मुल्क की आर्थिक हालत है, उस को देखते हुए इस देश में इस तरह की सरकार, इस तरह की वैभवशाली हुकूमत, जिस में हज़ारों बड़ी बड़ी तनख्वाह पाने वाले लोग हों, मेरे ख्याल से उचित नहीं है और हमारे वित्त मंत्री अगर चाहते तो बड़ी आसानी से जो बड़ी बड़ी तनख्वाह पाने वाले लोग हैं, अपने से लगा कर के, हज़ार रुपया पाने वाले शासकों के ऊपर कर लगा सकते थे या उनकी तनख्वाहों में कटौती कर सकते थे। अगर आप पांच फी सदी कटौती कर देते और दो हज़ार मासिक पाने वाले पर दस फी सदी और इसी तरह से इस से ज्यादा पाने वाले पर १५ फी सदी कटौती कर देते, तो मैं समझती हूँ कि सरकारी कोष में एक बहुत बड़ी धनराशि की बचत हो सकती थी।

श्री सी० डी० बेंशमुख : वह कटौती तो मौजूद है।

श्रीमती कमला चौधरी : मैं माफ़ी चाहती हूँ। अगर मैं ने उस को ठीक तरह नहीं समझा। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि आज जनता के ऊपर जो आम प्रभाव है, एक असर है, वह यह है कि जब कि देश में चारों तरफ़ एक कोने

[श्रीमती कमला चौधरी]

से दूसरे कोने तक त्राहि त्राहि मची हुई है, चारों तरफ हाय हाय मची हुई है, लोगों के पास खाने को नहीं है, पहिने को कपड़ा नहीं है, और अपने बच्चों को दूध पिलाने के लिये पैसा नहीं है और अगर पैसा है, तो चीज मुहैया नहीं है, तो ऐसी हालत में हमारी गवर्नमेंट के जो विभाग हैं, उन पर दिन पर दिन खर्चा बढ़ता जाना और उन की संख्या भी बढ़ती जाती है, यह लोगों को अपील (appeal) नहीं करता। और इतना खर्चा सरकार पर होते हुए भी व्यवस्था का यह हाल है कि हम हर तरफ अव्यवस्था देखते हैं। और मैं तो यह कहूंगी कि जहां तक मेरी तुच्छ बुद्धि पहुंचती है मैं समझती हूँ कि जनता के बहुत बड़े असंतोष का जो आज कारण है और हर कार्य में और हर योजना में जो आज हमारी सरकार सफल नहीं हो पा रही है उस का सब से बड़ा कारण जो है वह यह है कि हमारी सरकार की यह मैशिनरी की व्यवस्था जो है वह बिल्कुल असफल है। मैं एक बात आप के सामने उदाहरण के तौर पर रखना चाहती हूँ। यह मुनासिब तो नहीं था क्योंकि मुझे से पहले बोलने वाले इस का जिक्र कर चुके हैं और मैं इसे बुराना नहीं चाहती थी, पर मैं एक उदाहरण देना चाहती हूँ। बहुत से वक्ताओं ने यह कहा और आचार्य कृपलानी ने भी इस पर रोशनी डाली है, और मेरा भी यह ख्याल है कि ग्रो मोर फूड (Grow more food) और वन महोत्सव पर जो आठ करोड़ रुपये की रकम खर्च की गई है वह व्यर्थ ही गई। मुझे अफसोस है कि हमारे माननीय कृषि मंत्री यहाँ उपस्थित नहीं हैं, मैं यह दावे के साथ

