

MINIMUM WAGES (AMENDMENT) BILL

The Minister of Labour (Shri V. V. Giri): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Minimum Wages Act, 1948.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

“That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Minimum Wages Act, 1948.”

The motion was adopted.

Shri V. V. Giri: I introduce the Bill.

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—Contd.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Hooghly): After the dramatic exit of our Communist friends, we have got to discuss a more prosaic subject, the budget. We are sorry that the only non-Congress Ministry in India functioning in a neighbouring State has come to an end. It is a bad day for democracy. We shall have the subject discussed later on.

I am sorry I cannot join the congratulations which have been conferred upon the Finance Minister on the introduction of this budget. Frankly speaking, there is no evidence of an Architect's mind behind this budget. About 50 per cent. of the national revenues are being spent on Defence—Rs. 199 crores and odd lakhs, practically Rs. 200 crores. I am not one of those who want to paralyse the safety of India but I am not satisfied that our defence expenditure is being properly incurred or is properly being spent. There is scope for retrenchment and it is a matter of regret that Shri Gopaldaswami Ayyangar is no longer here and there is no responsible top ranking Minister who is in charge of Defence.

An Hon. Member: The Prime Minister is there.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: The Prime Minister is there but he has got too many burdens to bear. It is not fair to him, nor to India that he should be asked to run the Defence Department.

We are distressed by the Finance Minister's adoption of the system of deficit financing. Sir George Schus-

ter who was the Finance Member of the Government of India and who is now the Chairman of the Lloyds Bank, recently toured India and he has said many helpful things. He also stated that in the present state of India's economy, deficit financing is a risky experiment. There is bound to be inflation. I want to know from the Finance Minister how he is going to check the evil effects of inflation. We are thankful for the small mercies of the Finance Minister. He has given us relief with regard to taxation by raising the limit of personal income-tax. That will lead to a loss of revenue of Rs. 82 lakhs but, at the same time, we are deeply perturbed over the revelations made which show there is something seriously wrong in our administration. I am referring to the 4th Report of the Public Accounts Committee which deals with a very important subject, the import and sale of Japanese cloth. The attention of this hon. House should be drawn to this great scandal. Due to the import and sale of Japanese cloth, our revenues have suffered a loss to the extent of Rs. 55 lakhs and the Committee reports that the antecedents of one firm from whom Rs. 15 lakhs are outstanding is very dubious in character. The Committee has recommended that some Judges or a Judicial Committee should investigate into the handling of the whole transaction and it is time that deterrent punishment, in my opinion, should be accorded to officers who are guilty of squandering the Indian tax-payer's money in this regrettable fashion. Some telegram came from the Indian Embassy, Washington that a large quantity of cloth and yarn of Japanese production was available and that could be sold in India if payment was made in United States dollars. Then the deal was signed which involved a payment of over Rs. 6 crores. Then the stuff came and then it was discovered that neither the yarn nor the cloth was suitable for Indian consumption. As a matter of fact, the Sub-Committee headed by the hon. Member, Mr. T. N. Singh, has gone into the matter very carefully. They have reported that when the yarn came it was discovered that the cost was over 100 per cent. higher than the prevailing prices in India. It is a very serious matter. It seems the responsible Minister in charge of the Department was kept in the dark. Apparently the Ministry did not wish the Standing Finance Committee to know that this blunder had been committed in buying the cloth at an enormous cost. The Committee further says that it is only after the irrevocable contract has been entered into that the Government of India became aware of the

unfortunate situation. The result has been that today, and I am reading the Report of the Committee, this transaction as a whole has resulted in a net loss of Rs. 55 lakhs.

The Minister of Revenue and Expenditure (Shri Tyagi): Of which year?

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Shri C. Rajagopalachari was the then Minister in charge of Industry and Commerce. It was in 1946-47 but the stuff came later and it was sold later and the finding is that the sales were completed by November 1949 involving a total loss of Rs. 72 lakhs.

I hope Mr. Tyagi will make note of it and although some money has been realised, yet today, the Committee is reporting that the transaction has resulted in a net loss of Rs. 55 lakhs. It appears that there is a firm, I will not mention the name,—call it B. & Co.,—; they have to pay Rs. 15 lakhs, but it is very difficult either to realise the money or to find out its full antecedents. The Public Accounts Committee went into the Sub-Committee's report and they have endorsed the recommendation that there has been a net loss of Rs. 55 lakhs to the Government of India. I want to know from the Government what action has been taken, what steps are being pursued in order to bring to book those officers who kept the thing back from the Ministers. The finding of the Committee is that the Cabinet was never informed, the responsible Minister was never informed, it was done at lower level, lower official level and that was how this thing was managed. The Sub-Committee says that it cannot help feeling that this case which involved six crores of rupees was dealt with in a perfunctory manner.

We are also distressed to find that over External Affairs, the expenditure is mounting up. In 1951-52, the actual amount spent was Rs. 3,97,00,000. In the coming year, 1953-54, the Minister is budgetting Rs. 5,32,00,000. That means Rs. 1,35,00,000 more. Are we getting our money's worth from the costly Embassies which we maintain and the paraphernalia which we have set up? We talk of "dynamic neutrality" but our policy and our propaganda have failed compared to Pakistani propaganda. On Kashmir, we have no friend, although that is the best case which our country can possibly put up. On the Canal water issue, both the British Press and the American Press are against us. Not only that, our Korean Peace Plan

has been rejected at the UNO. But, even apart from these big issues, over our fellow-Indians in Ceylon, Burma, South Africa and East Africa, our policy has not been successful. The *New York Times* of the 9th February says, that India wants 1.31 billion dollars for implementing its Five Year Plan, and they expect that the United States will find the bulk of it.

Now if we pursue our present foreign policy and if it does not square with American interests and with other foreign interests, what will happen to our Five Year Plan? You know, the private sector is given a very limited role to play. When the Madras Government floated a loan offering an almost unprecedented rate of interest of 41 per cent.—that rate is quite high—even then Shri Rajagopalachari had to complain that the Indian Insurance Companies were not subscribing and he said that we have got to nationalise the insurance companies because they did not show sufficient patriotism. At the same time, we are squandering the poor hard-pressed Indian tax-payer's money. We are spending Rs. 35,000 to put up a memorial or a mausoleum for an Indian Ambassador who died at Cairo. This is sheer waste of money. This figure was supplied by the Minister concerned to a question put by one of the Members of Parliament.

Shri S. S. More (Sholapur): Mr. Tyagi is wondering from where you got this information.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: This was supplied in answer to one question put by Dr. Khare, by one of the Ministers (*Interruption*) possibly the Prime Minister.

Thirty-five thousand rupees has been sanctioned for putting up a memorial. No such memorial has been sanctioned or put up so far for commemorating the memory of Dewan Ram Lal who died in Italy or of Shri Dhirubhai Desai who died in Switzerland.

Now with regard to the Service Estimates we want.....

An Hon. Member: Who was this Ambassador?

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: You ought to know; our Indian Ambassador, Syed Husain.

There is growing expenditure on Defence service estimates. We want that India's defences ought not to be weakened or paralysed. But, at the

[Shri N. C. Chatterjee]

same time, we are receiving distressing reports about the situation in our Army. There is acute shortage of experienced and old officers. Our officer structure is thoroughly unbalanced. As a result of the working of the new rules which were promulgated on the 21st March, 1950, our senior officers have got to undergo compulsory retirement at a certain age. I know that the Judges have to retire at a certain age except the Supreme Court Judges for whom it is postponed for five years. Now, I find, in our Army the result has been a great shortage of senior and experienced officers with the requisite training. Compared to our Superior Civil Services, the shortage is serious. In the Indian Army, if my information is correct, there are only 14 officers who have put in 25 years of service. There are only two officers who have put in 30 years of service.

I want also to dwell on one matter, that is the position of the Indian Executives in foreign firms. When the hon. Minister, Shri Krishnamachari was in Calcutta, I received very disquieting reports from a number of Indian officers and other gentlemen who studied this matter. I issued a statement along with Mr. Hiren Mukerjee drawing the attention of our Government to the discrimination and victimisation that was going on in foreign firms. The starting salary of a Junior non-Indian Officer, even a man who has just come out after passing the Matriculation or School Final from England or Scotland is Rs. 1500, while an Indian who has put in 15 years' service hardly gets Rs. 1500. I know a questionnaire was framed. If we look at Bulletin No. 52 which was issued by the Chambers of Commerce, they have themselves commented, that "the questionnaire had been "very helpfully framed." We are still receiving very distressing reports of discrimination. Today the Minister has issued a circular showing that there has been some improvement. Even Pakistan has taken effective action to stop this kind of discrimination. Ceylon has taken effective steps to prevent this kind of commercial colonialism. In the Human Rights Bill which has been introduced in the British House of Commons by Mr. Brockway and Mr. Sorensen and others they have put in a clause to this effect. "It shall not be lawful for any limited company or a firm to make any provision for payment of different rates of pay for persons performing the same work or filling the same occupation by reason only of difference of

race, colour or nationality.' I want the hon. Minister to get at the real fact. The real facts have been kept back. They have not yet come to light. We should take some definite steps to prevent discrimination. It is not merely a question of academic plea for equality but this is a very important one, if we want to train our Indian boys and to give them the requisite initiative and training and to nationalise our industries.

My time is short. What I want to say is this. The revelations made by the Public Accounts Committee need very careful attention from all sections of the House. We need not make any political capital out of it, but it is a matter of serious import. We are thankful to the Auditor and Comptroller General. He has helped the Committee in getting some facts, but the Committee has not been able to complete its task. Therefore, it has recommended that some judges or a committee of judges should be appointed for the purpose of getting at the truth. This should be done immediately, so as to prevent wastage of our money. These fifty-five lakhs of rupees have been absolutely squandered away. This sort of thing should not be repeated. The Minister should not be kept in the background and the method of keeping back the whole thing from the knowledge of the Cabinet should not be tolerated. This is a deplorable state of things which ought not to be tolerated by the Parliament.

श्री टी० एन० सिंह (जिला बनारस-पूर्व) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं समझता हूँ कि हमें से सभी लोगों को इस बजट का ध्यानपूर्वक अध्ययन करना चाहिए। इस का हमारे आगे आने वाली सन्तानों पर और हमारी आगे आने वाली आर्थिक स्थिति पर बड़ा असर पड़ने वाला है। इस वास्ते उस को छोटे नुक्ते निगाह से देखना ठीक सिद्ध होगा। जो कुछ अभी पूर्ववक्ता महोदय ने कहा है उसकी तरफ मैं आप का ध्यान आकर्षित करना वाजिब समझता हूँ क्योंकि मैं भी उस कमेटी का सदस्य रहा हूँ। उन्होंने जो बातें कही हैं वह तो उसी की रिपोर्ट के आधार पर कही हैं। मैं अपने साथियों

से दरखास्त करना चाहता हूँ जो किसी भी दल से सम्बन्ध रखते हों, कि जिन बातों पर वह किसी कमेटी में बैठ कर निष्पक्ष भाव से विचार करते हैं उन से राजनीतिक फायदा न उठावें, इस का नतीजा यह होगा कि जो बातें कही जाती हैं और जो खोज की जाती है उस में रकावट पैदा होगी। तो मैं अपने सभी साथियों से नम्रतापूर्वक यह निवेदन करूँगा कि वे उन बातों का सदुपयोग करें जिस में कि हमारी गवर्नमेंट उस से फायदा उठावे, हमारे साथी उस से फायदा उठावें, और निर्भीकता से साथ बिना किसी रकावट के वह काम चलता रहे। इस तरह से कुल लाभ हो सकता है। मेरा ब्याल है कि हमारी गवर्नमेंट इस बारे में काफी सतर्क है और हम को चाहे वह पब्लिक ऐकाउंट्स कमेटी (Public Accounts Committee) में हो चाहे और किसी जगह हो अपने मंत्रियों से हमेशा सहयोग मिला है और उन्होंने हमारी बातों को समझने की कोशिश की है और अपने शासन को सुधारने की कोशिश की है। इस वास्ते मैं बड़ी नम्रता के साथ अपने अर्थ मंत्री से एक बात अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ। हमारा मुल्क बहुत गरीब है। हमारे भाई दो दो एक एक रुपय देकर गवर्नमेंट का खजाना भरते हैं। वह काफी त्याग भी करते हैं। उसी के मुताबिक हमारा राज्य होना चाहिए। हमारा गरीब मुल्क है। हमारे जो शासक हैं वह भी गरीबी का बाना पहने हुए हैं। यह कोई मैं नयी बात नहीं कह रहा हूँ। गांधी जी ने हम लोगों को यही सिखाया है। कभी कभी सवाल उठता है कि क्या गवर्नमेंट के नौकरों में कोई कमी की जाय। लोग कहते हैं कि हमारे नौकरों पर बड़ा ज्यादा खर्च होता है। इसे कम करना चाहिए। मेरी समझ में इस पहलू को गलत तरीके से सोचा गया है। हिन्दुस्तान में कुछ हद तक

बेकारी का प्रश्न है। अगर इन आदमियों को कम किया तो बेकारी और बढ़ेगी। लेकिन असली प्रश्न हमारे हिन्दुस्तान में बेकारी का नहीं है। सवाल है अर्ध बेकारी का जिसे अंग्रेजी में अंडर एम्प्लायमेंट (under-employment) कहते हैं। हमको अगर किसी चीज का उपाय निकालना है तो इस चीज का उपाय निकालना है। आदमी को नौकरी कम मिलती है ज़्यादा मिले इस से कोई मसला हल होने वाला नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि पूरे तीर पर तो नहीं लेकिन कुछ अंशों में हमारी प्लानिंग कमीशन ने इस बात की ओर ध्यान दिया है यह हो सकता है कि उन के जो उपाय हैं उन से हम पूरी तरह सहमत न हों। हमारा कहीं मतभेद भी हो सकता है। हर एक आदमी चाहे वह भाई भाई ही क्यों न हो, हर एक मसले को एक तरह नहीं सोच सकता। सब की एक राय नहीं हो सकती। चाहे वह इस तरफ के लोग हों और चाहे उस तरफ के हों, यह हो सकता है कि उन को उस के उपायों से थोड़ा बहुत मतभेद हो। लेकिन उसका यह मतलब नहीं होना चाहिये कि हम अपने घर ही में आग लगा दें। मैं ने देखा है कि चूकि प्लानिंग कमीशन के किसी अंश से हम सहमत नहीं हैं तो यह भी आलोचना की जाती है कि चूकि हम प्लानिंग कमीशन से सहमत नहीं हैं इसलिये कुछ होना ही नहीं चाहिए। हमारा बस चले तो गवर्नमेंट की जितनी डिमांड्स और सप्लाइज (Demands and Supplies) हैं उन को बन्द कर दें। यह प्रवृत्ति गलत है। मैं बड़े अदब के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ जैसा कि मैं ने पहले भी कहा है कि यह अभागा मुल्क गरीब तो है ही, लेकिन सदियों के बाद इस में स्वराज्य आया है। क्या हमारा और आपका यह फर्ज है कि अगर ज़रा

[श्री टी० एन० सिंह]

सा भी मतभेद हो तो आपस म लड़ कर अपने भविष्य को खत्म कर डालें ? मैं बहुत दिनों से ऐसी बातें सुन और देख रहा हूँ, इन से मेरे दिल को तकलीफ होती है । मैं खुद बहुत सी बातों में सहमत नहीं हूँ । लेकिन यह जो योजना है यह हमारे भाईयों की ही बनायी हुई है, हमारे लोगों की ही बनाई हुई है इस को हमें कन्धे से कन्धा मिला कर पूरा करना चाहिए । लोग कहते हैं कि हमारी योजना में नीचे के लोगों का सहयोग नहीं है । क्यों सहयोग नहीं है ? इस वास्ते नहीं है कि हम अपने भाईयों का छिद्रान्वेषण करते हैं । लोग कहते हैं कि हम इस में सफलता नहीं पा सकते, इस के साथ किसी का कोआपरेशन (cooperation) नहीं है, किसी का एंथूजियाज्म (enthusiasm) नहीं है । लेकिन किसी ने यह सोचा कि क्यों नहीं है ? मैं विपक्षी लोगों की छोड़े देता हूँ । हमारे अपने कांग्रेस पार्टी के लोग ही आलोचना करते हैं । लेकिन जो कर्तव्य परायण लोग होते हैं वह काम करने पर लग जाते हैं । आप अगर आलोचना कम करें और कम करें तो काम ज्यादा हो । कोई यह नहीं सोचता कि अगर हम सौ मील आगे नहीं बढ़ सकते हैं पर पचास मील आगे बढ़ सकते हैं तो इसी में सहयोग दे कर इस को पूरा करें ।

बाबू राम नारायण सिंह : सहयोग के माने क्या हैं ?

श्री टी० एन० सिंह : यह तो आप स्वयं अपने दिल से पूछ सकते हैं । उस के बारे में मुझे कोई ज्यादा कहना नहीं है । यह सोचना गलत है कि हम को गवर्नमेंट ने बुला कर नहीं कहा कि काम करो य

हमको ऊपर से किसी ने नहीं बुला कर कहा कि काम करो । आप को आपका वह भाई जो कि गांव में दरिद्रता में फसा हुआ है वह रोज बुला कर कह रहा है कि आप उसके लिए काम करें यह हमारा कर्तव्य है । किसी दूसरे के दोष को निकाल कर हम को उस काम को पीछे नहीं हटाना चाहिए । मैं तो दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि चाहे वह पब्लिक ऐकाउंट्स कमिटी में हो या दूसरी जगह हो मैं तो निडर हो कर आलोचना करता हूँ और जो बात गलत होती है उस को हमेशा ठीक करने की ओर सुधारने की कोशिश करता हूँ । लेकिन इस का यह मतलब नहीं होना चाहिए कि हम उन की बुराई कर के अपने देश को नीचे ले आएं । यह मैं बराबर देख रहा हूँ । इस को देख कर मुझे तकलीफ होती है । मैं समझता हूँ कि इस से मेरे सभी भाईयों को तकलीफ होती होगी । मैं देखता हूँ कि हम छोटी छोटी बातों पर बाक आउट (walk out) कर जाते हैं । यह बातें हमारे इस भवन की, इस सावरिन बाडी (sovereign body) की शान को नहीं बढ़ाती । यह कोई सुख की बात नहीं है । इसे हमें दूर करना चाहिए ।

अब मैं कुछ बातें बजट के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ ।

4 P. M.

जैसा मैं ने शुरू में भूमिका में कहा, हमारा मुक गरीब है, हमारे रिसोर्सज (resources) बहुत कम हैं । हमारे पास न उतने भारी साइंटिस्ट्स (Scientists) हैं, न उतने बड़े बड़े विद्वान हैं लेकिन जो भाई हैं उन्हींसे हम को काम लेना है और उसी दायरे के अन्दर काम करना है । मैं चूँकि बड़े बड़े जो आप के प्राजेक्ट्स हैं उन की कुछ जानकारी रखता हूँ इस वास्ते कहना चाहता हूँ कि क्यों न हम छोटे छोटे कामों