कह सकती हूँ और अपने अनुभव के आधार पर कह सकती हूँ कि यह आठ करोड़ रूपया व्यर्थ खर्च किया गया है और जो इस के द्वारा प्रचार का कार्य किया गया है उस से जनता के ऊपर इतना खराब प्रभाव पड़ा है कि जनता यह समझने लगी है कि यह मौजूदा सरकार, कांग्रेस सरकार जिस को कि पापुलर गवर्नमेंट (popular Government) कहा जाता है, वह जितना भी कार्य कर रही है केवल अपने प्रचार के लिए कर रही है। मैं निहायत अदब के साथ कहना चाहूंगी कि जनता में तो यह भी भावना है कि हमारे मंत्री लोग केवल अपने प्रचार के लिए यह करते हैं। मुझे खुद अनुभव है और मैं बताना चाहती हूँ कि वन महोत्सव का तो मैं ने अपनी आंखों से यह नजारा देखा है कि जब कोई भी मिनिस्टर या देश का बड़ा आदमी पेड़ लगाने के लिए निर्मित किया जाता है तो हमारे व्यवस्था करने वाले इस बात को सोचते हैं कि किसी जगह दो चार पेड़ कटवा दिये जायें और वहाँ और पेड़ लगवा दिये जायें। मैं अपने यहाँ का आप को जिक्र सुनाती हूँ कि एक बार मुझे भी इस प्रकार निर्मित किया गया था और मुझे मालूम हुआ कि जिस जगह मुझे निर्मित किया गया था वहाँ रातों रात पांच पेड़ काट दिये गये और मुझे वहाँ पेड़ लगाने को कहा गया। लेकिन मैं ने यह शर्त रखी कि मैं उस जगह पेड़ लगाना चाहती हूँ जहाँ पहले कोई वृक्ष न रहा हो। तो एक जगह जहाँ एक कालोनी (Colony) बनी थी मैं ने वहाँ पेड़ लगाना पसन्द किया और वहाँ ही पेड़ लगाया। लेकिन १५ रोब वाद जो वहाँ जा कर देखा तो

वहां किसी पेड़ का नामो निशान भी नहीं था। तो इस तरह के एक दो नहीं सैंकड़ों उदाहरण मैं आप को दे सकती हूँ कि जहां हमारे देश के बड़े बड़े महानुभाव और मंत्री वृक्ष लगाने गये पर वहां वृक्ष का अब निशान भी नहीं है। तो मैं यह कह रही थी कि जो घन शो मोर फूड पर और वन महोत्सव पर व्यय किया गया है मैं समझती हूँ कि यह रुपया बिल्कुल व्यर्थ व्यय हुआ है।

वह साहब मेरे ही जिले के हैं जिन का नाम जगदीश प्रसाद कौशिक है जिन को हमारे कृषि मंत्री महोदय ने कृषि पंडित का [टाइटिल दिया है। जो आंकड़े अखबारों में दिये गये हैं उन से हमें मालूम हुआ कि उन्होंने ने एक एकड़ भूमि में ५८ मन और १३ सेर गेहूं पैदा किया। सब जानते हैं कि हमारे मुल्क में एक एकड़ की अधिक से अधिक उपज सात मन है। जहां तक मेरा ख्याल है, इस समय मेरे पास कोई ऐसी चीज नहीं है जिस से मैं सही तौर से देख सकूँ, शायद अमरीका भी नहीं है, यद्यपि वह बहुत उपजाऊ देश है, सारी दुनियां का रिकार्ड इतना नहीं है ५८ मन १३ सेर एक एकड़ में उपज करके तो हमारे डिस्ट्रिक्ट के कौशिक महोदय ने सारे संसार का रिकार्ड तोड़ दिया है। मैं बहुत अदब के साथ कहना चाहती हूँ कि अभी थोड़े दिन हुए कि मैं उस स्थान पर भवना गई थी। वहां की जनता में बड़ा विरोध था और उन्होंने मांग की कि मैं जा कर कृषि मंत्री के सामने यह रखूँ और उन से एक एन्क्वायरी कमेटी (Enquiry Committee) की मांग करूँ और कहूँ कि उन की भूमि में जो अगामी वर्ष में उपज हो उस का सही सही हिसाब किताब रखा जाये। वहां की जनता का यह ख्याल था कि बिल्कुल

भूटे तरीके से यह कृषि पंडित की उपाधि प्राप्त की गई है। इस विषय में मुझे और भी बहुत सी बातें मालूम हैं। लेकिन शायद मेरी जानकारी गलत हो इसलिए मैं कहना नहीं चाहती। लेकिन मैं इतना अर्ज करना चाहती हूँ कि इस प्रकार से घन व्यय करना और इस प्रकार की भावना देश में फैलाना मेरी दृष्टि से दोनों ही गलत हैं। हमारे संविधान में टाइटिल (titles) और खिताब बिल्कुल खत्म कर दिये गये हैं। अगर अब इस तरह की भावना हमारी सरकार ने देश में फैलाई तो जिस प्रकार ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट के जमाने में राय बहादुर और खान बहादुर लोग अफसरों को डालियां दे कर, खुशामद कर के और रिश्वत दे कर टाइटिल लेना एक बड़ी शान की बात समझते थे वही भावना हमारे देश में फैल जायगी।