पर अपने रिटोर्सेज को, अपने आदमियों को ज्यादा लगायें। अपने डैफिसिट (deficit) बजट बनाने की बात कही है। मैं उस का स्वागत करता हूँ। हमारा देश कुछ ऐसा है, हम कुछ ऐसे गरीब खानदान में पैदा हुए हैं, हमारा तो भाग्य ही कुछ ऐसा रहा है कि डैफिसिट बजट पुश्तों/पुस्त करके आये हैं। तो यह हमारे मुल्क के लिये कोई असंगत बात नहीं है। डैफिसिट बजट हमारे यहां होना लाजमी है और इस के बिना काम नहीं चलने वाला है। लेकिन उस के साथ हमारा यह फ़र्ज होना चाहिए कि जो भी पैसा खर्च हो वह ठीक तरह से खर्च हो और उस का पूरा दाम, उस का पूरा रिटर्न (return) हम को जल्दी से जल्दी वापस मिले। बड़े प्राइवेट्स में कठिनाई यही है कि आठ वर्ष, पांच वर्ष या दस वर्ष बाद उस का फ़ायदा हम को मिलेगा। तो अगर आप चाहते हैं कि डैफिसिट बजट के मुताबिक आप की आर्थिक स्थिति पर कोई बड़ा असर न पड़े तो ऐसे काम आप हाथ में लीजिये कि उन का रिटर्न, उस का बदला आप को दूसरे ही दिन मिले, यानी एक वर्ष या डेढ़ वर्ष बाद या ज्यादा से ज्यादा दो वर्ष में मिल जाय। इस तरह डैफिसिट बजट का कोई भी असर नहीं पड़ेगा। यह एक ख़ामख़वाह का ख़्याल है कि डैफिसिट बजट होने से हमारे यहां कोई असर हो रहा है। अगर जो रूपया लगता है, चाहे कर्ज ले कर के भी, उस के मुताबिक चीजें पैदा होती हैं, वस्तुओं का उत्पादन होता है, तो हम को पूरा यकीन है कि न कोई इनफ़्लेशन (inflation) हो सकता है, न कुछ और चीज हो सकती है।

एक दूसरी बात जो मैं रखना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि इस वक्त क्रीमों जो हैं, उन में एक नीचे की तरफ जाने की प्रवृत्ति है, यह सारी दुनिया में है। जो रुपया इस वक्त डैफिसिट

बजट से आवेगा उस की बजह से नीचे जाने वाली जो प्रवृत्ति है, उस में रुकावट होगी, जैसा कि दूसरी तरफ से कहा गया है। तो वह डैफिसिट बजट आप चाहे करते या न करते, लेकिन प्राइसेज (prices) को नीचे जाने से गवर्नमेंट को रोकना पड़ेगा, वरना जो हमारे रोजगार हैं, हमारे व्यवसाय हैं, इन सब पर धक्का पड़ेगा। तो यह डैफिसिट बजट तो आप को करना ही पड़ता जिस से कि जो आप का प्राइस स्ट्रक्चर (price structure) है, जो प्राइस की शक्लें अपने मुल्क में हैं, वे बनी रहें, उन में कोई विशेष उथल-पुथल न हो। तो एक तो इस से आप को यह फ़ायदा होता है और साथ साथ आप के व्यवसाय बर्गरहू बने रहते हैं। साथ ही साथ आप का जो प्लान है, जो योजना है, उस को भी पूरा करने का मौका आप को मिलता है। इस वास्ते मेरी समझ में यह डैफिसिट बजट वांछनीय ही नहीं है बल्कि यह जरूरी है, चाहे हम चाहें या न चाहें इस को हमें करना ही पड़ता।

लेकिन इस सम्बन्ध में मैं एक बात जरूर कह देना चाहता हूँ। जिसे पबलिक स्पेंडिंग (public spending) कहते हैं, पबलिक ऐक्सपेंडिचर के नाम से कहा जाता है, उस के लिये एक साधारण नियम है कि पबलिक ऐक्सपेंडिचर गिरते हुए प्राइसेज के मीके पर ज्यादा किया जाता है। जैसा कि आप सब लोगों को तजुर्बा होगा, सन् १९३१ में जब कि प्राइसेज में गिरावट आई थी तो सन् १९३१ में, सन् १९३२ में और सन् १९३३ में यूरोप के कई देशों ने बड़े लार्ज स्केल पर ऐक्सपेंडिचर किया। प्राइसेज गिरने से बेकारी बढ़ती है और पबलिक ऐक्सपेंडिचर ज्यादा करने से लोगों की रोजगार मिलता है, बेकारी रुकती है और साथ ही साथ जो काम होता है वह सस्ते दामों

[श्री टी० एन० सिंह]

में होता है, क्योंकि प्राईसेज मि होती हैं। यह एक साधारण नियम है, सब स्टेट्स इस को करती हैं। तो आप को यह ख्याल रखना होगा कि आप इस वक्त जो पब्लिक ऐक्सपेंडिचर कर रहे हैं वह उस वक्त कर रहे हैं जब कि प्राईसेज उतनी नीचे नहीं हैं जितनी कि अन्त में हो सकती हैं। तो इस की पूरी इकानामिक्स को, इस का जो पूरा असर पड़ता है, उस को सोचना होगा। मैं ने ऐसे ही बात बात में एक सलाह दी थी। एक मित्र ने रीवैल्युएशन (revaluation) की बात कही, तो इस को हमें सोचना चाहिए और मेरी समझ में रीवैल्युएशन की जगह पर अगर हम दो करेंसीज की बात सोचें, जैसे कि जर्मनी में रेंटिन मार्क और राइक मार्क की बात थी। तो मेरा सुझाव है कि इस तरह शायद आप इस मसले में आगे बढ़ सकें। मैं इस बात को मानता हूँ कि इस से जो पूरे इम्प्लीकेशन्स (implications) हैं, क्या इस का विश्वव्यापी असर होगा, क्या इस का देशव्यापी असर होगा, इस का पूरा अध्ययन मैं ने नहीं किया है। लेकिन मैं ने थोड़ा बहुत सोचने की कोशिश की है और ज्यों ज्यों मैं सोचता हूँ मेरा दिमाग कुछ ऐसा कहता है कि यह चीज सोचने लायक है और शायद इस से हम अपनी कुछ समस्याएँ हल कर सकें। प्लानिंग की बात डैफिसिट बजट के पूरे इम्प्लिकेशन की बात, और बॅलेंस आफ पेमेंट (Balance of payment) की बात सोचने की है और इस सबको बर्क आउट करने की बात है, यह सब सोचने की और समझने की बात है। मेरा ख्याल है कि हम को बहुत ही समझदार, बहुत ही अनुभवी और विचारशील फायनॅस मिनिस्टर मिले हैं और मुझे उन की नीति में और जिस तरह स वह चल

रहे हैं उस में पूरा विश्वास है। हमारा यह देश चाहे गरीब हो, चाहे जाँ भी हो, लेकिन इस में इतनी जनशक्ति है कि ६० करोड़ का जो ऐवरेज (average) आप का डैफिसिट फायनॅस का समझा जाता है, एक एक साल में, वह इतना कम है कि हम इस का बोझ बहुत अच्छी तरह से वहन कर सकते हैं।

मैं समझता हूँ कि मैं ने कुछ समय अधिक ले लिया है। लेकिन अन्त में मैं एक इतनी बात और कहूँगा जो मैं पहले भी कहता आया हूँ कि छोटे प्राजैक्ट्स पर इरिगेशन (irrigation) के, फुड (food) के, इन सब पर जो कि हमारे हजारों, लाखों किसान भाईयों को तुरन्त फायदा देने वाले हैं, उन पर ज्यादा जोर देना चाहिए और डैफिसिट फायनॅस में, डैफिसिट बजट के सिलसिले में यह और भी आवश्यक है, ज़रूरी है और बांछनीय है। जैसा मैं ने पहले अर्ज किया, बड़े बड़े प्राजैक्ट्स में बहुत से खतरे हैं। शायद हमारे पास बहुत सी मेन मैटीरियल (main materials) और रिसोर्सज (resources) की कमी भी है और इन में रुपया भी बहुत दिनों के लिये फस जाता है। इसलिये इन में जरा संभल कर धीरे धीरे चलना चाहिए बहुत उतावलेपन के साथ नहीं चलना चाहिए।

Shri Natesan (Tiruvallur): The hon. the Finance Minister has been able to produce a balanced budget and has been able to find necessary funds for development plans. I am glad that the Budget has been received very warmly by all sections of the public. Of course, hon. Members opposite have criticised about deficit financing, but they do not find any alternative solution to it. The only disconcerting aspect of the Budget is that both under Civil and Defence heads expenses have been mounting up and I think there is considerable scope for economy under both heads.

In 1951-52 the expenditure met from revenue was Rs. 387 crores against Rs. 351 crores in the year 1950-51. It rose to Rs. 401 crores in the Budget Estimate for the current year and when revised it went up to Rs. 422 crores and for next year the estimated expenditure is of the order of Rs. 439 crores. In other words, in the course of three years, expenditure has shot up by the staggering figure of Rs. 88 crores. During the same period the revenue which was Rs. 410 crores in 1950-51 has risen only by Rs. 29 crores, that is Rs. 439 crores. I would like to know, why the expenditure has been increasing enormously while the revenue has practically risen by only Rs. 29 crores.

I find the same thing in the estimates included in the Report of the Planning Commission. Going through the estimated expenditure under the Plan as finally revised in the Draft Outline, I find that the estimates of the State Governments have shown very little variation. Under the Draft Outline the expenditure to be incurred by Parts A, B, and C States was Rs. 783 crores; in the final plan the expenditure of the States is Rs. 848 crores showing an increase of Rs. 60 crores.

Then coming to the river valley projects, I find that the estimates have gone up by Rs. 50 crores. I think that this is due to the time-lag in Government coming to a decision. Before the decision takes effect and schemes are put into operation the prices of commodities rise, calculations are upset and naturally the expenditure swells up. If schemes take two or three years and even more to be put into operation and decisions are arrived at after a long while and are implemented after a little longer time, it is no wonder that we are not able to keep up to the estimates. I, therefore, suggest that decisions be given as quickly as possible, because you find that today it is a rising market. It is particularly so in regard to big schemes. I know with my own experience that if I decide to start a scheme today I have got to put up an estimate based on today's costs. If I do not take a decision quickly I find the foreign market has gone up and the estimates go wrong. If that is the case with a small businessman it is more so with the Government where huge expenditure is involved. So I suggest that early decisions be taken in case any big schemes are put forward. By avoiding wasteful expenditure and drawing up correct estimates I have no doubt that you will be able to prune your expenditure to the extent of Rs. 30 or 40 crores. And that must be a very easy method of saving some money.

I want now to speak about the Directorate of Disposals. I find that although it is over six years since the war has ended, there is a Department called the Department of Disposals. I want to know what this Department is doing. I think the Disposals Department was intended to find a sale for materials which were left behind as a result of the cessation of hostilities. I can understand the Department taking one, two, three years to finish its work. But this has been going on for over six years, and now I find it is tending to be practically permanent.

Shri B. S. Murthy (Eluru): Six more years.

Shri Natesan: I want to understand from the Finance Minister how such a lot of materials, ordinary materials which are sold in the bazar, are advertised all over India. And they have branches at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta with various offices in other places. I am not trying to criticise, but I would like to see that Government devotes its attention to find out whether this Department is necessary at all. And then I am told that most of the Defence materials, which probably are found in excess owing to wrong indenting, find a place in the Disposals Department and they are also advertised. I would like to check up this and wish to hear from the Finance Minister if it is all correct.

There are a number of other instances where something can be done. I would like to refer to the Part C States. The existence of these Part C States is really an anachronism. There are eight of these States and I find that about Rs. 4½ crores are given to these States to balance their budgets. That is for the revenue works. Apart from that, about Rs. 4 crores are given towards the capital expenses. So that the Centre spends as much as Rs. 8 to 10 crores—I am not sure if the figure is correct, but it can be—on these Part C States which have a population of just 8 millions. Most of these States, with the exception of Vindhya Pradesh, are of the size of a district. And they have been loaded with all the paraphernalia of an Assembly, an Inspector-General of Police for probably a thousand police constables, the Legislature with a formal address on the day of opening of the Assembly and somebody replying—it is all the usual paraphernalia going on. I do not see why these States should not be merged with the bigger States. I think some decision must be taken on this point, because there is a very strong feeling in the country that Part C States should not

[Shri Natesan]

exist, and the longer they are allowed to continue their independent existence the stronger will be the vested interests.

There are one or two other things I find here. I find in the Explanatory Memorandum that the Indian Medical Institute is to come into existence near Safdarjung Hospital. I understand that the New Zealand Government was good enough to give a donation of £1 million. A foundation-stone was laid near the Irwin Hospital, but now it has been shifted to Safdarjung. I read the other day that the hon. the Health Minister said in the Council of States that this means an additional expense of Rs. 1½ crores. That is a thing which has got to be looked into. Of course if the decision has been taken, there is nothing more to be said about it.

Shri Tyagi: For want of sufficient land on the other site.

Shri Natesan: That cannot be, because I am sure that when you wanted it at the Irwin Hospital steps must have been taken to see whether the land was available, whether the money was available and so on. Anyhow, I am not interested in going into the question now. I simply wanted to bring it to the notice of the Government.

In regard to air transport nationalisation I find that a decision has been taken to bring in a Bill. But I cannot understand why there is also a provision for advancing a loan to Air India International for the purchase of two new aircraft, to which Government have already agreed. Either you nationalise it, or you allow the operators to carry on their transport business. If you are going to nationalise it I cannot understand the necessity for paying them any compensation.

I find I have got to come to one of those very controversial issues today, namely the establishment of the new Andhra State. Well, according to the report in the press the other day, Mr. Justice Wanchoo is presumed to have suggested the payment of a compensation of Rs. 2½ crores to the proposed Andhra State. Here I must say we in South India are not enamoured of the redistribution of the country on a linguistic basis; but inasmuch as a decision has been made and the Andhra leaders want a separate State, they are welcome to have it.

Shri B. S. Murthy: Question.

Shri Natesan: You are welcome to take it. I do not want any questions to be put. I am not a "forward" politician! But that is really the case. If the people want linguistic States all over, you can certainly have linguistic States all over, when the country can afford it. On the one hand we want to see that we have one united country, one united language.....

Dr. Lanka Sundaram (Visakhapatnam): Tell Ramaswami Naicker.

Shri Natesan: Thank you very much; I am accustomed to this kind of laughter. It is not the first time I have seen my friends laughing away.

Shri B. S. Murthy: I am laughing in the last.

Shri Natesan: I hope it will not be the last.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Natesan: There is no reason why either the Central Government or the residuary State of Madras should incur the expenditure. As I have said, it is reported that Mr. Justice Wanchoo has suggested that a payment of Rs. 2½ crores should be made to them. Since the proposed Andhra State cannot have a temporary capital either in Madras or Hyderabad, it is for the Andhra leaders to consider where they should have their temporary capital. But I must observe that the claim of the Andhras for Madras City is simply preposterous, and it is still more preposterous when they make a suggestion that Madras should be made a Chief Commissioner's State.

The question arises as to who the real Andhra leaders are. There are a number of leaders, as far as I know, because I come from Madras City. I find the real leaders are Mr. Prakasam, the lion of Andhra Desa who fought his election in Madras City and lost his deposit—he is the first leader of Andhra Desa—and then my hon. friend Mr. Sanjiva Reddy and a number of leaders. Swami Sitararam, Prof. Ranga, Mr. Sambamurthy...

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is it necessary to go into all these details? Is there provision made for any of the leaders here in the budget? The discussion on this must be confined, of course in general terms to whether the decision after the last Budget

session is right or not. He may reserve all this to the Finance Bill.

Shri Natesan: I will not proceed with this any further. There is the decision of the Finance Minister to resort to deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 110 crores in the current year. I hope that the optimism of the Finance Minister that there would be no risk would be justified by subsequent events.

One thing more. It is a pity that the planners have not taken serious notice of the continuous failure of the monsoon in South India for six years in succession. Only the other day the Madras Government announced a cut in electricity supply by 66 2/3 per cent. owing to want of water in Mettur Reservoir. Now I do not quite understand why the Planning Commission should not take into consideration the plight of Madras and provide at least a 100,000 k.w. thermal station so that there may be some relief. Today what has happened? On account of the 66 2/3 per cent. cut in supply, all the weaving centres in Coimbatore, Madura, etc., have been affected. A large number of weavers have got to be thrown out of work. There may be labour trouble. A number of agricultural consumers will not get their supply. So, it is very important that the Centre should come to their help.

The Parliament has passed an Electricity Supply Act and as a result of this, the States are supposed to form Electricity Boards. If these Boards had come into existence there would not have been this trouble because the Boards would have been non-political bodies and they would have found some way of finding finance. I have no doubt that if this proposition is put forward before the World Bank, we would certainly be able to get some money. It is not even too late now to include it in our Plan.

One thing more. I would like to refer to the famine conditions in Madras. We find today that there is plenty of famine all over South India on account of the drought due to failure of monsoon. I would like the Central Government to go to the assistance of the States by giving some sort of a subvention. It is no good thinking of rules and laws. We have got to get over these legal difficulties and see that we give some substantial help to the Madras State.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: Mr. Natesan has tried to draw a red herring across
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the path of this debate by making a long reference to Madras City, to Andhra leadership and a series of other allied and un-allied questions, but with your permission, Sir, I do not propose to enter into an argument with him on this point because this House had an opportunity of discussing these questions last year and very soon, I am sure, another opportunity perhaps more than one opportunity—would be available for us to go over the question.

Having said this, I would like precisely to limit myself to the rules and regulations relating to the debate on the budget proper. Before I do so, I would like to draw your attention respectfully, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, that I am rather concerned and worried as to the manner in which debates on the budget, which of course includes the Finance Bill, are taking place in the other House earlier than those taking place in this House. Sir, I have got every confidence that under your distinguished leadership, if there is any detraction from the rights and privileges of the House of the People in relation to the other House as regards priority of discussion on money Bills including the budget and *vice versa*, it would be set right.

This is the first budget of the Republican Parliament after the elections last year and as such.....

Shri Tyagi: Does my hon. friend take objection to discussions having started in the Upper House?

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: Certainly. I am glad, my hon. friend, the Minister for Revenue and Expenditure raised the issue. I do not want to go into the question of privileges, but I submit to you, Sir, with due deference, that this is a matter which has got to be looked into, because I feel very strongly that something is being done which is perhaps inconsistent with the procedure which is entirely within the rights of this House. That is for the Chair and I do not know whether any Committee of Privileges should go into this. I leave this entirely to the Chair. I am not debating it today.

Let there be no mistake that the budget which has been presented to us by the Finance Minister is a competent Accountant's budget, and, as such, the corollary is there, that it lacks imagination and a comprehensive insight into the economic discontent and malaise which is now sweeping over the country. I myself am

[Dr. Lanka Sundaram]

fairly in close touch with the budgetary statements because of my training and professional proclivities. I must say, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, that there is an attractive amount of dexterous manipulation of internal and external resources in order that the budget meets both ends and balances.

Nor the Five Year Plan is a pre-disposing factor of the budget, of taxation and expenditure measures, I was rather concerned to note that the Finance Minister was gloating with satisfaction as to the manner in which he has been able to order the house of our national finance, but I am here to say, and say it very unequivocally, that he has tried to give a certificate of buoyant health to the nation which the citizen does not however feel today. I am sorry to say this but it is there.

As regards planning, this is not the place to enter into it, because this House had an opportunity to discuss the Five Year Plan and I remember initiating the debate last year. But, with your permission, I would like to examine six major claims made by the Finance Minister as regards the results of his stewardship of the country's economic and financial matters. He said there was a marked improvement in the economic conditions of the country. He said that prices are at lower levels, industrial as well as agricultural production has shown an increase, the balance of payments position has been more favourable than in the preceding year, there is a transition from a sellers' to a buyers' market, and that the food situation is easier. Each one of these claims, I daresay, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, has the prospect of being discussed by this House, and this aspect of the question will come under discussion and for closer scrutiny on Demands. But, having made all these claims, the Finance Minister made a reference to a problem which unfortunately has not attracted the attention in the debate so far taken place. There is frictional employment, particularly in regard to urban areas. This, to my mind, supplies the keynote to the economic malaise, the crisis which is sweeping before the country. I am not going to make a political speech today because, as I said, I will limit myself entirely to a structural approach to the budget and its implications.

I expected, that the Finance Minister would approach this country's economic and financial problems in a psychological manner, instead of in

a technical manner. I have here written down two or three analyses of the budget statement and its implications. What is the approach of the Finance Minister? It is deficit financing. I personally, as an Economist, have no quarrel about the relevancy of deficit financing under certain circumstances. This deficit financing has not been anything new in the shape of a discovery of the Finance Minister. There is deficit financing all over the country for some years past. The wiping out of cash balances, and the expansion of the floating debt by Rs. 110 crores to meet the deficit on capital account and to leave Rs. 50 crores at the end of the next year. This is the sum total of deficit financing as measured by the yardstick in the budget statement. The Finance Minister said that on the 31st March, 1954, the floating debt of the country will be to the order of Rs. 429.03 crores. I wonder what will be the ultimate volume of this floating debt after the end of the three remaining years of the planning period? In the Explanatory Memorandum, on page 60, this aspect of the question has been fully dealt with. I have got a fear that before the planning period is over, our floating debt would reach the colossal amount of a thousand crores. Compared to what was our indebtedness position when the British were ruling, this is nothing to be worried about. All the same, I must say that if once these gigantic proportions are reached, a stage will arise when the Government of India must implement the letter and the spirit of the assurances given, namely that inflationary tendencies and inflationary pressures would not only be watched, but brought under control.

It is a very revealing document which we had the other day presented to us, the Report of the Finance Commission. On page 63 of the report, it is said, that out of the 91 crores of Revenue Reserve Funds which all the States constituting the Republic of India had in March 1950, only 38.27 crores would be available at the end of the current financial year, that is, at the end of this month. As I said earlier, deficit financing has already been there. Cash balances have disappeared. I have some figures worked out here. Cash balances of about 5 crores at the end of 31st March 1949 for the State of Madras, has now become an over-draft with the Reserve Bank. There were Rs. 90 crores or more of Reserves with the Madras State on 31st March 1949. Today, they have completely disappeared.

With the result, that the combined picture of deficit financing of both the Centre and States will have to be taken together. I am sorry the Finance Minister in his Budget statement or in the Papers circulated has not made any reference to it. Because, any analysis of the budgetary position of the Government of India unrelated to the budgetary position of the 20 and odd States constituting the Republic of India would be unequal in its import, and would not give a proper picture of the health of the nation and the financial position of the country.

The second technical approach as regards financing the Budget, particularly with reference to the implementation of the Plan is in relation to loans and the accommodation that we are getting from abroad. I have listed here five different categories of loans and accommodation available to us: Loan from the International Monetary Bank, Technical Co-operation Administration money, the Colombo Plan, contribution from Norway and the US Wheat loan. On page 64 of the Explanatory Memorandum, the manner in which this Wheat loan money is being utilised is given. I am not going into it. What hurts me as an Indian, or rather the way in which my pride is humbled, is one sentence in the speech of the Finance Minister, which is in para. 19 of part A of the speech delivered to us the other day. He says:

"We have also received a contribution of about Rs. 67 lakhs from the Government of Norway for some of our Development schemes."

I am sorry I have to make particular reference to this. This country is living on contributions from abroad. I would rather this country goes on austerity diet, and stints every measure in its power in order to raise the finances needed. It hurts my pride as an Indian that we are taking the begging bowl to every country in the world, so that we can live on contributions given on conditions which are sometimes humiliating. I would not delay the House further on this aspect of the question. But, I feel I must say with a sense of responsibility that this word 'contribution' entering into the budget statement is something which is galling to my self-respect.

I claim, and I am sure my hon. friend the Revenue and Expenditure Minister would have no quarrel with me, that increased contribution

to the States is the king pin of the budgetary statement this year and, the more so, in the next few years. Twenty-one crores more have been made available this year. In fact, if one reads Chapter III of the Report of the Finance Commission, in this regard, the structure of the national finances, as between the Centre and the States becomes clear. With your permission, I want to approach this question in some detail, and I hope I will have the time to do so. I claim unashamedly that the finances of the States are chaotic, predatory and are in conflict with the Centre. Only two days ago, we passed a Bill as regards the division of excise duties in favour of the States. What has happened? The day when the Finance Minister was making his statement, here, the Delhi State imposed a tax on vanaspati. I can go into these details. I know the answer will be that the Taxation Enquiry Committee has been announced, but it will take two years for them to report and by that time much water would have flown under the Jumna Bridge. The point that I want to make is this. At every stage there is some sort of an impression gained that the Centre is the pensioner of the States. I am here recalling what was contained in the Meston Report, 30 years ago. I refer to para. 15 of the Meston Report, where it is said; "nor ought the Central Government to be left as the pensioner of the Provinces".

I have been following rather carefully, with a certain amount of concern, the manner in which a provincial lobby is developing in the House, and more so in the Finance Ministry. Whoever is in a position to bring pressure is running away with a gain. I am not for starving the States of financial assistance. But, see what is happening in this country. On pages 58 and 59 of the Report of the Finance Commission, there is a very revealing statistical table. I claim that there are black patches in this country as regards taxation and other proposals. I am glad that my hon. friend Mr. B. Das is in agreement. Look at the per capita taxation in the States. It ranges from Rs. 7 in Bihar to Rs. 19.2 in Travancore-Cochin. There are such wide disparities. Until the Finance Minister brings about some sort of equalisation of tax burdens and some sort of equity as between one State and another, it will not be possible for us to expect progress all round in every part of the country.

Shri B. Das (Jajpur-Keonjhar): I have said that 23 years ago.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: I am glad that my hon. friend Mr. B. Das, the Father of the House, reminds me that he said that 25 years ago. Even after crying hoarse in the wilderness for 25 years, we are exactly in the same position as we were at the beginning of the Montford Reforms. I would suggest seriously that, if necessary, we must amend the Constitution, and take back some of the powers which have devolved upon the States, particularly just after the Second World War broke out, and more recently. There are several categories of grants available: the divisible pool of Income-tax, the Export duty—for example, on jute,—Excises—the day before yesterday's Bill,—Grow More Food contributions, Capital Grants, Ad hoc grants, all in the name of revenue gap grants. I agree that finances must be made available reasonably. But, there must be a guarantee that the monies granted from the Centre are properly utilised and spread all over the country.

I regret very much that there was no reference made by the Finance Minister to Prohibition. Dr. Gilder, one of the ex-Ministers of Bombay, in the other House complained of something about this particular question in relation to what Mr. C. D. Deshmukh said in Bombay a few weeks ago. It is an extraordinary position. In this country there is total prohibition in certain areas; partial prohibition in some others; local option in a third place; free boozing days as for example in Delhi sometimes; wet days and dry days. I claim that the Constitution is being fouled to the fullest extent. There is no uniformity of policy as regards prohibition. I am a prohibitionist. It must be uniform all over the country. Eighty crores of rupees are going down the sink because certain people are pledged to carry on a total prohibition experiment, whereas in other parts of the country it is not gone through. I shall finish in a minute. Sir: I am not usually given to infringing upon the time limit. I am stressing this point that 80 crores of rupees are going down the sink. In the light of the conditions described by me, the country must have one uniform policy. A uniform policy cannot be there for the reason that there is appeasement of the private opinion of individuals in office in certain States. Beyond that, I would not like to say anything. I would ask my hon. friend the Revenue and Expenditure Minister to bring something like the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. If we want

an amendment of the Constitution, it must be done.

Two words about taxation and I have done. I would not take more time.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member may reserve something for the Taxation Enquiry Committee.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: Sir, I welcome the raising of the limit on personal incomes, the reduction in the export duty on sacking and rationalisation of the duty on cloth. But I was unable to understand the rationale of the increase of nearly Rs. 190 lakhs in postal rates.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member may reserve something for the Finance Bill. I am sure he will have an opportunity then.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: I submit to your ruling, Sir. I only wish to point out to the Finance Minister that the solemn assurance given two years ago that he will enter on an economy drive has not found mention in the speech now. The proposed economy of Rs. 3½ crores or more has become a will-o'-the-wisp. I do hope that as a result of the debate in this House on the Budget and the Finance Bill, something will be done in this regard. I am sure I can trust my hon. friend Mr. Tyagi to do something in the matter, because astronomical figures are coming up before us each year. Day by day taxation and expenditure are increasing. There must be a limit for that, somewhere. The ceiling has been reached.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I shall now call on Babu Ramnarayan Singh. Before the hon. Member starts, I would like to inform him that a number of hon. Members are anxious to speak. I propose calling three other Members from the Opposition, Mr. Gidwani, Shri Khardekar, and Shri N. R. M. Swami. I shall call the other Members of the Congress also according to the list that I have. Of course, it is rather difficult for one to restrain himself to just ten minutes. But I am only appealing to hon. Members that if they place their view-points in a period of ten minutes, others may have the chance to speak. Fifteen minutes is only the limit, but I would appeal to hon. Members not to take more than ten minutes, if possible.

All other hon. Members in the Opposition must wait for some time. Before the end of the sitting today, they will certainly be given an opportunity to speak. Now, Babu Ramnarayan Singh.

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह (हजारीबाग पश्चिम) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस अधिवेशन में यह पहला दिन है कि मुझे बोलने का अवसर मिला है। जो हो, मैं इस के लिये आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ। भारत सरकार के अर्थ मंत्री श्री देशमुखजी ने १९५३-५४ की आमद खर्च का हिसाब, यानी बजट, इस संसद् के सामने पेश किया है, उपस्थित किया है। सरकारी दल के लोग उठते हैं और उन का कहना है कि यह जो बजट है वह तो बिल्कुल सर्वांग सुन्दर है, ऐसा कहते हुए वे उन के लिये बधाई की वृष्टि करते हैं। उस के साथ साथ कुछ विरोधी लोग भी हैं। उन का कहना होता है कि यह बजट तो बिल्कुल बुरा है और बधाई के बदले वे लोग कुछ निन्दा करते हैं। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, संयोग से मैं किसी दल में नहीं हूँ। इसलिये मैं न तो बजट का समर्थन करने जा रहा हूँ, क्योंकि समर्थन के योग्य वह है नहीं, और निन्दा करने की भी कोई आवश्यकता नहीं देखता।

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA in the Chair]

सभापति महोदय, अभी इसी संसद् भवन में दो घटनाएं हो गई हैं, जिन की ओर सब का ध्यान में आकर्षित करता हूँ। एक तो यह कि साम्यवादी सदस्यों का मकान दखल कर लिया गया है, दल बल के साथ, पुलिस के दल के साथ, और अभी कुछ समय हुआ यहाँ से वे सदस्य हट गये हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं किसी खास व्यक्ति को दोष अभी नहीं देता, लेकिन मैं यह कह देता हूँ कि यह जो बातें हुई हैं वे अच्छी नहीं हैं।

श्री बी० आर० भगत (पटना व शाहाबाद): बजट से इस का क्या ताल्लुक है ?

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : बजट के पहले ही यह घटना हो गयी है और बजट में वह रुपया स्वीकृत होगा जिस रुपये से वह लोग परवरिश पाते हैं !

श्री बी० आर० भगत : यह तो बड़ी दूर की बात है।

Shri G. H. Deshpande (Nasik—Central): On a point of order, Sir. A discussion of this matter was disallowed by the hon. Deputy-Speaker—the same thing be discussed now?

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Deputy-Speaker, only did not give his consent to the adjournment motion. That was the only point. The adjournment motion was not allowed. That was decided. He decided nothing else.

Shri G. H. Deshpande: I want to maintain that a discussion on this matter regarding the merits and demerits, and whether it was right or wrong was disallowed, when the adjournment motion was disallowed. Can it be debated now?

Mr. Chairman: The point is this. The hon. Deputy-Speaker was not pleased to accept the adjournment motion. But on this score the speech of the hon. Member cannot be objected to. But on the point of relevancy, the hon. Member is perfectly entitled to object. I will just enquire of the hon. Member how he justifies it on this point of relevancy.

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : सभापति महोदय, रिलीवेंसी (relevancy) के बारे में, प्रासंगिक है या नहीं, इस के लिये बाल की खाल खींची जायगी तब तो मैं समझता हूँ कि बहुत कम ही लोग बोल पावेंगे। लेकिन बातें यहाँ पर घटती हैं और बजट का सवाल है। बजट के सवाल में जितनी तरह के सरकार के कार्य हैं सब के सम्बन्ध में टीका टिप्पणी की जा सकती है और अभी की जो घटना है उस के लिये मैं प्रसंगवश एक दो बात कहता हूँ। उस पर बहस करने की बात नहीं है।

Mr. Chairman: The point is this. As a matter of fact, on the Budget, everything cannot be said. It is not a Finance Bill, as was pointed out by the Deputy-Speaker yesterday. Because there is a discussion on the Budget, everything is not relevant. Only things which come under the rules are relevant, so far as this is concerned. The hon. Member, if he wants to discuss the merits of the dispute, I think, he can only do so at the time when the Finance Bill comes up. He can, however, express his opinion as to whether the conduct of the Members was right or not. At this stage, it is not strictly relevant. But if he has to pass a remark or say a word or two, in approbation or disapprobation then the House would not object, because everything can be made relevant, provided it is put in such a way that it becomes relevant to the Budget.

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : सभापति महोदय, मझे इस पर बहस नहीं करनी है। लेकिन चूंकि एक ऐसी बात हो गयी जो हम सबों के लिये दुःख की बात है, शर्म की बात है, इसलिये मैं ने इस का प्रसंग ला दिया कि ऐसी घटना हुई कि जिस के लिये हर एक व्यक्ति को कष्ट होता है। क्यों हमारे देश में ऐसी घटना होती है, यह हम सब को सोचना चाहिये। सभापति महोदय, अभी अभी त्रिभुवन नारायण सिंहजी बड़े प्रेम से अन्तःकरण से कह रहे थे कि यह संसद् भवन ऐसी ऐसी घटनाओं से क्यों नापाक किया जाता है, इसे हमें पवित्र करना चाहिये। कितनी सुन्दर बात थी। इस पर कोई अपत्ति का सवाल तो है नहीं। लेकिन मैं आप से कहता हूँ, जैसा त्रिभुवन नारायणजी ने कहा कि यह संसद् भवन बिल्कुल ही पवित्र है, ऐसी कोई घटना यहां पर नहीं होनी चाहिये जो इस की पवित्रता में तनिक भी बाधा दे। लेकिन मैं देख रहा हूँ कि यह संसद् भवन जिसे देश के लिये सब से बड़ी पंचायत सभा होना चाहिये, वह पंचायत सभा तो रही नहीं, सभापति महोदय, यह तो कुरुक्षेत्र बना दिया गया है जहाँ पर देश के भिन्न भिन्न दल के लोग युद्ध करते हैं और महाभारत का युद्ध होता है। मैं आप से

कहूंगा कि इस तरह की बातें होती हैं कि हर एक दल के लोग आते हैं और एक दूसरे पर वीछार करते हैं। बजट पर विचार होता है तो इस बहस के साथ, इस झगड़े के साथ, इस वायुमंडल में, कई तरह के विचार हो सकते हैं। मैं तो सभी से कहूंगा, सरकारी दल के लोगों से कहूंगा कि सब से पहले उद्घरत ह देश के हित के लिये और इस संसद् भवन की प्रतिष्ठा के लिये, कि जितनी तरह की दलबन्दी है, उस सब को खत्म कर दिया जाय। सभापति महोदय, यह तो जानी हुई बात है कि हमारे यहां देश बहुत दिनों से दुर्भाग्य से गुलाम था और जितनी बातें हम करते थे, विदेशियों की नकल करते थे और अब भी कर रहे हैं। जैसा मैं ने पहले कह दिया है मैं अधिक टीका टिप्पणी नहीं करूंगा, मैं केवल राय मचाविरे के तौर पर बातें रख दूंगा, देश के लिये, संसद् के लिये, संसद् के सदस्यों के लिये। सब में बड़ी बात तो यह है कि हर बात में जो विदेशियों की नकल की जाती है, इस को तो छोड़ना चाहिये। इस में देश का कल्याण नहीं है। आप के सामने बजट आया है। यह तो सारा अंग्रेजी भाषा में, अंग्रेजी अंकों में, अंग्रेजी रंग ढंग से सारा कार्य जैसा पहले भी अंग्रेजी राज्य में होता था, जब आप भी थे और मैं भी था, ठीक उसी तरह हुआ है। उस में फर्क क्या है? जब मैं कहता हूँ कि दलबन्दी खत्म कर दी जाय तो कभी कभी लोग कहते हैं कि दलबन्दी खत्म होगी तो राज्य कैसे चलेगा। तो, खैर, अधिक बातें मैं यहां पर नहीं कह सकता हूँ। एक बात इतनी ही यहां पर इस सम्बन्ध में कह कर खत्म करूंगा कि सरकारी दल के सदस्य शायद करीब करीब ३७२ हैं। और इतना बड़ा बहुमत उसको प्राप्त है, बाकी के लोग विरोध में हैं, विरोधी दल वाले कभी स्वप्न में भी उम्मीद नहीं कर सकते कि वह इस सरकार को हटाकर खुद पदासीन हो सकेंगे, इतने प्रबल

बहुमत के सामने वह स्वप्न में भी ऐसा नहीं सोच सकते, सरकार तो जहाँ है, वहीं रहेगी लेकिन सब दिन तो रहने वाली हैं नहीं। यह एक ऐसा सुन्दर कन्वेंशन (convention) या रीति स्थापित कर सकते हैं कि अगर सरकार के प्रति कोई अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव लाये तो जितने सरकारी दल के व्यक्ति हैं वे सब के सब सरकार का साथ दें ताकि सरकार बनी रहे, वह तो ठीक है, लेकिन जब एक छोटा सा बिल या विधेयक हाउस के सामने आये और उसमें अनेक संशोधन पेश हों, तब उन पर भी दलबन्दी की भावना से और पार्टीबन्दी के अन्दर राय दी जाय, इसको तो खत्म ही करना चाहिये। आज जो हम लोग यहां चुनकर आये हैं, तो हम भारतवर्ष के तीस करोड़ आदमियों का यहां पर प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं, और इसलिए यह बहुत आवश्यक हो जाता है कि हम यहां पर जो विषय और बिल पेश हों उन पर स्वतंत्रतापूर्वक और निष्पक्षतापूर्वक विचार कर सकें और जनता का हित ही अपने सामने सर्वापरि रक्खें, तभी हमारा निर्णय ठीक होगा। सभापति महोदय, आज कल डेमोक्रेसी (Democracy) की बड़ी चर्चा होती है लेकिन मैं अपने भाईयों को बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि आज जिस राह वह चल रहे हैं, वह डेमोक्रेसी की नहीं है और मैं तो यहां तक कहूंगा कि अगर सारा संसार भी इसको डेमोक्रेसी कहे तो मैं कहूंगा कि संसार गलती करता है और गलत रास्ते पर है। डेमोक्रेसी के माने सीधे सादे होते हैं रूल बाई दी, मेजोरिटी (Rule by the majority) यानी बहुमत का राज्य, यही डेमोक्रेसी का अर्थ हो सकता है, लेकिन वह बहुमत कैसा होना चाहिए, ऐसा बहुमत नहीं जैसा हम यहां देखते हैं कि सरकारी दल के हैं तो करीब ३७२ सदस्य, लेकिन मालूम ऐसा होता है

कि एक आदमी की राय सी मालूम पड़ती है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : पाटों एक है।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : ऐसी पार्टी नहीं होनी चाहिए, इससे देश का कल्याण नहीं हो सकता है। जब तक दलबन्दी रहेगी तब तक देश में न्याय नहीं हो सकता और जब तक न्याय नहीं हो सकता तब तक सुख और शान्ति की आशा लोग कैसे कर सकते हैं।

श्री जजबाडे (संयाल परगना व हजारीबाग) : एक राय तो तारीफ़ की चीज़ है।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : इसे डेमोक्रेसी नहीं कहते, बहुमत तो ऐसा होना चाहिए जो स्वतंत्रता से देश हित और जनता का ख्याल रखते हुए और परमात्मा को साक्षी रखकर जो उसकी राय हो, वह दे तब वह बहुमत न्याय पर होगा। इसलिए मैं तो सब सदस्यों से यही अपील करूंगा कि वह अपनी जिम्मेदारी को समझें और सदा यह ध्यान रक्खें कि जनता ने उनको चुनकर भेजा है और वह उसका यहां पर प्रतिनिधित्व कर रहे हैं। स्वतंत्र रूप से हर एक विषय पर जो यहां पेश हो, विचार करें और उसके बाद जो उनका बिल कहे, अपनी राय दें, क्योंकि आखिर में बहुमत का निर्णय तो मान्य होगा ही और सरकार को भी कोई डरने की बात नहीं है क्योंकि इतना बड़ा बहुमत उसके पीछे है जो सदा उसकी रक्षा करने में कामयाब हो सकेगा।

श्री धुलेकर (खिला झांसी—वक्षिण) : बजट तो पास कर दिया।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : वह तो ठीक है, बजट आप जरूर पास करते हैं, लेकिन विचार करने की कोई क़ीमत नहीं है, और जब विचार करने में कोई आपको स्वतंत्रता नहीं है तब पास करने या न करने का क्या

[बाबू रामनारायण सिंह]

मतलब रह जाता है। मैं आपसे कहना हूँ कि यह जो आपने करीब चार करोड़ की आमदनी और चार करोड़ का खर्च दिखाया है.....