एक चीज मैं और बताना चाहती हूँ। मुझे क्षमा करेंगे सभापति महोदय क्योंकि मेरा समय समाप्त हो गया है लेकिन मैं यह बात कहने को विवश हूँ। इसी राजधानी में कपड़े की कमी के कारण यह हालत है, और अगर व्यापार मंत्री जी चाहेंगे तो मैं उन्हें पेश भी कर सकती हूँ, कि शायद अरविन्द मिल की साड़ियां इस तरह मिलती हैं कि उन को तीन तीन टुकड़े में काट दिया जाता है और फिर सी कर भेज दिया जाता है ताकि यह कहा जा सके कि यह मिल का वेस्ट हुआ कपड़ा है और उस के लिए गवर्नमेंट को हिसाब किताब न देना पड़े। कपड़ा तीनों टुकड़ों का एक ही है किनारा एक ही है केवल उस में जोड़ लगे हुए हैं और उन साड़ियों को ब्लैक मार्केट करने वाले और फेरी करने वाले आठ आठ रुपये में बेच रहे हैं। इस से मैं यह बतलाना चाहती हूँ कि जितनी हमारी सरकार यह कोशिश करती है कि हम करप्शन

[श्रीमती कमला चौधरी]

(Corruption) को दूर करेंगे, ब्लैक माकैट को दूर करेंगे मुझे तो लगता है कि यह ब्लैक माकैट करने वाले उतने ही हमारे ऊपर हावी होते चले जा रहे हैं। यहां पर मुझे अकबर का एक शेर याद आता है :

फतह सरकार की होती है
कब्जा उन का होता है

तो इसलिए मैं मंत्री महोदय से बहुत नम्र निवेदन करना चाहूंगी कि जब देश की यह परिस्थिति है तो हमारे वित्त मंत्री, जिनके पास बहुत बड़ी शक्ति है और जो हर मंत्रालय को सचेत कर सकते हैं, सरकारी कर्मचारियों को सचेत कर के इस अव्यवस्था को दूर करें और इस प्रकार की सुविधा रखें जिस से जो गरीब जनता है, जो पीड़ित है उन का सुधार करने में, उन का उद्धार करने में आप को सहूलियत हो और देश को भी यह उम्मीद हो कि जो जनता के भविष्य की तस्वीर आप के बजट के आंकड़ों में छिपी हुई है बहुत मुमकिन है कि वह एक उज्ज्वल तस्वीर हो। यही मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ।

(English translation of the above speech)

Shrimati Kamala Chaudhri (Uttar Pradesh): Although I find little alacrity left in me to speak after the speech of Acharya Kripalani, yet I would endeavour to express my views on the Budget when you have so kindly given me the opportunity to speak. Prior to me Shri Mahamaya Prasad has said that he could not welcome the Budget because I find that the receipts are not sufficient in comparison to the needs of the times. But, Sir, I should like to tell the hon. Minister of Finance that I welcome the Budget but with a feeling of great dejection. I know our hon. Minister of Finance is an eminent economist and I am also aware the financial stringency under which our

country is passing today. An able and distinguished economist that he is, he should need no effort to understand the situation, for all of us know it and many speakers before me have given a graphic description of the situation obtaining in the country and the poverty and present economic stringency prevailing in the country. The hon. Minister of Finance surely feels and understands the situation in the country and knows that the poor people of India hoped and believed that this year's Budget when presented in Parliament will entail far-reaching, almost revolutionary, changes and that adequate modifications will be witnessed in the system of capitalism. This at least would have had the effect that the despondency which has spread over the country after the Budget would not have been there, and people would have got at least an apparent relief. But I find that the poverty-stricken populace of the country is not feeling that relief. Although I am not prepared to say that the Budget presented by the hon. Minister of Finance is similar to an imperialistic Government Minister's Budget that seeks to exploit the people yet I feel that this kind of Budget is not sufficient to meet the titanic difficulties and solve the huge problems that face the country today.