सरदार ए० एस० सहगल (विलासपुर): चार करोड़ नहीं, चार सौ करोड़।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : ठीक है, मैं अपनी भूल माने लेता हूँ। इसके माने यह हुए कि हमारे मंत्री महोदय हमारे इस गरीब देश से चार सौ करोड़ रुपया लेंगे और उतना ही खर्च होगा, तो यह क्या बात हुई यह जितना सारा रुपया है वह सब सरकार खाये और मोटायें। यह कोई उचित प्रबन्ध नहीं है। इसलिये मैं संसद, व सारे देश को राय दूंगा कि जितनी हमारे देश की आमदनी हो उसमें कोई हिस्सा निश्चित रहना चाहिए, जितनी आमदनी हो उसमें से कम से कम पचास फी सदी तो लोकहितकारी कार्यों में जाना चाहिए।

श्री श्यामी : सारा खर्चा लोकहित में होता है।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : एक बार मैंने प्रश्न किया था आप जरा हिसाब करके बतलायें कि चार अरब रुपये में से कितना रुपया सरकारी अफसर खाते हैं और कितना रुपया रचनात्मक कार्यों में कुओं, तालाबों और नहरों आदि लोकहित के कार्यों में खर्च होता है.....

सरदार ए० एस० सहगल : सरकारी अफसर तो अब आप के हैं।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : सरकारी अफसर आप के हैं मेरे नहीं हैं। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि ऐसा लोग कह दिया करते हैं कि सरकार अब अपनी है, तो सरकारी अफसर भी अपने ह, ठीक है, अपने हैं, लेकिन रा में बए तो कितन रूप में अपने हैं, उसी

प्रकार से हैं जैसे बदन में कोई फोड़ा अथवा जख्म होता हो.....

श्री एम० पी० मिश्रा (मुंगेर उत्तर-पश्चिम) : फोड़े का आपरेशन कर दीजिए।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : वह तो होगा ही, आज नहीं। तो दो वर्ष बाद होगा। हमारे श्री टी० एन० सिंह ने कहा कि स्वराज्य हो गया और उसके साथ ही सारी बातें आ जाती हैं, लेकिन मैं उनसे सहमत नहीं हो सकता। यह ठीक है कि राज्य परिवर्तन हुआ है, अंग्रेज गये और उनके स्थान पर और लोगों का राज्य हो गया, लेकिन सिर्फ शासक के बदल जाने से स्वराज्य तो नहीं स्थापित हो जाता। स्वराज्य तो वह है जिसमें देश के सभी लोग यह समझें कि उनका राज्य है और जो सरकार हो वह यह समझ कर काम करे कि उसे देश और जनता जनार्दन की सेवा करनी है, देश और जनता पर शासन करना नहीं है, और जब तक हमारी सरकार के दिल में इस तरह की सेवा भाव नहीं आती तब तक इसको वेलफेयर स्टेट (Welfare State) कैसे कहा जा सकता है। चौकीदार से लेकर ऊपर तक सब अधिकारी वर्ग के भीतर सेवा की भावना का उदय होना जरूरी है, तभी वास्तविक अर्थों में यह जनता का राज्य कहा जा सकेगा अन्यथा नहीं। ऐसे स्वराज्य के क्या मानी जिसमें शासक वर्ग और उन के कर्मचारी लोग जनता के पैसे पर आराम से गुजर करें और उसकी गाड़ी कमाई का पैसा बैठे २ खाते हों। मेरे कहने का अभिप्राय यह है कि जब तक हमारी सरकार के लोगों के अन्दर से यह मनोभावना दूर नहीं होती, तब तक हम वेलफेयर स्टेट का नाम नहीं ले सकते हैं और न ही डेमोक्रेसी का नाम ले सकते हैं।

सभापति महोदय, बातें तो बहुत कहनी थी लेकिन समयाभाव के कारण मैं यहाँ पर इस समय उनका जिक्र नहीं कर सकता। सन् १९३१ में कराची कांग्रेस में हम ने यह प्रस्ताव पास किया था कि किसी सरकारी अफसर की तनख्वाह पांच सौ रुपये से ज्यादा नहीं होगी, लेकिन आज क्या हो रहा है, आज सरकारी खर्च निरन्तर बढ़ता जा रहा है, और उस को कम करने का कोई वास्तविक यत्न नहीं किया जा रहा प्रतीत होता है, इसलिए मैं अधिक और कुछ न कह कर एक बार फिर से सरकार से और उनके कर्मचारियों और अफसरों से अपील करूँगा कि वे इस बात का प्रयत्न करें कि किम प्रकार सरकारी खर्च में कमी हो जिस से जनता को राहत मिले और वह पैसा जनहितकारी कार्यों में लगाया जा सके।

5 P. M.

जनता भूखों मरे और सरकारी अफसर मौज करें साथ में यह कहा जाए कि यह वेल्फेयर स्टेट है। यह दोनों चीजें मेल नहीं खाती।

सभापति महोदय इस के साथ साथ मैं एक बात और कहूँगा। आप देखिये कि लगभग दो अरब रुपया आप की पल्टन का खर्च है। हमारी कांग्रेस थी, हर साल कांग्रेस में पास होता था कि आर्म्स ऐक्ट (Arms Act) उठा दो, लेकिन यह हमारा राज्य हो गया है तो भी आर्म्स ऐक्ट ज्यों का त्यों है और पल्टन का खर्च बढ़ता जाता है। नहीं यह नहीं होना चाहिये। आर्म्स ऐक्ट उठा दीजिये। सारे देश की हथियार दे दीजिये, सारे देश को सैनिक शिक्षा दे दीजिये, यानी सब को सिपाही बना दिया जाय, थोड़ी सी पल्टन रखिये, तो फिर जब कभी लड़ाई की बात आये तो सारे देश के लोग बुला लिये जायेंगे और काम चल जायेगा। अगर इस तरह से काम हो तो खर्च भी कम हो जायेगा। आज कल करीब पचास प्रति सैकड़ा पल्टन

पर खर्च हो जाता है। लेकिन उस का बदला हम को ठीक नहीं मिलता है। इसलिये मैं कहता हूँ कि सारी पल्टन पर खर्च करने के बदले सारे देश को सैनिक शिक्षा दे कर उन को सैनिक बना दीजिये तो हमारे देश की रक्षा हो जायेगी।

इस के अलावा एक बात सभापति महोदय, मैं और कहूँगा। आज कल इस की भरमार है कि देश की उन्नति के लिये बाहर से मैशीनरी (machinery) आ रही है। और बाहर से कर्ज भी लिया जा रहा है। मैं तो कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप को बाहर से कर्ज नहीं लेना चाहिए क्योंकि जो कर्ज लेता है उस का सर नीचा रहता है। अगर आप अमरीका से कर्ज लेंगे और अमरीका की बराबरी करना चाहेंगे तो यह नहीं हो सकता। इसलिये मैं कहता हूँ कि बाहर से कर्ज भी न लेना चाहिए और जो मैशीनरी बगैरह आ रही है वह भी बन्द करनी चाहिये। लेकिन आप दो चार कल कारखाने ऐसे जरूर बनायें जिन में हर तरह की मैशीनरी पैदा की जा सके। बाहर से सामान मंगा कर हमें यह करना चाहिये। अगर हम ऐसा कर लेंगे तो हम सारी बातों पर बाहर के देशों पर निर्भर नहीं रहेंगे।

श्री स्यागी : अगर हम बाहर से सामान नहीं मंगायेंगे तो यह मैशीनरी कैसे बन सकती है ?

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : वह तो मैं कह ही रहा हूँ। मगर यह नहीं होना चाहिए कि ट्रैक्टर भी आयें, मोटर भी आयें।

Mr. Chairman: I must request the hon. Member to bring his remarks to a close. It is more than 15 minutes.

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : दो मिनट और भी मिल जायें।

Mr. Chairman: As he is an old Member of this House, I did not interrupt him. He has already taken 15 minutes. I will request him to bring his remarks to a close.

बाबू र.मनारायण सिंह: अच्छा जी। सभा की राय है और सभापति जी की राय यह है कि मैं बैठ जाऊं तो मैं बैठ जाता हूँ लेकिन मैं इतना ही कहता हूँ कि जिस प्रकार से आज खर्च हो रहा है उस को हर तरह से कम करना चाहिये और बाहर से जितनी कम हो सकें चीजें आनी चाहियें।

काटेज इन्डस्ट्री (cottage industry) की बात तो आप को मालूम ही होगी कि कई लाख रुपये की खादी खद्दर भंडारों में भरी और कल ही बात चीत हो रही थी कि पल्टन के लोग और सरकारी लोग खादी नहीं पहिनना चाहते हैं। आखिर यह क्यों? यह तो आप जानते ही हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में ज्यादातर लोग खेती करते हैं, और साल भर खेती का काम चलता नहीं है। मुश्किल से पांच छः महीने चलता है बाकी साल भर उन को काम देने के लिये खादी का ही काम सब से उत्तम हो सकता है। इधर सरकार ध्यान दे रही है इस के लिये मैं उस को धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

मुझे और ज्यादा कहना नहीं सिबाहै इस के कि खर्च घटाने की बराबर कोशिश होनी चाहिये। यह नहीं होना चाहिये कि देश का कुछ लाभ भी न हो और लोग अपना मौज करते रहें।

Shri Lokenath Mishra (Puri): I rise to support the budget proposals because the proposals have been based on a Plan which has been endorsed by this House. It is now unkind really to criticise the Finance Minister for lack of vision here and there. But the simple fact remains: his loyalty to the scheme of the Five Year Plan is well evidenced in every proposal that he has put in his Budget. I would like to congratulate the hon. Minister for the reliefs he has given in taxation. That was very important because personal income previously was given relief only to the extent of Rs. 3,600; that means Rs. 300 a month. Now.

there should really be further relief in taxation not only in personal property but also so far as joint family property is concerned.

Then again there is the next proposal of changes in import duties and also in Union Excise duties and these are helpful at a time when we are making a Plan. But while endorsing the Plan I make an appeal that there must be something done so that people, rich and poor, every one can understand that there is a Plan. Although I am a congressman and although I endorse the Plan, I feel that there is something wanting, that popular awareness of a general march and that is why the plan can hardly enthuse people as a whole. Although we have envisaged a Plan for this country with the best intentions in the world, there is this thing lacking, that it can not enthuse the people for whom it is meant. As a congressman, in my own self-interest I say I am anxious to work out the Plan. I want that the Plan should be successful, that the Plan should yield good results. Not only that; there should be not only good results those good results must have something to my credit also. May I now ask the Finance Minister, may I now ask the Government, what work they have left for us as Members of this Parliament, as public men? I feel there is nothing. Our only task as M.P.'s is to endorse it and pass its demands. For that I will be responsible to the country. But, with the execution of it I have nothing to do. I feel that the first thing that should have been done after independence is that the entire country should have felt the change, an enduring change. That change should have been reflected in the country in the form of austerity. Unless there is India-wide austerity in the administration and elsewhere, people cannot feel that there is anything done to further the Plan. Planning means suffering. Suffering must be universal so that there must be universal effort. Unless that suffering is universal, there must be discontent. We feel that some people do never suffer while others are made to suffer. Therefore I say the policy of carrying coal to Newcastle must be stopped. As a congressman, in my own interest, in the interest of our future I must say that there must be a country-wide sense of austerity.

I will give you one example. Let us go to the Connaught Place, let us go to New Delhi; can we see that sense of austerity anywhere? (Interruption).

Who is there to build the country? Unless that idea is there, the example of a great builder is there, I cannot be enthused. Really, I feel one thing. When there was Gandhiji, what appealed? It was his loin cloth. The loin cloth was the symbol of the Indian masses. Therefore he attracted the masses. Now what is there in us? What is there in the administration? What change has occurred after the British withdrawal? Nothing. Therefore I say that the budget proposals are good in the sense that they are loyal to the Plan. Therefore, if we have to criticise the Budget we have to criticise the Plan; we have accepted its principles, priorities and policies. But I say merely clothed in black and white, it looks like a woman who has no energy. It looks like a good housewife who is given a home and asked to make it lovely and enjoyable, but then there is no charm, there is no life in it. Therefore, we must put life into it. That life is an ideal. What is that ideal? Here we have to see where exactly India is going. In spite of all the schemes and the plans, where is the soul of India? Certainly, it cannot be found in this Plan. It must be in the minds of men. This is an age of science, of technology. We are a poor country, and we want to be technologically advanced, so that we can achieve economic prosperity. We are technologically backward and we must naturally look to countries which are technologically advanced for help. It may be America, or Russia. There may be a quarrel as to which way we should go. But one thing is certain: we must have technological advance. But there you have a snare. You may go to Russia, or to America. Both are birds of the same feather. The way we are going is their way. Before British withdrawal, there were impediments in our march, but now we are marching, but marching their way. That is the tragedy. After Gandhiji's disappearance, we are looking for dynamic leadership. But it is not there. Everywhere, the soul of India is lacking. There is no enthusiasm consequently. What is the soul of India in terms of politics? It is common sacrifice. That is a great ideal, but there is nothing anywhere so great that one may die for it. When the British were there, we were prepared to die. Today there is no cause for which I can die if I want to. If there is still time, we are prepared to sacrifice our lives, but we cannot do so for nothing. Therefore, I beseech the administration to conduct the affairs in such a way that there is life.

I can only discuss the administration superficially, because I am a common

man. I am an M.P.; yet, I know nothing about administration. Everywhere, the *status quo* prevails. Only one section has gained after the withdrawal of the British, and that section is the services. People who during the British days would not have become even Under Secretaries, or Inspectors of Police, are today Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries, Superintendents of Police and so on. We could have economised, but we have lost the chance. Take Pakistan. After the British went, they said, "You will be Secretary, but not at the scale of pay that the British Secretary drew." That was the time for effecting economy. Perhaps we believed that if we economised, there might be lack of loyalty. But now we are talking of the patriotism of the services. If they are patriotic, they have to prove it in concrete terms. Either the Government should make up its mind, or the services themselves should voluntarily decide to prove their patriotism in concrete terms.

Here is a deficit of Rs. 140 crores. For making it up, the Finance Minister says that there will be borrowing and small savings. But borrowing from where? Inside the country or outside? I can speak only about internal borrowing in terms of small savings. For implementing the Five Year Plan, there should be austerity all round the country. There should be one rule that all people should share in the scheme, and save. Whether the amounts are big or small, everybody must save in terms of government securities. Only then we shall have enough money. I know that there is a scheme of local agencies and social agencies for promoting small savings. But there are many people who do not know about this scheme. I am really anxious that I must do something for this Plan and for that what I can do is to help in borrowing. For that, there must be a campaign based on solid grounds, real grounds, grounds that will make even the villagers feel that along with the rich they are paying something for the implementation of the Five Year Plan, and that they will get equal good from it as the rich. Therefore, in order to make the small savings successful, there must be a compulsory drive calling on the people to save in terms of Government securities. If that is not done, there will be no speed, no momentum in this Plan.

Now, to take up the Budget itself, I am really glad that the Finance Minister has been very loyal. In the present circumstances, with the commitments that we already have, nobody could have produced a better Budget.

[Shri Lokenath Mishra]

One of the remarkable features of the Budget is that no fresh taxation is imposed, and on the other hand, the Finance Minister has relaxed some taxes. By doing this, he has done a distinct service to the country. If there is a deficit, it should be made up in a way that will redound to the credit of the Government and to the benefit of the people.

Before I close, I want to say that I feel really choked. People say that we are having a democracy, and this is a plan based on democracy. I am a democrat cent. per cent. but I feel that there is really no democracy. What is democracy but an exhilaration, a joy, a sense of oneness with many? I believe that democracy is not an end in itself, but a means to an end. If the means fails to achieve our objective, our national need, our human need, there is something wrong with it. It is not too late yet. We may change the means, but I do feel sure that democracy is a sufficient means to achieve our end, but it should be democracy of the right type. As a Member of this Parliament, as a Member of this great House, I feel choked. I cannot really speak in full-throated ease, I can do so when I am addressing a meeting of my own people. If I do not feel that freedom here, which is the birthplace, the source of freedom and democracy, how can I preach democracy outside? I am one man here and there another. In order to implement this Plan successfully, however brilliant the Finance Minister may be, it is necessary that this feeling of fear and frustration should be ended. There should be a spiritual change, and a change in your ethics. I as a Congressman am proud of India and its legacies and ideals. I am really sorry to feel that we are sinking inch by inch. We must be energised. Unless we are energised, we cannot energise the lakhs of people we represent. How does this Plan matter to my people? How does this Budget matter to my people? I can tell you that I wrote to the Chief Minister of my State, saying, "Here is the Plan. According to it, what are we to do? What is expected of me to do?" But he was in a state of unpreparedness to answer. There is something lacking in the States, in the administration, in the general set-up. People must be energised, must be tuned to feel that we should move as a nation. That sense is lacking. We are still thinking in terms of parties. That should not be. We are not a party. We are above the party. Therefore, if I am to act as a personal

barometer of the success or failure of the Five Year Plan, I request you: Energise me, so that I can energise the ten lakhs of people whom I represent.

Shri Mohiuddin (Hyderabad City): The most important point that has aroused the attention of the people and has raised a controversy is the announcement by the Finance Minister that in the year 1953-54 there will be deficit financing of over Rs. 100 crores. This announcement had considerable reactions in the country as well as in this House. The acting Leader of the Communist Party had characterised it as pandering of the capitalists. He said that the Finance Minister has an eye on the stock exchange as the barometer for the prosperity of the country. Mr Chatterjee also said that he was distressed at the prospect of deficit financing proposed in the Budget.

Now the Finance Minister has very correctly diagnosed the situation through which we have passed in the year 1952. As far as its economic history is concerned, 1952 was a very puzzling year. We saw in that year production going up in practically all the large scale industries. Cloth production had gone up from 4,076 million yards in 1951 to about 4,542 million yards in the year 1952. Similarly production in other large scale industries has gone up considerably. On the other hand, there was as has already been pointed out, increased unemployment. The placements by the employment exchange services were considerably reduced in 1952, as compared with 1951. There was slackness in commerce. The retail trade was practically at a standstill. Some quarters had already begun giving warnings to the Government that the recession that had set in the first part of 1952 had changed the prospects of the Five Year Plan.

Now this was a curious combination of increased production in industries, but decreased activity in trade and commerce. This was accompanied by another curious factor that the index number or prices had also gone up in December 1952 as compared with January 1952. The index number in March 1952 was 364 while in January 1953 it was 380. Now, the Finance Minister in diagnosing the economic conditions of the country had correctly come to the conclusion that the economic system requires infusion of life-blood and the infusion of that life-blood he has provided through this Budget. This was the most opportune moment for rectifying the economic conditions of the country and putting life into it.

Now some Members had expressed the danger that we may have as a consequence of deficit financing a runaway inflation and the prices may go up very high. I for my part do not think that the prices are likely to go up very high. They may go up a little, but not very high as to cause concern in the minds of the people. The important reason on which I have based this conclusion is that the machinery for the control of credit and control of monetary mechanism has considerably improved recently. The Reserve Bank of India has during the last two years introduced certain reforms in the management of the credit of the country which have far-reaching consequences. I am referring to the introduction by the Reserve Bank of India of the usance bills into market. The bank credit that is provided by the banks for the market, generally speaking, is under greater control of the Reserve Bank of India. The deficit financing, if it affects the prices, would affect through raising the prices of the raw materials and there the speculator always plays a very important part. But when the Reserve Bank of India can control the credit provided for the speculator, there is no chance of any runaway inflation in the prices of the country.

I have already referred to the peculiar phenomenon that we had seen during 1952: that it was a combination of increased industrial activity, but reduced commercial turn-over. Various explanations have been given for this. One explanation has been given by the Finance Minister, that the contraction of profits in the trade has created unemployment in urban areas. Other explanations have also been given, that the country is now readjusting itself to lower levels. But this explanation is not the whole explanation. Of course the complexities of the economic life in India are so great that there can be no one explanation. But one partial explanation, I think, has some significance, and that is in the recession that we saw in March 1952 the prices of raw materials suffered the greatest setback. From the figures of index numbers of various articles, food articles, manufactured articles and industrial raw materials, it will be seen that the greatest fall was in respect of industrial raw materials. Groundnuts, oilseed, linseed, gur and other articles had fallen down by 30 to 40 per cent. Now this fall was very high as compared with the very small or no fall in other sectors of economy, for example manufactured articles. As a matter of fact, manufactured articles

went up during the year 1952 by a few points. So the result, I believe, is that the money from the rural areas, which represent 80 per cent. of the population, was drawn away. The prices obtained by the cultivators were much less than what they obtained before, but the prices of manufactured articles remained practically the same. Their purchasing power was drastically reduced, and this had its reaction on the employment and turnover in the trade and commerce in urban areas. That explanation is of some significance for future policy, and I hope the Finance Ministry will pay some attention to it.

श्री गिडबानी (याना) : सभापति महोदय, अर्थ मंत्री महोदय ने हमें बतलाया कि देश की आर्थिक स्थिति सुधर रही है। मैं इस बात को स्वीकार करने में असमर्थ हूँ, मैं तो उल्टे देख रहा हूँ कि देश की आर्थिक स्थिति और भी बिगड़ रही है। मैं यहाँ पर आज उन सब बातों और घटनाओं को दुहराना नहीं चाहता कि देश में किस तरह लोगों को अकाल की पीड़ा का सामना करना पड़ा। इसके अलावा पिछले चार, छै महीनों में जो तीन, चार वाक्ये हुए हैं, वह मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ और उस तरह के वाक्ये पहले कभी नहीं हुए। आपके सामने मद्रास प्रान्त में पुलिस वालों की स्ट्राइक (strike) हुई, आपके सामने पंजाब, बंगाल और यू० पी० में प्राइमरी स्कूलों के टीचर्स ने हजारों की तादाद में हड़ताल की और यू० पी० में तो नीबत यहाँ तक पहुँच चुकी है कि वे लोग फ़ास्ट-अनटू-डेथ (fast unto death) करने बैठे हैं और किस प्रकार उनको जबर्दस्ती वहाँ से उठाया गया है, इसका सब विवरण अखबारों में छप चुका है और वह मैं आपको यहाँ पर पढ़कर सुनाये देता हूँ :

In Lucknow, Wearing "Hungry teachers" badges

बंधित के० सी० शर्मा (जिला मेरठ दक्षिण) सभापति जी मैं एक सवाल पूछता हूँ कि यह यहाँ कैसे रिलेवन्ट (relevant) है,

[पंडित के० सी० शर्मा]

इसका लगाव तो यू० पी० के शिक्षा विभाग से है, सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट को उसमें कोई अख्तियार नहीं है कि वह देखल दे सके।

श्री गिडबानी : रेलेवेन्सी (relevancy)

यह है कि हम देश की इकोनामिक पालिसी के सुधारने की बात कर रहे हैं और यह स्ट्राईक जो हो रही है, इसका उससे सम्बन्ध है इसलिये.

Mr. Chairman: Let the hon. Member proceed.

Shri Gidwani: In Calcutta, hunger badges on and placards in hand, about 10,000 primary and secondary private school teachers marched in a mile-long procession through the city to the State Assembly to submit a memorandum demanding increased pay, allowances and amenities.

इसके अलावा यू० पी० में पटवारी लोग जो रेवेन्यू अफसर (revenue officers) होते हैं उनकी भी हड़तालें हुईं देश के किसी न किसी भाग में काफी स्ट्राईक हुआ करती हैं, इन घटनाओं का मैं वर्णन इसलिये करना चाहता था कि यह सब मध्यम श्रेणी के लोग थे और आज जो यह हड़ताल करने पर मजबूर हुए हैं, तो इसका कारण देखा होगा कि आखिर यह लोग जिन्होंने पहले कभी हड़ताल वगैरह नहीं की, आज क्यों कर रहे हैं, इसी तरह से हम पुलिस को देखते हैं कि वह भी हड़ताल कर बैठती है, इसका एक मात्र कारण मेरी समझ में तो यही आता है कि दिन प्रति दिन मध्यम श्रेणी के लोगों की आर्थिक स्थिति बिगड़ती जा रही है और उनको जो तनख्वाह मिलती है वह आज बिल्कुल अपर्याप्त है और उसमें उन का गुजर नहीं होता, इसलिये यह कहना कि देश की आर्थिक स्थिति सुधर रही है, मेरी समझ में यह हकीकत के विरुद्ध है। जिस क्षेत्र में देखिये, हमारी अबस्था पिछले चार, पांच वर्षों में गिरी है, पब्लिक हेल्थ (public health) का जहाँ तक ताल्लुक है उस में भी हमारा

गिराव रहा है और मैं आपके सामने एक मेडिकल रिपोर्ट को पढ़कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ जिससे मालूम हो जायगा कि हमारी सेहतें भी कितनी गिरी हैं :

2 lakhs mothers die of child birth every year. Cases of malaria are 10 million per year and deaths from malaria one million and a quarter. We have one doctor for 6,000 people against one for every 1,000 in Britain.

5 lakhs of people die of tuberculosis every year. Every year 62 lakhs of people die from various diseases, 36 lakhs from fevers, 5 lakhs from tuberculosis, 3 lakhs from dysentery, half a lakh from cholera. The infant mortality rate in India is now 160 out of every 1,000. It has been estimated by certain authorities that 30 per cent. of the population in normal times do not get enough to eat.

यह ठीक है कि यह पुरानी फेमिन कमीशन (Famine Commission) के आधार पर दिया गया है, लेकिन आज का स्वास्थ्य उससे बेहतर नहीं हुआ है, विशेषकर मध्यम श्रेणी के लोगों की तो शारीरिक अवस्था बहुत ही दयनीय हो गयी है।

सभापति महोदय : यह ऐदाद कौन से साल के हैं? यह भी बहुत पुराने हैं।

श्री गिडबानी : ऐदाद तो कुछ पुराने हैं लेकिन आज मुझे यह नहीं जान पड़ता कि हमारे लोगों के स्वास्थ्य में कोई सुधार हुआ हो, थोड़ा बहुत सुधार हुआ हो, तो हो, लेकिन उसके साथ पापुलेशन भी बढ़ती जाती है। इस पंच वर्षीय योजना को अगर विचार में लाया जाय तो इसका नतीजा क्या निकलेगा, मैं नहीं कह सकता हूँ क्योंकि मैं कोई इकोनामिस्ट (economist) नहीं हूँ लेकिन डाक्टर ग्यान चंद्र जो हमारे प्राईम-मिनिस्टर के इकोनामिक ऐडवाइजर (Economic Adviser) थे उन्होंने कहा है कि जो सबसे महत्व की बात सरकार को ध्यान में रखनी चाहिये यह यह है कि देश में अभी

सामाजिक निर्माण ऐसा हो, जिससे जो आमदनी में एक दूसरे में डिस्पैरिटी (disparity) होती है, वह असमानता और अन्तर मिट जाय और उन का मत है कि जब तक यह आर्थिक असमानता नहीं मिटती है तब तक हम पंच वर्षीय योजना चाहे जैसी बनायें, हम देश की आर्थिक अवस्था सुधार नहीं सकते हैं। इसलिये मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि हमें इस बजट में लोगों को मकानों, उनके स्वास्थ्य बेहतर करने और उनको साक्षर बनाने की ओर ध्यान देना चाहिये। सभापति जी आप तो संसद् के बहुत पुराने सदस्य हैं। और श्री गोखले के जमाने में जब सेन्ट्रल असेम्बली यहां पर थी, तब वह कम्पलसरी एजुकेशन (compulsory education) का बिल लाये थे और महात्मा गांधी जी भी सन् १९१६ में हैदराबाद में जब आये तब भी टूटी फूटी हिन्दी में बात किया करते थे। उन की हिन्दी गुजराती से मिलती थी। गांधी जी ने कहा कि फर्जी न्यात किलवनी होनी चाहिये (यानी कम्पलसरी एजुकेशन) फर्जी के माने कम्पलसरी और किलवनी गुजराती में एजुकेशन को कहते हैं। उन्होंने ने कहा कि कम्पलसरी एजुकेशन होनी चाहिये। मैं यह १६ फरवरी, १९१६ की बात कहता हूँ जब गांधी जी ने अंग्रेजों से यह मांग की थी। हम ने इस सम्बन्ध में लोकितनी उन्नति की है यह आप लोग देख रहे हैं। इस के लिये भी सब से बड़ी आवश्यकता यह है कि हम अपने खर्च को कम करें। किन्तु जो सरकारी कारोबार चल रहा है उस का खर्च पहले से भी तबड़ा जाता है। मैं नहीं चाहता कि हम डिफेन्स एक्सपेंडिचर (Defence Expenditure) को इतना कम करें क्योंकि यह मैं मानता हूँ कि देश का रक्षण होना चाहिये। लेकिन इस सम्बन्ध में जो बेहूदा खर्च होता है, जो वेस्टेज (wastage) होता है वह खत्म करना चाहिए।

थोड़े दिन हुए मैं यहां का अधिवेशन खत्म होने के बाद बम्बई में था। वहां डिफेन्स डिपार्टमेंट ने एक मकान खरीदने के लिये नेगोशियेट (negotiate) किया था। वह मकान तीन लाख तीस हजार पर नीलाम हुआ है तो भी डिफेन्स डिपार्टमेंट ने फंसला किया है कि उसे पांच लाख पचीस हजार रुपये में खरीदा जाय। इस सम्बन्ध में मैंने सरदार सुरजीत सिंह को एक लेटर लिखा। लेकिन उन्होंने ने कहा कि उस मकान पर मालिक का खर्च बहुत हो गया है।

I told Sardar Surjit Singh that he should reply to my letter as I do not want to misquote him regarding the personal talk we had. I will give you a copy of the letter which I have written to Sardar Surjit Singh. For want of time I am not reading it.

Shri Tyagi: You pass it on to me.

श्री गिडवानी : मैंने इस के सम्बन्ध में सवाल भी पूछा लेकिन वह डिसएलाऊ (disallow) हो गया। मेरा कहना यह है कि इस तरह से जो खर्च होता है वह बन्द किया जाय।

श्री त्यागी : कौन सा वह मकान है ?

श्री गिडवानी : रफिया मंजिल, बम्बई। इसके बाद मैं सिविल एक्सपेंडिचर (Civil Expenditure) पर आता हूँ। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह कौंसिल आफ स्टेट्स (Council of States) का डकोसला क्यों है ? इसकी क्या आवश्यकता है हर साल बीस पचीस लाख रुपया खर्च करने की। यह सब तो एक रिहरसेल (rehearsal) है, एक नाटक है, एक ड्रामा है क्या आवश्यकता है इस की इस जमाने में ? अगर इस सम्बन्ध में मैं बुनियात के कास्टिड्युशन्स कोट (quote) करने लगू तो बड़ा समय लगेगा। चूंकि इंग्लैंड में हाउस आफ लार्ड्स है इसलिये क्या यहां पर कौंसिल आफ स्टेट्स होनी चाहिये ? हमारी दिमागी गुलामी की भी हद्द हो चुकी है। मैं कहता

[श्री गिडबानी]

हूँ कि इस का कोई काम नहीं कृपा कर के इस को बिल्कुल हटा दें। 'सी' क्लास स्टेट्स को पांच करोड़ रुपये की सहायता होती है। इसलिये मैं कहता हूँ कि पार्ट 'सी' स्टेट्स भी हटाओ। आखिर कैसा मजाक है, कृग जिस की जन संख्या दो लाख बीस हजार है वहाँ भी चीफ़ मिनिस्टर! पहले प्रिंसली आर्डर के जमाने में जो राजे महाराजे हुआ करते थे उन की हैसियत सलामी से मालूम होती थी। जिन को १०० तोपों की सलामी मिलती थी वह महाराजाधिराज होता था, जिस की पचास तोपों की सलामी मिलती थी वह दूसरे दर्जे का होता था और जिस को पच्चीस तोपों की सलामी मिलती थी वह तीसरे दर्जे का होता था। इसी तरह से हमारे कांग्रेस राज में कांग्रेसी राज महाराजे बन गये। पहले सेन्टर में अंग्रेजों के जमाने में आठ एग्ज़िक्यूटिव कौंसिलर (Executive Councillor) हुआ करते थे, फिर १९४६ में जब लड़ाई का जमाना आया तो बारह मेम्बर हुए, उस के बाद जब लीग-कांग्रेस मिनिस्ट्री बनी तो १४ हुए। उस के बाद सन् १९५१ में अट्ठारह हुए और अब जा कर ३४ बन गये। जिस तरह सलामी के हिसाब से राजे महाराजे हुआ करते थे, उसी तरह से अब हुकूमत में भी तबके बन गये। जो मिनिस्टर कैबिनेट रैंक (Cabinet rank) का है वह पचास तोपों की सलामी वाला है, उस के बाद जो मिनिस्टर आफ़ स्टेट है वह पच्चीस तोपों की सलामी वाला है, उस के बाद डिप्टी मिनिस्टर आया जो कि शायद २१ सलामी वाला है, और उस के बाद पार्लियामेन्टरी सेक्रेटरी है वह १६ तोपों की सलामी वाला है। इस तरह से कृग का जो चीफ़ मिनिस्टर है वह १४ तोपों की सलामी वाला होगा। क्या मजाक है! एक ऐसी स्टेट का चीफ़ मिनिस्टर जहाँ की आबादी मुश्किल से ढाई लाख है। इसीलिये मैं कहता हूँ कि केन्द्र में

मिनिस्ट्रों की तादाद कम करो।

तीसरी बात मैं कहता हूँ कि पार्ट सी स्टेट्स मस्ट बी ऐबोलिश्ड (Part 'C' States must be abolished.) उस से जो रुपया बचे उस से स्कूल खोलो, अगर यह रास्ता इस्तेमाल किया जाय तभी लोग हमारी सुनेंगे। हमारा ऐलाउन्स भी कम करो। क्यों खबराते हैं हमारे भाई? हम दूसरों को कहते हैं तो हम भी अपने ऊपर सख्ती करें। इसी तरह से हमारे जो आई० सी० एस० आफ़िसर्स हैं उनकी तन्स्वाह भी कम होनी चाहिये। हमारे डिप्टी मिनिस्टर को तो १५०० रुपया तन्स्वाह मिलती है और आई० सी०एस०आफ़िसर को तीन चार हजार। इसी लिये तो वह आपकी इज्जत नहीं करते। एक जगह मैंने सुना कि एक मिनिस्टर के साथ एक सेक्रेटरी गये तो लोगों ने समझा कि सेक्रेटरी ही मिनिस्टर है क्योंकि वह तो ठाठ से बढ़िया कपड़े पहिन कर गया था और मिनिस्टर बेचारा तो कांग्रेस वाला था जो कि खद्दर के कपड़े पहिन था। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि आई० सी० एस० आफ़िसर की तन्स्वाह फ़ौरन कम होनी चाहिये। इस से लाखों का खर्च बच जायेगा।

मैं ने कल श्री नरहरी राव साहब जो कि आडिटर जनरल (Auditor General) हैं उन की रिपोर्ट पढ़ी। क्या गुजब है। उस में मैं ने देखा कि लन्दन की एम्बेसी (Embassy) कोई बजट नहीं पेश करती वह जितना रुपया चाहती है उस को दे दिया जाता है। क्या हमारा रुपया कहीं आसमान से आता है कि जो जितनाचाहे उतन उसी तरह से खर्च कर दिया जाय। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस को भी ठीक करना चाहिये। इस तरह से वहाँ पर जो खर्चा होता है उस का मैं क्या वर्णन करूँ। केवल यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि उस को कम किया जाय। लंदन

और अमेरिका में जो लीगेशन (legation) हैं उन के साथ कोई फ़ेवोरिज्म (favouritism) नहीं करनी चाहिये। इस तरह से मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो भी फ़ूजूल खर्च हो रहा है उस को ख़त्म करो और उस से जो रुपया बचे उस को समाज कल्याणकारी कार्यों (social beneficial activities) में लगाओ।

इस के बाद मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि आप चाहते हैं कि लोगों में जोश बढ़े, इस देश के लोगों में उत्साह (enthusiasm) आये तो इस हुकूमत के ढंग को बदलिये। मैं भी किसी जमाने में आप लोगों में से था, चाहे आज न होऊँ। लेकिन मैं क्या देखता हूँ कि जिस ढंग की ब्यूरोक्रेसी (Bureaucracy) अंग्रेजों के जमाने में थी वह दिनों दिन बढ़ती जा रही है। वह ब्यूरोक्रेटिक राज्य आज ज्यादा जोर शोर से है, ज्यादा मजबूत है। मैं कहता हूँ कि जिस वक्त अंग्रेजों की ब्यूरोक्रेसी थी उस वक्त हम गुलाम थे। अब तो अपना राज्य है तब यह ब्यूरोक्रेटिक गवर्नमेंट क्यों है? आज आप को अपने रबैये को बदलना चाहिये।

मुझे बोलना तो काफ़ी था लेकिन एक लेटर जो मैंने पंडित जी को इस बारे में लिखा था वह पढ़ कर बैठ जाऊंगा। साथ में एक दो बातें रह गई हैं उन पर भी दो एक शब्द कहूंगा। एक तो हमारा राष्ट्रपति भवन यहां है, और इस के अलावा एक राष्ट्रपति निवास शिमला में भी है। यह मुझे बक़्शी टेक चन्द जी से मालूम हुआ। वह आप के पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर थे। शिमले का वह राष्ट्रपति निवास हमेशा बन्द रहता है उस को काम में क्यों नहीं लाया जाता? मेरे दोस्त श्री राजगोपालाचारी और राजेन्द्र बाबू दोनों को दम्भ होता है इसलिये वह प्रब्रह्म दिन से ज्यादा के लिये शिमला नहीं जाया करते। वह क़रीब करीब साल भर

बन्द रहता है। मैंने इसके लिये सवाल किया कि वह कितने दिन खुलता है मगर उस का जबाब तो नहीं दिया, लेकिन यह जरूर कहा कि उस पर दो लाख और कितने हजार चार सालों में खर्च हुआ। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस खर्च को कम किया जाय।

इस के बाद मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ। आप ने इस साल आजादी के दिन जशन मनाया और राष्ट्रपति भवन और पार्लियामेंट हाऊस पर रोशनी की लेकिन यह समझ में नहीं आता कि हमेशा के लिये यह दिये जलते रहें यह कहाँ तक ठीक है। इस के लिये मैं ने सवाल किया तो जवाब मिला कि दस हजार माहवार तो इल्युमिनेशन (Illumination) रोशनी पर आयेगा और बीस हजार इन्स्टालेशन (Installation) पर। जिस देश में लोग नंगे हों, जिस देश में लोग भूखों मरें वहां पर यह रुपया भी क्यों ख़राब किया जाना चाहिये? जब अंगरेजों का राज्य था तो जब कोई कोरोनेशन (coronation) होता था तो भी हमेशा के लिये इस तरह इल्युमिनेशन नहीं कायम रखी गई।

आखिर में मैं एक बात और ब्यूरोक्रेटिक राज्य की बात कहता हूँ। जब मैं मिनिस्ट्रों को खत लिखता हूँ, तो दूसरे दिन जबाब मिल जाता है, पंडित जी में और मुझ में रोज लड़ाई होती है लेकिन जब उन को खत लिखता हूँ तो वह भी तीन दिन में जबाब दे देते हैं, लेकिन जब सेक्रेटरी को लिखता हूँ तो उनमें से कुछ ऐसे आडम्बर साहब मालूम होते हैं कि जबाब देने से भी इन्कार करते हैं। जो बात उन्हें पसन्द नहीं आती है उस का जबाब ही नायब हो जाता है।

आखिर में मैं एक लेटर आप को पढ़ कर सुनाता हूँ। वह लेटर मैंने पंडित

[श्री गिडवानी]

जो को तब लिखत था जब मैं पहली बार बम्बई से संसद के अधिवेशन में शामिल होने के लिये पालम एअरोड्रोम पर उतरा। वह लेटर यों है :

"Nov. 3 1952.