I want to congratulate the hon. Minister and thank him that he has tried to show us a new path by increasing taxation over intoxicants like cigarettes, *biris*, wine etc. Besides, he has also imposed some similar taxes where, it can be said, he has taken care that the burden may not fall on that section of the population which is misery-ridden, poor and exploited, though directly or indirectly the burden does fall upon them. Although I am no expert in economics and with my limited knowledge can only think within a limited sphere, I do feel it unbecoming that in this poor country, in the present economic circumstances, there should exist an administration of such splendour consisting of thousands of officers drawing very high salaries. Had the hon. Minister desired he could have very well imposed a tax on or effected a cut in the salaries of officials getting more than Rs. 1000 per month. He could have imposed a cut of five per cent. in the salaries of officials getting one thousand rupees and above, ten per cent. in the salaries of those getting two thousand rupees and above and a cut of fifteen per cent. in the salaries of the officials getting more than two thousand rupees. I think a good amount of money would have been saved by that way.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: That cut is there.

Shrimati Kamala Chaudhri: I beg to be excused if I did not understand that correctly. What I mean to say is this that the condition of the people from one end of the country to the other is such that utter discontentment and frustration prevail, that they have not got food to eat, clothes to cover their bodies and money to buy milk for their children. If they have money, the things are not there. Under these circumstances, the increase in the expenditure of the Government day by day and the springing up of new departments does not appeal to the people. Even after spending so much on the administration we find that everything is disorganised. In my humble opinion, the main reason of discontent among the people and the failure of the Government in every undertaking and scheme is that the present machinery of our Government is totally inefficient. I want to place before you one thing as an example. It is not appropriate for me to repeat something which has already been said by my predecessors but still I will give one example. Many speakers have said and Acharya Kripalani has also thrown light on it and I am also of the same opinion that the expenditure of Rs. 8 crores on the 'Grow More Food' and the 'Vanmahotsava' had been sheer waste of money. I am sorry that our hon. Minister of Agriculture is not present here at the moment but I can say with confidence and from my experience that this expenditure of Rs. 8 crores has been a sheer waste of money and the effect of propaganda has been still bad on the public. The people think that the present Government, the Congress Government or which is called the popular Government, is doing everything for its own propaganda. I humbly submit that the people even think that the Ministers do all the things merely for their own propaganda. I have seen with my own eyes the performance of *Vanmahotsava* ceremony which was organised in such a way that the organisers by cutting away two or three trees at a place and got two or three new trees planted at the same place by inviting some Minister or some prominent person of the country to perform the tree planting ceremony. I quote an example from my own place. Once I was also invited like that to perform the tree planting ceremony at a place where five trees had been cut down during the night and I was requested to plant new ones there. But I put one condition that I will plant a tree only at that place where there were no trees at all. Therefore, I planted a tree in a newly

constructed colony. But when I visited the place after fifteen days, I found no trace of any tree. Similarly I can quote hundreds of other examples where our Ministers and other leaders of the country planted trees but no trace of them is found at present. Therefore, I say that all the money which has been spent on the 'Grow More Food' and the 'Vanmahotsava' has been a total waste.

The person who has been conferred the title of '*Krashi Pandit*' (Agriculture Expert) by our Minister of Agriculture, lives in my district and his name is Shri Jagdish Prasad Kaushik. The figures which have been published in the newspapers show that he has produced 58 maunds and 13 seers of wheat in an acre. Everybody knows that the maximum production in our country per acre is 7 maunds. Though, at present, I have nothing by which I could ascertain it correctly, but so far as I can think Shri Kaushik by producing 58 maunds and 13 seers in an acre has not only broken the American record, which is a very fertile country, but that of the whole world. I humbly submit that some days ago I happened to go to that place i.e. Mavana. The public of that place was greatly agitated and wanted that I should present their case before the Minister of Agriculture and should ask for the appointment of an enquiry committee. They wanted that next year accurate record should be prepared of the yield in their lands. The people of that place think that this title of '*Krishi Pandit*' (Agriculture Expert) has been acquired by adopting false methods. I know of certain other things in this respect as well. It is possible that my information may be wrong and therefore, I do not want to dilate upon this point. But I want to say that both these things i.e. squandering of money and giving rise to a feeling like this among our countrymen are wrong. In our Constitution we have no provision for conferring titles on persons. And if now this kind of feeling is allowed to spread by the Government among the people, the result will be that persons will try to acquire titles just as during the time of British Government they used to acquire the titles of 'Rai Bahadurs' and 'Khan Bahadurs' by flattering or giving bribes to the officials.