Dear Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,

After a good deal of hesitation, I am addressing this letter to you, though it relates to a matter which will be considered a trivial one; it raises some very important questions and indicates to a certain extent how some of our highest officers are functioning.

I arrived here on 25th Oct. from Bombay by Air India plane. At the Palam aerodrome, I found a large number of people. I was wondering why they had collected there. Subsequently, I came to know that Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, Secy., Natural Resources and Scientific Research, also arrived here by the same plane and most of his subordinate officers belonging to various deptts, under him numbering over 50, had come to receive him on his return from abroad. It was Saturday. The plane arrived at 12-15 noon. It is obvious that all those officers left their offices during their working hours. I have further learnt that it was not for the first time that such a thing had happened. Whenever Dr. Bhatnagar returned from abroad, the same thing was repeated. It is said that he likes this very much and with a view to be in his good books, every officer makes it a point to be present on such occasions. Nor, I understand from very reliable sources, is Dr. Bhatnagar the only one who demands this homage from his junior officers. I am told that most of the Secretaries and other heads of Departments expect to be courted likewise. I am further informed that the absence or the presence of junior officers at air ports to see off or receive their seniors is reflected in the Annual or other reports on such officers.

I do not know what will be your reactions to this. But, in my humble opinion it reveals a slavish mentality and lack of sense of responsibility and discipline on the part of some of our highest officers. It is for you to judge its effect on the general tone of the administration. I assure you that this letter of mine is not actuated by any personal motive. It

was merely an accident that I travelled by the same plane and I felt rather unhappy over this matter. Hence I found it necessary to inform you about it. I leave it to you to deal with it as best as you can; if you deem it necessary. But I do hope that in case you contemplate issuing any directives Dr. Bhatnagar will not be singled out as this undesirable practice is not restricted to his deptt. alone, but is, as I have pointed out above, prevalent in most of the ministries and departments. I have sent a copy of this letter to Dr. Katju. I shall feel obliged if I am informed that this letter has reached you.

Yours Sincerely,
Choith Ram P. Gidwani."

I received the following reply.

"Dear Dr. Choithram,

Thank you for your letter of the 31st October. I entirely agree with you that we should not encourage this kind of large exodus to Palam aerodrome for the reception of a senior officer.

Yours Sincerely,
J. Nehru."

This is only an example.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: What about the staff cars used by these people?

Shri Tyagi: I am sure they were not Government servants; they must be from the Research Institutes.

Shri Gidwani: All were members of the departments concerned. I have enquired. Sixty officers were present. I have seen them with my own eyes.

Some Hon. Members: Why do you try to shield them?

Shri Tyagi: The issues are independent.

Shri Matthen (Thiruvellah): Mr. H. N. Mukerjee said the other day in the House,—I am not very happy to bring in Mr. Mukerjee's name in the present tempo of the House; I can assure the House that I have no idea of bringing No. 1 Windsor Place or any subsequent developments thereof. I am only referring to what Mr. Mukerjee said by way of criticism of the Budget—that a respectable daily of Madras, the *Hindu* said that the Budget is a *status quo* budget. I am sorry to tell you that he is not doing justice either to the *Hindu* or to the Finance Minister by a partial quota-

tion. Half truths are sometimes worse than untruths. What, in fact, the *Hindu* said is as follows:

"But for the enormous provision of 201 crores on capital outlay which has been dictated by the previous commitment under the Five-year Plan, Mr. Deshmukh's Budget could be largely regarded as a *status quo* Budget."

I do not think that Mr. Deshmukh himself expects anything more than this. The most important thing is the allotment of 200 crores for the Five-Year Plan. The most significant omission is, "But for the enormous provision of 201 crores ..." That makes a lot of difference. In all earnestness.—I am sorry Mr. Mukerjee is not here—in all friendliness, I appeal to my hon. friend to pay a little more respect to truth in his statements in the House.

As the Finance Minister said and as we all anticipated, the background of the Budget was the Plan. It was a pleasant surprise to me to find that there was no taxation worth mentioning excepting perhaps some prejudice to lipstick and other cosmetics which one can understand. The enormous programme of 201 crores of capital outlay is a very bold stroke of the Finance Minister for which he deserves not only congratulations, but our gratitude and good wishes. The reaction of the market, not only of the stock exchange, not only of the market, but of the general public all over the country has been very good. This is ample testimony of the healthy nature of the Budget.

Resorting to deficit financing has created some anxiety in some quarters. Having spent nearly 600 crores on development projects and with the prospect of spending much more in the next two years of the Plan period, there is nothing unhealthy in resorting to a limited deficit financing to the tune of nearly 60 crores per year for two years more. On the whole, India has a very healthy economy as our Budget indicates. There are not only no inflationary symptoms visible, but I think it will be admitted by all that there are definite and marked deflationary symptoms all round. With the cost of living left high by the withdrawal of food subsidies and the deflationary policy pursued by the Reserve Bank, in regard to currency restriction, I think deficit financing will be quite desirable. I would go a step further and say that it will be a corrective to the recent policy of the Re-

serve Bank. In this connection, I would like to invite the attention of the House to the great German financial wizard Dr. Schacht in the Germany Hitler's days. His getting away from the orthodox principle of currency reserve was viewed not only with alarm, but something worse by the conservative men like Sir George Schuster financiers of that time, to whom reference was also made by Mr. Chatterjee this morning. However much we may differ from the foreign policy of Hitler, however much we may dislike the purposes for which what I would call Dr. Schacht's deficit financing was used, there is no denying the fact that this financial policy of Dr. Schacht increased the production of Hitler's Germany to a very large extent. Not only that. It almost wiped out unemployment in Germany. These are our two chronic problems. I have therefore no hesitation in giving my unstinted support to the Finance Minister in resorting to deficit financing. I go a step further and say that it will be foolish in the present circumstances if he does not follow this policy if the implementation of the Plan needs it. Further, he has given the House an assurance that he will keep under constant watch the economic trends and take proper measures to counteract any unhealthy development. From what we know of the Finance Minister, I believe we can truly trust in his judgment.

I am sorry to have taken some of my time on deficit financing. That practically reduces the rest of my time. I shall just mention a few points. I am not going to speak on them except pointing them without explanation. Transition from a regulatory to a welfare State, which we are attempting is very difficult without the willing co-operation and enthusiasm of the people. A deliberate attempt should be made by the Central and State Governments to create this enthusiasm which one previous speaker said is not to be seen.

6 P.M.

I am entirely in agreement with him, that this enthusiasm is not visible. During the recent recess, I made a tour of my constituency, which is in Travancore, one of the most enlightened, educated and literate constituencies, where I had to speak on one subject and one subject only, in five colleges and that was on the Plan. I was talking to the sophisticated. I was talking to the leading journalists and when I tell you, you will not be surprised, that there are more than 25 daily newspapers in the vernacular. When I was talking to them on this

[Shri Matthen]

point, I was not only pained to see indifference, but I saw a note of cynicism about the Plan. That was a very painful thing that I noticed. But one thing I found that not one of them had read the Plan, not even the abridged edition. I found that not only those journalists, but even senior Government officers were in colossal ignorance of the Plan. At the same time, as a result of my speech, I could see the reaction which came among the teachers and students, and in some cases even among the peons of some of the colleges, where I had to speak on this subject, and they readily thought that here was something where they had also some part to play. Of course, it was a small speck in a large constituency. Afterwards I wrote to the hon. Prime Minister on the great necessity of advising every one of the Members here to go out to their constituencies and spend as much time as possible in doing a healthy propaganda for the Plan. I am sure, from the experience I have had, that the response is bound to be certain, because when once they know that they have something to do to contribute to the success of the Plan, the large masses will co-operate. Not only this; I would expect the hon. Prime Minister to write to the Chief Ministers of the various States to persuade the M.L.A.'s also to go to their constituencies and try this propaganda in a more earnest manner.

I have got to say one more thing, and I shall finish. Members of Parliament are to be treated as liaison between the Centre and the State Governments. I am glad to announce that the Central Ministers are taking advantage of the Members of Parliament and responding to the suggestions given by the various hon. Members. I have myself experience of this. I wrote to the hon. Minister of Commerce and Industry on the export of coir yarn to the United States, and I appreciate what he has actually done, with a view to reduce the export duty on coir yarn that is produced in my State. But I am sorry the States Ministers are not taking advantage of this, and some sort of complex is making it difficult for them to follow it up. It will be a good thing if the Prime Minister helped them to get rid of this complex to some extent.

India is not a country, but a vast sub-continent, and it is very very necessary for Members of Parliament who come from various parts of the country—as for instance, the southernmost point of India, from where I

come—to know the other places, where there are very serious problems, as for instance, Jammu and Kashmir, the famine areas, the Telugu areas and the Andhra State and so on. But when cost of travelling is a serious impediment, how can we do it? It will be very helpful if a free pass is provided for Members of Parliament as is done in Canada, and Japan, to travel round the country and visit these places.

Finally, I want to invite the attention of the Centre, to the importance of the co-operative societies and the co-operative movement, in the development plans. I know the Five-Year Plan has placed great emphasis on co-operative movement. But with all that, and in spite of the fact that co-operative movement has been in existence in India for the last several years, apart from Bombay and Madras, there is not one State, where any real progress has been made so far, though they form part of the administration reports of the various States. But if the object of the Plan as we know it is, is to level up economic differences, then they cannot but think of improving the lot of the people with these development schemes and programmes, except by changing the method of joint stock enterprise to co-operative venture. I would suggest that a separate portfolio may be created at the Centre, which might be in the charge of a separate Minister, so that he could concentrate on this so as to make the co-operative movement a success.

Shri K. P. Tripathi (Darrang): As I rise to speak today, my heart is full of bitterness. At this hour in the north-east of India, the tea labourers are observing a protest day, because their wages have been cut to the extent of about 20 to 40 per cent. and in those tea gardens where the wages have not been cut, the labour has been laid off for two, three or even four days, which amounts to a cut of nearly 60 per cent. You will remember that in this very House, the hon. Minister promised that the cause of plantation labour will not suffer in the least. When a question was put the other day here, the hon. Commerce Minister replied that he had said so in relation to the Expert Committee's report. But I have read it again and I find that it was not merely in relation to the Expert Committee's report, because he had said that "neither will the Expert Committee report, and even if the Committee reports, the Government of India will not do anything by which the interests of plan-

tation labour will be touched in the slightest." It was a categorical assurance given in this House, and a similar assurance was given by the hon. Finance Minister in the other House, but I am sorry to say that that assurance has not been honoured. The other day, when the question was put, the hon. Commerce Minister said that the cut in wages which was happening in the tea gardens in east India was a step in the right direction. I think the Government have come down from the position which they had taken in October last. I have been wondering what the basis is, on which we are to go. When the Government make a promise, it is a promise upon which the world acts. If that promise is violated, then the world is in a quandary. I hope when the Government make a promise in future, they will be more careful.

This very House legislated the Minimum Wages Act. The Minimum Wages Act means that labour should get at least the minimum requirements in terms of cost of living. But now the minimum wages are being revised, not because of the fact that the cost of living is going down, but because the economic crisis is there, and the tea gardens say that they cannot run. I shall only bring to the notice of the Ministry, what happened in England in the thirties when there was such a crisis in the coal industry, the Government came forward to subsidise wages. More recently when there was a crisis in agriculture, the Government made an inquiry and when it found that the employers were really not able to pay, it came forward to raise the prices. Therefore, whenever the Minimum Wages Act is implemented, it becomes the bounden duty of the Government to see that the minimum wages are maintained, but that has not been done. Therefore when labour is in difficulty today there must be some way found by which the problem can be solved. The Finance Ministry thinks that labour and capital should be put together to knock their heads and try to find out what should be the solution.

I humbly beg to submit that this is a wrong procedure. The tea industry is an exporting industry and the Government is drawing to the extent of 3 to 4 annas per lb. of tea. The income to Government is coming, but labour has been deprived. In a way, it might be said that the Government is obtaining its duties at the cost of minimum wages. This is most immoral. Therefore, I begin to feel that there is something wrong.

When the Leader of the House presented the Planning Commission's Report, he said that we are launching upon a great plan and we are going to have a Welfare State. Since then I have been trying to think out how the Ministry of Finance will weave the Welfare State idea into its budget plan. I find that the Ministry has completely failed in that aspect. The Welfare State idea must be woven into it. Just now my friend Natesan was saying that there had been a cut in electricity supply and as a result of that, there had been labour trouble. Look at the way of this thinking. When electricity is cut, labour is unemployed. Do you call it labour trouble? This is the way in which people think. There is a gap in the minds of men and there is a gap even in the Finance Ministry's way of thinking. They do not think in terms of the solution of problems.

What is it that has happened in the tea crisis? The prices began to recede in 1951. The Government took notice of it in May 1952. They set up a Committee. The Committee investigated and submitted a report in October 1952. And the first action that they took was a wrong action, namely, the withdrawal of duties on tea waste. Now, of course, they have come forward with a guarantee, but that guarantee has not solved the problem. The bankers and employers have combined to frustrate the Government's attempt. They are not taking notice of this. If the Government had not taken notice of this crisis, that would be one thing. But when the Government takes notice and tries to solve it and then fails, then we feel that there is some gap in the mechanism of the Government which the Government should fill up. I find that the Government has not developed such mechanism. What is our social structure? The social structure is that whenever there is a crisis, the employers try to cushion on labour, and the wages of labour are cut. The only sector which is unprotected is labour and therefore, all the loss is made to be borne by labour. It is for this reason that the Minimum Wages Act was enacted. But even then there is no protection. Now, what is happening? You will know that the industrialists have changed the cost structure completely. I have a paper with me which I will just read out. I lost that paper, Sir, but the gist of it is that the emoluments given to the managerial staff in the tea gardens and to James Finlay and other companies are; salary Rs. 1,400 but in the name of allowances they draw sums which if added would amount to Rs. 4,000! Is it justifiable

[Shri K. P. Tripathi]

that a man who draws only Rs. 1,400 or 1,600 should draw allowances which when added to the salary would come to Rs. 3,000 or Rs. 4,000? It is most unjustifiable. How has it happened? It has happened in this way: that in years of prosperity to avoid taxes they have multiplied these allowances. You will find that the Supervisory cost structure of all the industries in India has become too-heavy, and the Ministry thinks that there will be some wisdom dawning upon these people that they will willingly part with this for labour out of consideration for social justice. But I tell you, Sir, it is not going to happen. Some way must be found out for getting it done. The Government has been soft-pedalling. The Government has not discovered any way by which this social injustice might be done away with. Only yesterday figures were published to show that the number of European employees in firms was increasing. Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee discussed it from the point of nationalisation. But I want to discuss it from another point of view. You will see, Sir, that not only the number of European employees has increased, but the number of Indian employees also has increased. What is the idea? The idea is to increase the number of people doing the same job in the supervisory cadre formerly. That means the supervisory cost structure has increased. This cost structure is fixed. The employers do not want to reduce it. The only result of this is that labourers suffer in a crisis. They have been left as derelict as if they were parts of a machine. Only recently in the district of Cachar, in Assam and in North Bengal, I found these people reduced to rags and in a condition of semi-starvation. I met the district officers there. They thought that there was no sanction for dealing with these people—these 'industrial' refugees. Therefore, I draw the attention of the Ministry to this serious gap in our planning structure. The Government must come to this conclusion that they shall have to devise some way of enforcing social justice also on the private sector. At present, there is no effective mechanism for it. If you do not develop effective mechanism, then it is wrong to say that we are going to control the industry, as was said by our leader. The leader said that in the private sector we were going to have control over the industries. What is the control? If the control is there, it must be for social justice and for a social purpose. If we are really going to develop this State into a

Welfare State, it is human welfare which shall have the primary consideration. And the first primary human need is food and raiment—even before health or schools. That we have failed to provide. We have not the mechanism to deal with crisis. Therefore, I must draw the pointed attention of the Ministry to this grave lacuna in our entire planning structure and in the budget structure itself. Until and unless we develop this mechanism, it will not be possible for us to deal with the private sector at all. Therefore, I request you with all the emphasis I can command that we must try and find out some way in which we can deal with it.

With regard to those industries which are of an exporting type. I would request you to find out some way by which you can stabilise prices. I would give you the instance of the Wool Board in England, where the wool is purchased at a pooled price with a fixed profit. They did not get higher profits, but they did not suffer the price repercussions also. I think with regard to jute and tea, our exporting industries, you shall have to discover some such way.

My friend, Mr. Krishnamachari, says: 'Give me some time. I am just new. The Central Tea Board is in a quandary. It is demoralised. I can do nothing just now'. But you must act quickly in a crisis. When you have entered the Government and there is a crisis, you have no right to say: 'Wait, let the crisis be over. We will deal with it later'. That is a wrong way. When you are in the Government, it becomes your duty to deal with this crisis quickly, effectively and adequately. I say you must do something, as the Wool Board did in England, for the purpose of stabilisation of prices.

So far as tea and jute are concerned, I am sorry I have no time. I cannot express my feelings. But I hope the Government will understand more out of what I have not spoken as regards the conditions obtaining there.