I want to tell you one thing more. Sir, I beg to be excused as my time is now over but I cannot help telling it. In the capital, due to the shortage of cloth sarees of the Arvind Mills are being sold in the market after being cut into three pieces which are again sewn into one, and if the Minister of

[Shrimati Kamala Chaudhri]

Commerce wants, I can even produce them here. This is done to show that it is a mill's waste cloth and no account of it has to be given to the Government. The cloth is the same, borders are same except that they have been sewn together and these sarees are being sold by the black-marketeers and the hawkers for eight rupees each. It seems to me that the more our Government tries to root out corruption and black market, the more the black-marketeers are getting better of us. Here, I am reminded of one of Akbar's couplets:

Fateh Sarkar ki hoti hai

kabaja unka hota hai.

(Tails you loose heads I win)

Therefore, I humbly submit that the hon. Minister of Finance, who has got so much power and can pull up all other Ministries, should do away with this atmosphere of uncertainty, distrust and chaos by giving severe warnings to the Government employees. They should plan in such a manner that it may be easier for them to improve the conditions of the exploited and the suppressed poor masses. The country may also hope that the picture of the future which has been drawn behind the figures of the Budget may also come out to be a bright one. This is all, I have to say.

Shri M. P. Mishra (Bihar): After having heard the great Acharya, who carried his speech to great emotional heights, and earlier my hon. friend Mahamaya Pershad Sinha, I feel it is difficult now to think in the right perspective. No one would disagree with what the Acharya has said, so far as the present conditions are concerned. But in my mind, I think the Acharya has chosen for the villain of the piece, the officials, the services, the administration and he thinks that the day corruption was stopped, the day these officers were brought to book, the paradise will come down on earth. The Acharya, I think, has lost his central point.

Hon. Shri Deshmukh has presented this Budget and it is perhaps the sixth Budget of the Nehru Government and the fourth Budget in free and independent India. Speeches that have been made today present, if not a desperate situation, at least a very difficult and gloomy picture of the country. To my mind, it is not the corrupt officers that are responsible. To my mind, it is not even black marketing that is responsible. What is at the root? The belief of the present

Government is that they can improve conditions without bringing about a radical change in the social structure of the society. We have inherited from the British a rotten and antiquated social system. And our rulers, the head of whom only the other day claimed in Bombay that he was as good a Socialist as anybody, have come to believe, by making experiments for the last four years, that they can improve things without effecting a change in the social order. I cannot doubt their honesty; they have been making desperate efforts and I think there could be no more desperate effort than the present Budget under discussion to improve things in the country. What I am talking about is being laughed at and has been derided, but I do submit that without bringing about a radical change in the structure of the social and economic life of the country, nothing is possible. These officers, the services, whom we have got from the British, we have to be thankful to them for one thing. For the last six years we had to face very difficult times in this country. They have been trained only in one thing by the British. The British had taught them to maintain law and order and they have acquitted themselves wonderfully in this matter. Law and order has been maintained in this country and I say it is to their credit. Beyond this, I do not expect anything from them. They cannot do anything and we should not expect also. What was expected is that a change in the present condition of the social structure should have been brought about. When I talk of radical change, nationalization of industries is not in my mind. In my mind is the agrarian system of the country. Hon. Pandit Nehru had been saying till recently that the most fundamental problem of Asia was the land problem and yet what has our Government done in the matter? The Provincial Congress Governments are there for ten or more years in office. The *Zamindari* system is in tact; feudalism is in tact. Two of the State Governments have made endeavours to pass *zamindari* abolition measures. They are Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. I know personally what difficulties were brought in their way by the Central Government in the matter of legislation and when the legislation is complete, the Supreme Court is sitting tight over it. When five years have been taken merely to pass legislation, I do not know how many years the present Government will take to bring about a change to reorganize the land system of the country on a scientific and rational basis and unless we do it, nothing is possible. Probably the present Government have been thinking

in orthodox terms and they think they can industrialize the country without going into the root of the matter. They think that without industrialization the country's poverty cannot be liquidated. I am not a Gandhite in the orthodox sense of the term, but I see a lot of meaning in what Gandhiji said about social reconstruction. But I do submit that industrialization will not pay this country, industrialisation in the sense of highly capitalised industries, basic industries. They will take ten years to come up. They will not pay this country because our country cannot compete with the rest of the world, with the most advanced countries. In the 18th and 19th century, it was proper to think that a country's poverty would be liquidated by industrialisation. But, what will happen in the mean time. We will make the country poorer. Our Finance Minister has been asking them to sacrifice more and more. What more can these poor people who are starving, who are dying, be asked to sacrifice? If our present Government persists in the policy, in the belief, in the mirage of industrialising the country on a large scale, they will never succeed. Because, people will be made to sacrifice and there will be unrest. By industrialising the country, we can produce. But, who will purchase the products? The purchasing capacity of our people is already very low; it will go lower down if industrialisation is taken in hand. I beg to submit that India's salvation lies in a properly organised land system. Our basic problem is not industrialisation; our basic problem is population, the huge population of this country.

Shri Hussain Imam: Stop it.

Shri M. P. Mishra: That problem cannot be solved by industrialisation. Industries can absorb hardly ten per cent. or 15 per cent. of our population. The rest have to remain on land. I do not also believe that even tractorisation of agriculture will do any good. What is required is: abolish landlordism; abolish feudalism. What are our State Governments doing? They have passed legislation; but the land system is not reorganised. There is no inking as to the lines on which the land system will be reorganised. Land from those who do not till it, has to be taken and distributed among the tillers. Then, people have to be assured of their future. Production in agriculture has to be increased. In order to do this, the basic requirement is abolition of landlordism and the feudal system, confiscation of land from those who do not till it themselves and its redistribution among the tillers. This will not solve our problem immediately; but

it will give our people the confidence that the Government is doing everything for them. The teeming millions will then have a feeling that the future is theirs and if the Government ask them for sacrifices they will make it. Our people have made sacrifices; they are capable of making sacrifices. But, for whom? This Government, as the Acharya said, has not been able to assure any section of our society of their future.

The most turbulent and disturbing section has been the commercial classes. For the last ten years, they have been looting the people; they have bled the people white. A few months ago, the Government of Bihar came down upon them, and arrested a handful of them for black-marketing and profiteering. The businessmen have started a hue and cry. One of them, the very noted among them, has a newspaper in Bihar. That capitalist newspaper has declared a war on the Government of Bihar for arresting just 36 men and putting them under the Preventive Detention Act. They every day shout: Put the communists down; put the communists under the Preventive Detention Act. But, if a black-marketer is put down, they cry and go to the extent that they would like to subvert the Government by all possible means. I do not say that the Government should confiscate their industries or factories. But, a policy of coercion, if necessary, has to be pursued. A poor peasant, if he does not give of his own accord the amount of grain that is asked from him, we march the military and armed police. The magistrate breaks open his house. So far as the capitalist is concerned, there is money; there is the Government report that money is there. Huge profits, during the war days have been made by the capitalists. But our Government has been very considerate to them. But the capitalists are not considerate; while we have always to be considerate to them. We have been very considerate, to the extent that we have been bullied by them, insulted, and humiliated by them. If in the case of the *kisan* we can march the police against him, we can equally march the police in the case of the capitalist who is a tax evader and hoarder and black-marketer. If this Government is not ready to nationalise all the industries and take over all their private industries that they are managing, let them manage them. But let them be fair to the country; let them be honest to the people; let them show at least the minimum of honesty that is required of them. They are not doing even that. That way, most of them are swindlers. I say that this Government should not be considerate to

[Shri M. P. Mishra]

those who have got money. But, I know that their money alone will not solve our problem. The investment has to come from the middle classes. What has been the attitude of this Government towards the middle class? This class has been destroyed; this class is dying; there is no assurance for it; there is no future for it. If we assure them of a future, if we assure them with just a living present, this class can save and can make investment. In order to do that, there has to be an atmosphere created in the country, an enthusiasm created in the country. That is not the task of the officers; that is not the task of the services. That is the task of the leaders of the present democratic popular Government, to enthuse the people. Fortunately, we have Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as our Prime Minister. I do not think, in any other country, there is a leader so popular as he is, as head of the Government. And he talks a lot; he tours a lot. People come to him, respect him and love him; but they do not listen to him, do

not act up to what he says. We must analyse that. What is the reason why a man like Pandit Nehru is not listened to in this country? It is because his Government has not been able to create a sense of confidence in them. Some friends have suggested that it took the new regime in China one year to arrest inflation and to root out corruption. But I would not suggest to my Government to adopt the same political mode of Government as they have adopted. I believe that democracy is very necessary for this country; without democracy no people can prosper. But, a concrete assurance has to be given to the people that their future is safe and that all that the Government does is for improving their lot. Unless that is done, no amount of criticism, no amount of talk as was done by the Acharya to root out corruption and black-marketing, can improve things.

The House then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 12th March, 1951.