Shri N. E. M. Swamy (Wandiwash): I have been following the speeches of the hon. Members very closely and none of them adverted to the salient features of the budget. I really want to confine myself to some concrete suggestions with regard to the Budget. Instead of going into the details with regard to the Budget, I shall take for

consideration some salient points. With the revenue deficit of 3.79 crores for the current year and with a nominal revenue deficit of 1.05 crores for the coming year, which after an adjustment of taxation, becomes a surplus, the Budget is on the whole a satisfactory one as presented by the hon. the Finance Minister. With regard to the adjustment of taxation nothing can be said nor can we comment on that. I find there is an increase in the import duty and it has been off-set by the relief given on some of the essential articles. As regards export duty they have reduced it, with regard to hessian and with regard to sacking there is an inevitable reduction. This is due to the world market; otherwise there is no meaning. With regard to the increase in the taxation exemption. I find with regard to individuals there is an increase from Rs. 3,600 to Rs. 4,200. I find no reason why in the case of a joint family they have increased it only to Rs. 8,400. Is it because you do not want to maintain the habit of remaining in a corporate body which was in existence in India for several centuries? By not giving adequate facilities you are just assisting the tendency to disrupt the family. Supposing there are four members in the joint family. Every one would like to get the minimum exemption and therefore, I would suggest that in the case of joint family the exemption limits be increased and if there are two or three members you should increase the limit proportionately. If you keep it at Rs. 8,400, in many cases it would tend to disrupt the family and avoid paying the tax.

As regards the increase in taxation in the Postal department there is not much so far as the generality is concerned. You are not reducing the price of post cards. They are being maintained. As regards the increase with regard to registered letters and insurance and other things it may work some havoc with regard to the commercial community. We can certainly say that they can afford to pay. But, still I say they could have reduced the price of post cards and letters, by at least a quarter anna. If they had reduced 3 pies they would have had the largest sympathy from the public.

There are two aspects which I find are not well explained by any of our friends. With regard to the credit we have taken for the eighteen crores of rupees that we have to recover as pre-partition debt from Pakistan, it has found a place on the revenue side. It must naturally be on the capital side. Supposing they do not pay it—

I have my own doubts that they will never pay it because they have already provided last year for five crores of rupees and that has not been paid so far. Even if they pay it, why should it be on the revenue side, unless the Finance Minister thinks that he should not present a revenue deficit budget to the country and he wants to avoid that? That is why, probably, he has taken it on the revenue side.

The other thing is with regard to the abolition of the Food subsidy. As he has now abolished the food subsidy it should be on the credit side. It is shown on the debit side. This is a procedure which I find is not only not used in other countries but it is also uncommon, to have it on the debit side. It must have been on the credit side. Otherwise the canons of public finance may be jeopardised.

On a perusal of the Budget I find there is a good deal of anxiety as far as the capital budget is concerned—the Budget as such. We find an overall deficit of Rs. 140 crores and this has to be made good by some other adjustments. For this they have to borrow and for that they may have to go to market for raising a loan of Rs. 100 crores. Even if they do it, still in order to minimise the deficit and to keep up a minimum balance of Rs. 50 crores, they will again have to go to market for raising another Rs. 110 crores. For that they have easily found a way, just taking a credit of this amount under Treasury Bills. As a matter of fact, last year, I find from the Budget they wanted to raise a loan of Rs. 25 crores which they did not. This huge sum is impossible of raising. Therefore, the only method now left open to the Finance Minister is to go to foreign countries for assistance. I think they are under the impression that because of some study of our financial aspects by the Monetary Fund Commission, it would evidently help them, that they can possibly get some loan. I am sure that in view of the International situation it is not possible that we can get any loan from them. What is the alternative left open? That is only the deficit financing. By that course the inflationary pressures that were in existence before and which have ceased to act may again come up. As a matter of fact, they can easily resort to this because the money they raise will be used only for developmental purposes. That is the reason why they think that they can certainly go in for deficit financing. Deficit financing is a healthy sign of the financial condition of a State. This is a

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thing which is being resorted to in other countries also. If they resort to deficit financing how are they going to pay? The income is the same. How are they going to make both ends meet? Because we have the Five Year Plan we must have deficit financing for some time; if the Five Year Plan is to be successful. We have been assured by the Finance Minister that he will try to safeguard and avoid any unhealthy development that may take place by taking resort to some counter-measures. I am not sure whether such a thing would happen. He has asked us to think that the entire Budget is based on the background of the Five Year Plan. But about next year we will have spent about Rs. 1,000 crores leaving a balance of Rs. 1,000 crores and odd to be spent for the next two years. The trouble with regard to the Five Year Plan is with regard to the financial aspect. We are not able to know how we are going to spend this money. The problem hereafter would be not how we are going to spend this Rs. 1,000 crores for 2 years. The problem would be how to bridge this gap after we spend in the first two years the money that you have raised in the country and the money that you are going to spend hereafter. For this purpose he has recently appointed a Taxation Enquiry Committee whose recommendations will not come forth within the two years. The recommendations will be of no use because by the time the recommendations are put forth this Five Year Plan will be complete.

I have seen in the Budget speech, he says, that there is all round increase in production, in all sectors, both private and public. But there is one aspect. Even if there is a large amount of production we must also have consumption. The Five Year Plan has given you the targets about production but how to consume it has not been provided. Unless we find some means to consume all commodities that we produce in our country, the progress of the Five Year Plan will be retarded to a great extent. I am sure that this aspect has to be considered; otherwise there may be a failure.

I propose to suggest some methods by which we can have surplus budgets and that is this. I do not propose to say that we must go in for taxation. I do not mean to say that because it will be causing annoyance to the people as we have already taxed them. We want their co-operation for the fulfilment of the Five Year Plan; otherwise this Five Year Plan will be an utter failure. We tax them for that.

Any taxation may certainly not be welcomed by the people. Therefore what I say is this. At least in the expenditure we must find some cut not by means of retrenchment. I do not say that there should be retrenchment, severe retrenchment in the staff. At least 6½ per cent. of the entire expenses may be cut. In this way, by resorting to a cut of at least 6½ per cent. on salaries above Rs. 250/-, we may certainly save to the extent of some fifteen to twenty crores of rupees, per year. By that in three or four years we can save a large amount. Therefore I suggest this.

As regards the expenditure on the Defence side, I do not propose to say any thing because in the situation in which we find ourselves, as we find from the newspapers, the money we spend on our Defence Services has to be maintained. But what I wish to say in this connection is that their activities during the leisure hours, during the period in which their services are not required, they must spend their time in nation-building activities. Unless they do it, we may not be able to add anything to the national wealth.

I want to say a word about deficit financing before I resume my seat. Ordinarily, deficit financing should be resorted to only in times of emergency, and now that the Five Year Plan has to be implemented, we have to take it for granted that the country is on a war footing. We have to complete at least this first five year period, before we launch the second Five Year Plan. Therefore, we must put the country on a war footing and deficit financing should be resorted to. By so doing, we must tighten our belts and cut down expenditure. For doing that, the example must be set by cutting down the expenditure on the civil side severely.

Shri J. E. Mehta (Jodhpur): I trust most of the hon. Members will be inclined to agree that this Budget has evoked less criticism and less controversy than some of the best Budgets presented in this House. This is as good a recommendation as can be made, and I join some other hon. Members of this House in offering my congratulations to the Finance Minister for his performance.

The most outstanding feature of this Budget is that it is featureless. I say this in no sense of disparagement. Perhaps, it could not be otherwise. For one thing, it is featureless because it does not seek to enhance the overall tax burden on the community.

nor does it seek to change the tax structure. Then we have to remember that it is circumscribed and conditioned by three inexorable factors: defence; the Finance Commission's recommendations; and the Five Year Plan. If we take out these three factors, there is very little left of the Budget which is of consequence.

I believe hon. Members will agree that, so far as our defence expenditure is concerned, there is not much scope for reduction. As regards the Five Year Plan and the Finance Commission's recommendations, the House has already considered these, and is in a way committed to them. So, there is not much to be said about this Budget apart from what we might have to say about the Finance Commission's recommendations or the Five Year Plan.

I should be excused if I take this opportunity of making one or two observations which I consider to be of primary importance in relation to the Budget as well as the background in which it has been framed. Firstly, I should like to say a word about the food problem. I find that there is a dangerous—almost suicidal—self-complacency in regard to this most vital matter. We heard the President's Address the other day and we were told—I am quoting his words—that “there has been a steady improvement in the food situation”. In similar strain, the Finance Minister now tells us in his speech that the food situation is much easier than in the preceding year.

Now, as hon. Members are aware, we have it on the authority of the Planning Commission that in spite of the much-boasted and boasted Grow More Food Campaign during the last so many years, we have actually succeeded in producing less rather than more. So, if you bear this in mind, and read the President's Address and the statement of the Finance Minister rather carefully in their proper context, it would appear that what is satisfactory is the stock position and not the situation so far as the production of food is concerned. And how is it that the stock position is satisfactory? Because America has given us a wheat loan—mind you, not because we have produced more food or because we have procured more food, but only because America, out of generosity, has given us a food loan. I respectfully ask this House to consider if this is not dangerous self-complacency. Do we expect to serve the nation by statements like these? On the other hand, are we not

deluding ourselves and the nation by such misleading statements?

I do not propose to say anything as to why we have failed to achieve our goal of self-sufficiency in food, and what methods we should adopt to attain our objective. I will do so later if I have the chance. But I have thought it fit to invite the attention of the House to this vital matter because so far as I can see, the entire structure of the Five Year Plan is based more or less on the assumption that we shall be self-sufficient in food and we shall have our plans in the agricultural sector successfully implemented. So, if we are going to fail in this respect, then the whole scheme of our Five Year Plan, I am afraid, will topple down. So, I would ask the House respectfully to take this matter seriously and devise ways and means to see that we are able to attain the goal of self-sufficiency in food and do not miss our target in any case. I am not prepared to believe that a nation which can produce children at a quicker pace than other nations of the world cannot produce a few more particles of grain in order to feed itself; but what is wanting, I will say with all humility, is a proper approach and a proper leadership.

Another matter that comes uppermost to my mind while considering the Budget and the Five Year Plan is the sorry plight of Rajasthan and the inadequacy of the assistance that it stands to gain under both these. Most of the hon. Members in this House have probably heard of Rajasthan as a land of robbers and dacoits, but they are not our only headache nor even our greatest headache. As a State, we are an under-developed and backward State. Of course, this is not to confess that as a people we are a backward people. Lack of roads and communications, vast areas covered with hillocks and sandhills, scarcity of drinking water which is the very first essential of life, recurring famines, people living on the verge of starvation and forced often to live upon grass and thorns—you cannot believe it probably—these conditions prevail even at this moment in some parts of Rajasthan to which Mr. Somani only yesterday drew the attention of the House by a short notice question—no industries and so on and so forth—this is a formidable list of items which I can dwell upon, but since my time is short, I will not take up much of the valuable time of the House by dilating on these. But what I do wish to impress on this House is that looking to the conditions in Rajasthan, we do expect a better deal than has been extended to us under

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the Five Year Plan. Of course, I am not singling out Rajasthan. There may be other backward and under-developed areas; they too should get a similar deal.

I trust the House will agree that if we are to realise the India of our dream it is up to us to see that all the States rise to the same stature and attain the same degree of development and march side by side with each step towards the goal of the welfare State that we have set before ourselves. That will be the glory of the world.

There is one thing which I should like to bring to the notice of the Finance Minister. From a cursory glance at the volumes furnished to us I find that in several Departments the cost of officers exceeds the cost of establishment. I have particularly noticed this in the case of the Commerce and Industry Ministry. There may be other instances in other Ministries as well. So, I hope the Finance Minister and the Commerce Minister will look into this and apply the necessary corrective.

Another direction in which we can effect economies, to which reference was made by some other hon. Member, is the expenditure incurred on Part C States. They are an anachronism in the present conditions and I think it is time that this House and the Government considered why it should not be possible for us to amalgamate these States with the neighbouring B or A States and thus save the additional burden on the Central exchequer.

In conclusion I should like to say that whatever approach we might adopt to the Budget proposals we should do well to remember that our finances on our future progress for the time being are yoked to the chariot wheels of the Five Year Plan and will continue to be so for some time. We should also do well to remember that however much we might disagree with the priorities or regional inequities, it should be our foremost and supreme task to make this Plan a success.

For, forms of Government let fools contest;

Whatever is administered best is the best.

We should bring this attitude to bear on whatever tasks we have set before us. The Budget may be good; the Five Year Plan is not bad, it is

also good; our people are good, eminently good. But we want better leadership.

श्री श्री० एम० राम (देवरिया जिला-पश्चिम) : माननीय सभापतिजी, अभी थोड़ी देर पहले माननीय लंकासुन्दरम् जी ने बजट का विरोध करते हुए कहा कि इस में इमेजिनेशन (imagination) की कमी है, लैक आफ इमेजिनेशन (lack of imagination) है। वस्तुस्थिति पर ध्यान रखते हुए यदि देखा जाय तो बजट में इमेजिनेशन की कमी नहीं है, यह जरूर है कि बजट इमेजिनरी नहीं है। अगर वास्तविकता पर ध्यान न रखा जाय, परिस्थिति को ध्यान में न रखा जाय, तो जरूर उस में इमेजिनेशन ज्यादा लगा सकते हैं और उससे इमेजिनरी भी बना सकते हैं। लेकिन वस्तुस्थिति पर ध्यान रखने से हमें जरूर प्रैक्टिकल होना पड़ेगा, व्यावहारिक होना पड़ेगा। बजट की वस्तुस्थिति का खयाल रखते हुए बिल्कुल प्रैक्टिकल बजट कहा जाय तो ज्यादा ठीक होगा।

उनके बाद माननीय गिडबानी जी ने कहा कि इकोनामिक कंडीशन (economic condition) देश की सुधरी नहीं है, खराब ही है। जहां तक हम सभी लोग जानते हैं कि जरूर जैसा वह चाहते हैं, या जैसे गवर्नमेंट खुद चाहती है, और जैसी स्थिति बनाने के लिये वह पंचवर्षीय योजना लागू कर रही है, वैसी स्थिति अभी नहीं है। लेकिन पिछले साल दो साल पर ध्यान देने से यह साफ मालूम होता है, फिगर्स और फैक्ट्स (figures and facts) यह बतलाते हैं कि इकोनामिक कंडीशन भी सुधर रही है। जहां तक आम जनता की जरूरी चीजों का सम्बन्ध है, उस में अन्न बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण होता है। आज से साल छेड़-साल पहले देश में जितनी अन्न की कमी थी, इस साल उतनी कमी नहीं है। जरूर

कई जगह सूखा पड़ा, उत्तर प्रदेश में, रायल-सीमा में, सुन्दर बन में ।

Pandit Fotedar: (Jammu and Kashmir): On a point of order, is the House functioning with a Quorum?

Mr. Chairman: There is quorum now; let the hon. Member proceed.

श्री बी० एन० राय : मैं उस इलाके की बात कह रहा था, उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिलों की जहां पर ईख अधिक पैदा होती है, वहां दो साल तक सूखा पड़ा है और अन्न की बहुत कमी थी। वहां पर ईख अधिक पैदा होती है, देश को वह चीनी तो खिलाता है, लेकिन वहां अन्न की बहुत कमी है। दो साल के सूखे के कारण स्थिति ऐसी हो गयी कि भुखमरी भी हुई, लेकिन गवर्नमेंट ने स्थिति संभाली और बहुत अच्छी तरह संभाली। और केवल वहीं नहीं संभाली, देश में जहां भी कमी पड़ी, वहां उसने अन्न पहुंचाया। बाहर से भी अन्न आया, लेकिन जरूर देश में दो साल पहले के मुकाबले में अन्न बढ़ा और अभी, जैसा कि दो चार रोज पहले एक प्रश्न के उत्तर में सरकार ने बतलाया था कि इस साल जितना स्टॉक हमारे पास है पहले कमी नहीं था। तो अन्न की जो यह बात है वह सामने है।

वस्त्र की बात का जहां तक सम्बन्ध है यह रिकार्ड है कि सन् १९५२ में जितना कपड़ा हमारे देश में बना उतना कमी नहीं बना था। चार अरब साठ करोड़ राज कपड़ा बना और यही नहीं कि वह यहां के लिये काफ़ी रहा हिन्दुस्तान के बाहर भी कपड़ा गया। उसकी कीमत भी घटी और अन्न की कीमत भी घटी। खाद्य मंत्रीजी को धन्यवाद है कि जिनकी डीकंट्रोल (decontrol) की पालिसी पूर्णतः तो चढ़ ली नहीं हुई लेकिन कुछ ही मात्रा होने से, जो अन्न का

बाले क्षेत्र उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी खिले हैं, जहां पर एक रुपये का एक सेर चावल मिलता था, वहां पर दो सेर चावल भी मिलने लगा। इस तरह से कपड़े और अन्न के बारे में जो आवामी के लिये बहुत जरूरी हैं, जो इकानामिक कंडीशन सुधारने के लिये बहुत आवश्यक हैं और जिस इकानामिक कंडीशन की बाबत माननीय गिडबानी जी ने कहा है, उसमें तो सुधार हुआ है।

फिर केवल अन्न और कपड़े की कीमत ही नहीं घटी, और चीजों की भी कीमतें घटीं और जनरल इंडेक्स (general index) नम्बर के अनुसार पिछले साल जो प्राइस थी, उस में कमी पड़ी। जो इस तरह कीमत घटी उस से आम जनता का लाभ हुआ। इस से उन की इकानामिक कंडीशन में जरूर कुछ न कुछ सुधार हुआ। इसके अलावा और भी चीजें हैं, जैसे शक्कर के बारे में। आपकी पंच वर्षीय योजना पूरी होने के समय १५ लाख टन शक्कर पैदा करने की बात निश्चित की गयी थी। उस से पहले ही १९५१-५२ का जो पिछला सीजन था, उस में १४.९ लाख टन शक्कर तो हिन्दुस्तान में पैदा हो गयी और उसके साथ ही उस की कीमत भी घटी।

इस साल जरूर कुछ लोगों ने पहले इस अंर इशारा किया था कि चीनी की कीमत बढ़ सकती है पारसाल के मुकाबले में, लेकिन जो बखत पारसाल के मुकाबले में हुई है उससे जितनी चीनी पारसाल थी, उतनी ही चीनी इस साल भी रहेगी। इसी तरह हम देखते हैं कि जूट का सामान भी हमारे देश में पिछले वर्ष की अपेक्षा ६९ हजार टन ज्यादा बना है, सीमेंट भी सन् ५२ में सन् ५१ की अपेक्षा तीन लाख टन ज्यादा तैयार हुई है, इसी प्रकार लोहे का सामान भी अधिक मात्रा में तैयार हुआ है, जूट और रई भी और साड़ों के मुकाबले में सन् ५२ में अधिक पैदा हुई, चूंकि इस साल जूट और रई का था

[श्री बी० एन० राय]

ज्यादा बना है, इसलिये उन से बना सामान भी इस साल पिछले वर्ष की अपेक्षा कुछ सस्ता होना चाहिये इस तरह हम देखते हैं कि हमारा प्रोडक्शन (production) हर क्षेत्र में बढ़ा है। हमें इस बात को देखना होगा कि इसके फलस्वरूप हमारे देश की आर्थिक स्थिति में क्या सुधार होता है, यह प्रश्न रह जाता है, इस प्रश्न को गवर्नमेंट जनता और माननीय सदस्य हल करना चाहते हैं, यह ठीक है कि आज हम उसको पूरी तौर से नहीं कर पा रहे हैं, लेकिन पंचवर्षीय योजना जो हमने बनाई है वह इसी उद्देश्य से बनाई गयी है और इसलिये यह जो बजट पेश किया गया है, वह एक प्रैक्टिकल और व्यवहारिक बजट है, पंचवर्षीय योजना के लिये उस में हर तरह के साधन मौजूद हैं। पंचवर्षीय योजना के सम्बन्ध में हो सकता है कि अभी उसमें कठिनाई पैदा हो, उस का करीब आधा रूपा खर्च हुआ है और अगले दो सालों में उतना ही रूपा और खर्च करना है या उससे अधिक लगेगा, यह कठिनाई की बात हो सकती है। हमें उसको हल करना होगा। लेकिन यह अवश्य है कि जिस तरीके से हम इस योजना में चल रहे हैं, वह उचित जान पड़ता है, इसमें हम देखते हैं कि खेती के विस्तार, और उन्नति की ओर सबसे अधिक ध्यान रक्खा गया है, पंचवर्षीय योजना में कृषि का सबसे प्रमुख स्थान है, हो सकता है कि कहीं २ पर कुछ उपयोगी स्कीमें चालू न हो पाई हों और मैं अभी आपको उनके सम्बन्ध में बतलाऊंगा, लेकिन जितनी भी योजनाएं इसमें चलाई गयी हैं आप जानते हैं वे योजनाएं दुनिया की कई बड़ी योजनाओं में से एक हैं। बजट में जो खास बातें हैं जैसे कृषि सम्बन्धी वे तो चल ही रही हैं। इसके अलावा बजट में मध्यम वर्ग को इनकम-

टेक्स में जो राहत दी गई है उससे मुझे पूर्ण आशा है कि मध्यम श्रेणी के लोगों को काफी आराम और सुविधा मिलेगी। इसी प्रकार पिछले दिनों में चीजों की कीमतों में जो कमी हुई है, उससे निम्न श्रेणी के लोगों और मजदूरों को काफी लाभ हुआ है और जनता को काफी राहत मिली है। इन अर्थों में अगर इसे जनता का बजट कहा जाय तो अनुचित न होगा बल्कि इसे जनता का बजट कहना ज्यादा उपयुक्त होगा।

लक्जरीज और टायलेट्स (luxuries and toilets) वगैरह पर जो टैक्स बढ़ाया गया है, उसका प्रभाव यह होगा कि बाहर से आने वाले सामान में कमी होगी। और उससे हमारे देश के भीतर उन चीजों को बनाने की ओर ध्यान जायगा और उनके तैयार होने में विशेष सुविधा होगी। इस पर बढ़ी हुई ड्यूटी बढ़ाने से गवर्नमेंट को लाभ भी होगा। पंचवर्षीय योजना में जहां और बड़ी २ और महत्वपूर्ण योजनाएं सम्मिलित हैं वहां गंडक वैली प्राजेक्ट (Gandak valley project) का न होना हमें अखरता है। वह ऐसी योजना है जो रुपये के खर्च के बारे में दूसरी योजनाओं से कम खर्चीली पड़ेगी। उसमें करीब ३१ करोड़ की लागत लगने का अनुमान है, लेकिन अगर यह देखा जाय कि उस योजना के पूर्ण हो जाने से देश को कितना फायदा पहुंचेगा तब आप समझेंगे कि वह योजना भाखरा और दामोदर वैली प्राजेक्ट से कम महत्वपूर्ण नहीं है बल्कि उसके मुकाबले में बहुत उपयोगी सिद्ध होगी। इस गंडक वैली प्राजेक्ट के पूर्ण हो जाने से लगभग ३४ लाख एकड़ भूमि की सिंचाई होगी। नेपाल में करीब एक लाख एकड़, यू० पी० में करीब साढ़े सात लाख एकड़, सारन में

१२.४८७४ दूलाख एकड़, चम्पारन में [मुजफ्फरनगर और दरभंगा में कुल मिलाकर १३.९२६ लाख एकड़ की सिंचाई होगी। इस योजना पर जो खर्च आने वाला है, वह भाखरा दामोदर वैली के मुक्काबले में बहुत कम है। सिर्फ ६९ रुपया प्रति एकड़ के हिसाब से खर्च पड़ेगा। ये फीगर्स (figures) जो मैंने दिये हैं वे किसी अखबारी रिपोर्ट के आधार पर नहीं हैं। जिस समय हमारे वर्तमान राष्ट्रपति डा० राजेन्द्र-साद कृपि और खाद्य मंत्री थे, उस समय उनके कहने पर वहां पर इसका प्रारम्भिक सर्वे (survey) हुआ था और बिहार सरकार ने उस ऐरिया (area) का सर्वे कराकर एक रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित की थी, उसके आधार पर मैं यहां उनको पेश कर रहा हूं।

वस चूंकि मेरा समय खत्म होगया, इसलिये मैं अपनी बात को यहीं पर समाप्त करता हूं।

पंडित डी० एन० तिवारी (सारन दक्षिण) : सभापति महोदय, आज लगभग पूरे एक वर्ष के बाद मुझे आपके सामने बजट पर बोलने का अवसर प्राप्त हुआ है और इस समय मुझे एक बड़े विद्वान की बात स्मरण हो जाती है : wooing is a very difficult process; the more so when one has to woo the whip of a majority party. तो आज एक वर्ष के बाद मुझे इस बजट पर बोलने का मौका मिला है। बजट बहुत सुन्दर है, संतुलित है और समयानुकूल है। लेकिन जब मैं यह कहता हूं तो आपको यह भी ध्यान में रखना चाहिये कि मैं यहां केवल उसकी तारीफ करने के लिये ही खड़ा नहीं हुआ हूं और मैं समझता हूं कि मनुष्य की कोई ऐसी कृति नहीं हो सकती, जिसमें कुछ न कुछ त्रुटियां न हों, इसलिये आज मैं यदि उन त्रुटियों की ओर सरकार और मंत्री

महोदय का ध्यान आकृष्ट करूं तो यह न समझा जाय कि मैं केवल आलोचना करने की नीयत से ही ऐसा कर रहा हूं, बल्कि मैं उसमें जो त्रुटियों रह गयी हैं उनकी तरफ ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं ताकि सुधार किया जा सके और साथ ही इसका यह मतलब भी नहीं लगाया जाना चाहिये कि जो बजट पेश किया गया है उसको सपोर्ट (support) नहीं करता। मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय को ऐसे संतुलित और सुन्दर बजट पेश करने के लिए हार्दिक बधाई देता हूं, साथ ही जो उसमें त्रुटि और गलती रह गयी है उनको भी बता देना बहुत मुनासिब समझता हूं।

पहली गलती मेरी समझ में उन्होंने यह की है कि इनकमटैक्स की लिमिट ३६०० से रेज (raise) करके ४२०० कर दी है, उससे वास्तव में गरीबों को कोई लाभ पहुंचने वाला नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तान में ऐसे लोगों की बहुत कम परसेन्टेज है जिनकी ३६०० या ४२०० इनकम है। मैं तो समझता हूं कि अगर वह इनकमटैक्स की लिमिट को न बढ़ाकर पोस्टकार्ड पर एक पैसा कम कर देते और दो पैसे का पोस्टकार्ड कर देते तो इस कार्य से गरीबों को ज्यादा राहत महसूस होती। या इनकमटैक्स की लिमिट अगर ३६०० से घटाकर ३००० भी कर दी जाती और पोस्ट कार्ड का दाम कम कर दिया जाता तो सारी जनता कम से कम ९५ फी सदी जनता इससे खुशी होती और समझती कि हमारी सरकार वास्तव में हमारी हालत सुधारने के लिये कुछ कर रही है। आपने जो रजिस्ट्रेशन और पोस्टल चार्ज पर बढ़ोती की है, उसमें हमें कोई उच्च नहीं है।

दूसरी बात जो मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूं वह फ़ाइनेन्स कमीशन (Finance Commission) की रिपोर्ट के सम्बन्ध

[श्री बी० एच० राय]

में है। फ्राइनेन्स कमिशन के सदस्यों ने पापुलेशन और बसूली दोनों का हिसाब रक्खा है; पापुलेशन का जहां तक सम्बन्ध है वह ठीक है, लेकिन बसूली के सम्बन्ध में जहां जितना टैक्स बसूल होता है, उन्हे उस प्राविन्स की आय समझा जाता है, यह भ्रमोत्पादक है। बहुत से बिजनेस एक जगह होते हैं लेकिन उनके व्यापारी अपने हेड आफिस को दूसरी जगह रखते हैं, मसलन बिहार में बहुत से ऐसे फर्म्स हैं जैसे टाटा वर्गैरह जिनका कूल बिजनेस तो बिहार में होता है, लेकिन टैक्स बसूल होता है बम्बई, कलकत्ता अ वा दिल्ली में। बसूली के उस टैक्स को बिहार के हिस्से में जाना चाहिए न कि कलकत्ते, बम्बई या दिल्ली के हिस्से में।

7 P. M.

श्री त्यागी : टैक्स की तकसीम में इस बात का लिहाज कतई नहीं किया जाता कि यह टैक्स किस जगह से बसूल होता है। सारा टैक्स चाहे वह जहां से भी बसूल किया गया हो पूल (pool) में शामिल हो जाता है।

पंडित डी० एन० तिवारी : फ्राइनेन्स कमिशन ने जो बटवारा किया है उस में कुछ स्टेट्स में जहां से इनकम टैक्स बसूल होता है बीस पर्सेन्ट वहां रह जाता है और ८० पर्सेन्ट पूल में आ जाता है। लेकिन बिहार को इस पूल से बहुत कम मिलता है। अगर यह कर दिया जाता कि जो टैक्स बसूल हुआ है वह बिजनेस के स्थान का समझा जाता तो बिहार को बहुत फायदा होता।

श्री त्यागी : बहुत थोड़ा।

पंडित डी० एन० तिवारी : व्यापारी बिजनेस करते हैं बिहार में और उसका हेड आफिस है बम्बई या कलकत्ते में। उन बिहार के बिजनेसमनों का टैक्स बसूल किया जाता है बम्बई और कलकत्ते से।

श्री त्यागी : बीस पर्सेन्ट का बहुत बड़ा अंश बिहार को जाता है।

Shri B. Das Bihar is putting sales tax on things which it should not.

पंडित डी० एन० तिवारी : मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सेल टैक्स बिहार ही में नहीं पर दूसरे २ प्रान्तों में भी बसूल होता है। सब को बन्द कीजिये तो वहां का भी बन्द कर दें।

Shri B. Das: Bihar is putting sales Government of India is hobnobbing with the Bihar Government.

Pandit D. N. Tiwary: This may be your information but it is a news to us.

पंडित डी० एन० तिवारी : इन बातों को कह कर मैं आप के सामने जो आज देश की स्थिति है उस का कुछ दिग्दर्शन कराना चाहता हूँ। हमारी बेकारी बढ़ती जा रही है। एम्प्लायमेंट (employment) की स्थिति बहुत खराब है। एम्प्लायमेंट एक्स्चेन्ज के फिगर्स देखने से पता चलता है कि १९५१ में १४ लाख का रजिस्ट्रेशन हुआ था जिस में से चार लाख लोगों को एम्प्लायमेंट मिला, और सन् १९५२ में १६ लाख का रजिस्ट्रेशन हुआ लेकिन एम्प्लायमेंट मिला तीन लाख आदमियों को। रजिस्ट्रेशन तो बढ़ गया लेकिन एम्प्लायमेंट कम हो गया। इसके अलावा एम्प्लायमेंट एक्स्चेन्ज में नाम वही लोग लिखाते हैं जो उस को जानते हैं। देहात की जनता नहीं जानती कि एम्प्लायमेंट एक्स्चेन्ज किस चिड़िया का नाम है। कम से कम हिन्दुस्तान को ९० प्रति शत जनता अपना नाम दर्ज कराने नहीं जाती। हमारे देश में इतनी बेकारी है और एम्प्लायमेंट देने का काम कम होता जा रहा है, इस की वृष्टि में रख कर हमारी सरकार को जरूरी कदम इस और उठाने चाहिये। आप जानते हैं कि हमारे देश में टैलेंट (talent) भरा पड़ा है लेकिन उसका

उपयोग नहीं हो रहा है, साथ ही आप एक बात और भी जानते हैं कि “आइडल माइन्ड इज् देविल्स वर्कशाप (idle mind is a devil's workshop)।” इसलिये चान्स अगर हम साधारण पुरुषों को नहीं देंगे तो वह हमारे खिलाफ, देश के खिलाफ अपने मरने जीने की परवाह छोड़ कर काम करने लगेंगे। इस की तरफ गवर्नमेंट को ज्यादा तबज्जह देनी चाहिये।

आज कल लिन्ग्विस्टिक प्राविन्सेस (linguistic provinces) का बहुत जोर है। चारों तरफ से यही आवाज आ रही है कि भाषावार प्रान्त बनें। मैं समझता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान में सैकड़ों भाषायें बोली जाती हैं और लिखी जाती हैं। अगर भाषावार प्रान्त बनेंगे तो हमारे देश में १०० प्रान्तों से कम नहीं बनेंगे।

श्री शिव मूर्ति स्वामी : १४, १५ प्रान्त से ज्यादा नहीं बनेंगे।

पंडित डी० एन० तिवारी। आप जानते नहीं। एक एक प्रान्त में दो दो तीन तीन भाषायें बोली जाती हैं और लिखी जाती हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि जो हम लोग आज भाषावार प्रान्त बनाने पर ज्यादा जोर दे रहे हैं यह खतरे का घर है। इस से देश का डिस्इन्टिग्रेशन (disintegration) होगा और हम लोग बहुत से हिस्सों में बंट जायेंगे। साथ ही हमारा एस्टैब्लिशमेंट एक्स्पेंडिचर (establishment expenditure) इतना बढ़ जायगा कि हम अपने खर्च को भी नहीं मीट (meet) कर सकेंगे। नेशन बिल्डिंग हम क्या करेंगे। मेरे दोस्त मुझे माफ करेंगे यह लिन्ग्विस्टिक प्राविन्सेस का हुआ हमारे कुछ मनचले साथियों का सड़ा किया हुआ है जो चाहते हैं कि उन को एक आउटलेट (outlet) मिल जाय। इस के अलावा और कुछ नहीं। मेरा

ख्याल है कि इस को और हमें सतर्कता से कदम बढ़ाना चाहिये।

मैं करप्शन (corruption) के सम्बन्ध में बोलना चाहता था लेकिन आज समय नहीं है, फिर भी एक बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे मंत्रीगण कम्प्लेसेन्ट (compliant) हैं और समझते हैं कि अफसर लोग बहुत पाक और शुद्ध हैं, यह बात नहीं। हमारे एक साथी ने घूसखोरी के खिलाफ एक विभाग में कुछ कदम उठाया था, वह एम० पी० हूँ लेकिन उनके खिलाफ अफसरों की ऐसी साजिश हुई कि वह खुद फेर में पड़ गये हैं और उन पर मुकदमा चल रहा है। इतनी जबर्दस्त साजिश हमारे अफसर लोग करते हैं।

एक बात में प्लैन के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ जिस का कि हमारे भाई श्री विष्व-नाथ जी ने जिक्र किया है। गंडक कनाल स्कीम (Gandak Canal Scheme) का जिक्र पहले पहल सन् १९४७-४८ में आया था और गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया ने बाईस हजार रुपया दिया उस गंडक के सर्वे करने के लिये। एक प्रश्न के सम्बन्ध में दस दिन हुए मुझे जवाब मिला था। उस स्कीम का बिहार गवर्नमेंट ने अनुसंधान किया और स्कीम बना कर तैयार की है। मेरा दावा है कि हिन्दुस्तान में कोई ऐसा स्कीम नहीं है जो इस से सस्ता और ज्यादा फायदे वाला हो। साथ ही बिहार में और कोई स्कीम भी नहीं है। प्लैनिंग कमिशन ने जितनी बातें रखी हैं बिहार का कभी उस से कोई फायदा होने वाला नहीं है। दामोदर बेली से सिंचाई का ज्यादा फायदा बंगाल को है। कोसी तो एक क्यू (queue) में सड़ा कर दिया गया है। शायद टिकट कटते कटते गाड़ी ही छूट जायगी और उस को मौका न मिलेगा इतनी भीड़ है।

[पंडित डी० एम० तिवारी]

वहां रेलवे बनने का शायद जिक्र है और ६६ लाख रुपया बजट में दिये जाने की बात थी, लेकिन कुल सात लाख का प्राविजन है। इस सुस्ती से कोसी नहीं बन सकती। नार्थ बिहार एक ऐसा भूखंड है जिसके चार जिले सारन, चम्पारन, मुजफ्फरपुर और दरंगा का एक हिस्सा ऐसा है जहां की आबादी सवा करोड़ के करीब है। वह देश की आबादी का तीसवां हिस्सा है। लेकिन वहां के लिये कोई स्कीम नहीं। हमारे नन्दा जी कहेंगे कि आप लोगों में प्लैन के लिये जोश लाइये। मैं नहीं समझता कि कैसे उन लोगों में जोश लाऊं। क्या उनसे कहूं कि आप पांच सौ मील दूर दामोदर में काम कीजिये या और कहीं काम कीजिये। मैं उन के यहां जा कर क्या कहूं यह मेरी ममझ में नहीं आता।

इसलिये मैं अपील करूंगा कि जो फिगर विद्वनाथ बाबू ने दिये ह कि ३२ करोड़ रुपया खर्च होगा, ३४ लाख एकड़ जमीन पटेगी और साथ ही पचीस हजार कीलो-वाट बिजली पैदा होगी उसपर बिचार करें। तो बिहार गवर्नमेन्ट से स्कीम मांग लीजिये बिहार गवर्नमेन्ट के पास पैसा नहीं कि इस काम को वह कर सके। यदि आप फाइव इअर प्लैन (Five Year Plan) में इस को ले लें तो अच्छा हो। यदि नहीं ले सकते हैं तो कम से कम पांच छः करोड़ रुपया आप दे दीजिये और हम लोग इस का जिम्मा लेते हैं कि देहातों में जा कर किसी न किसी तरह से पैसा वसूल कर के दस बारह करोड़ रुपया आप को दे सकते हैं। इसमें केवल तीन ही जिलों का फायदा नहीं है। इसमें यू० पी० का भी कुछ हिस्सा होगा और नेपाल का भी कुछ हिस्सा होगा।

मैं एक बात और आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूं। यही बात नहीं है कि सवा करोड़ की पापुलेशन को कुछ होने नहीं आ रहा है। बल्कि उसकी दशा पर भी गौर करें। वह हिस्सा ऐसा है जहां भादों में पहले तो बाढ़ आती है पीछे सूखा होता है। पहले भादों में बाढ़ से फसल नष्ट हो जाती है पीछे सूखा से फसल नष्ट हो जाती है। इन लोगों को दुःख सहते सहते बहुत समय हो गया है और बे लोग अपने खेत, गहना, गुडिया बेच चुके हैं। मैं आपसे अपील करूंगा कि इस ओर ध्यान दीजिये। सौभाग्य से इस समय हमारे प्लानिंग मिनिस्टर साहब और फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब दोनों मौजूद हैं। हम ज्यादा रुपया नहीं चाहते। आप पांच छः करोड़ रुपया हमको दीजिये और दस बारह करोड़ हम चन्दा करके या कर्ज लेकर, वसूल कर लेंगे।

योजना तथा नदी घाटी मंत्रों (श्री नन्दा : क्या कोसी को इसमें से निकाल दें)

पंडित डी० एम० तिवारी : हम तो पांच छः करोड़ केवल चाहते हैं। आप कहते हैं कि प्रोपेगेंडा करो, लोगों को एन्थ्यूज (enthus) करो। लेकिन हमें बताइये कि हम उन सवा करोड़ आदमियों से जाकर क्या कहें कि उनको क्या फायदा होगा। आप अपनी प्लान बतला दीजिये कि जिससे सारन, चम्पारन और मुजफ्फरपुर जिलों को लाभ होगा या यू० पी० के पूर्वी जिलों को लाभ होगा। मेरी अपील है कि अगर आप ज्यादा न दें तो कम से कम ६ करोड़ रुपया दीजिये बाकी हम वहां से वसूल कर लेंगे।

The House then adjourned till Two of the Clock on Friday, the 6th March, 1953.