

**JL'HE BUDGET (GENERAL), 1959-60—**  
*continued*

SHRI MAHESWAR NA±K (Orissa): Mr. Chairman, Sir, last Wednesday I was vrying to show how the excise levies proposed in the Budget were necessitated more as a measure of plugging the loopholes than as an additional measure of taxation. I shall coniiine my remarks to only three items in support of my contention.

Sir, coming to *khandsari*, in certain quarters tms proposal has been criticised as an inroad, on the sphere of coitage industries. Sir, as far as I can see, tile present proposal makes no pretension to bring under its purview the *khandsari* industry as a coitage or rural enterprise, which employs no mechanical power and only occasional hired labour. *Khandsari* produced by rural industry is kept exempt from duty. It is the *khandsari* produced only with the aid of mechanical power that is now liable to the new impost.

Sir, it is significant to note that *khandsari*, as immune from duty, is now selling at an average price v/hich is- not far below the average price of crystal sugar selling at Rs. 38-12 per maund. The excessive price thus charged has no justification ay itself, and it is but fair that a part of this excess profit comes to the public exchequer. Let us not allow unbridled expansion of *khandsari* industry which under artificial conditions thus created, would increase the cost of production of crystal sugar, ultimately adversely affecting the economics of the organised industry.

Sir, in support of my contention I would like to cite two mora examples of the new proposals. First I would like to take up cigarettes. Cigarette production in the country has long been on the increase. Yet the revenue earnings therefrom have been decli- ing like anything. This decline is not in proportion to the increase of cigarette production as well as consumption. This emphasises the fact that

there has been a shift of production from costlier cigarettes to cigarettes of lower grade.

This shift, I think, is mainly due to the lesser burden of duty on the lower categories of cigarettes. Sir, in the present proposal statutory rates of duty on the costlier cigarettes are sought to be restored and duty only in respect of other categories of ciga- rettes is sought to be enhanced. I wish, however, that tobacco for manufacture of *Bidis* were left outside the scope of enhanced excise duty as everyone of us knows that *Bidi*, perhaps, is one of the rarest luxuries of our working class people.

Coming to art silk, on which duty is sought to be enhanced from 6 pies per yard to 6 naya paise per yard, it is by no stretch of imagination anything other than a luxury article. If the ruling prices of art silk are any indication, the industrialists . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have just three minutes more.

SHRI MAHESWAR NAIK: is it only three minutes?

MR. CHA:RMAN: Yes. You took seven minutes the other day.

SHRI MAHESWAR NAIK: You will find them indulging in excessive profits both in yarn as well as fabric. As such, the enhancement of the rate of duty on this commodity is presumably not only to mop up this excess profit that the industrialists are making, but also to arrest the unhealthy competition with pure silk.

The Tariff Commission has observed that the exemption of duty in the present form in respect of the first nine looms has induced fragmentation of the looms.

Sir, to be faced with a heavy deficit budget is not a pleasant thing. While trying to balance the budgetary proposals, the Finance Minister's task can be appreciated all the time in a

proper perspective if we take into account the very fact that only one-fourth part of the revenue deficit, which is to the tune of Rs. 81\*67 crores, is sought to be covered by means of additional taxation.

Sir, before I conclude I would make a brief reference to one or two aspects of our country's economy as brought about by our annual budgetary proposals. The ever-rising cost of living [ for the working classes and the general mass of the people, which is causing real anxiety, cannot be a very fair thing. The cost of living index on all items had gone up from 105 in 1956 to as high as 122-123 in 1958. Please bear in mind that it was 96 in 1955. Of course, a slight decline is reported of late. But the real distress of the people can hardly be measured in mere index figures.

Sir, in the developing economy of the country, we have got—as was often emphasised by our Prime Minister and the Finance Minister—to face certain amount of austerity and to make a certain amount of sacrifice. But let us not carry out the policy of austerity too far and make the very existence of the common man intolerable. Now that the Third Plan formulation is afoot, let us plan for a really higher standard of life attainable by our common masses within a reasonably short period of time. Sir, here I would just now stress upon the question of public expenditure. It is a great credit that attempts have been made in right earnest to bring about appreciable economy. Substantial economy in defence expenditure is an instance to the point. But, I hope in this particular sphere, the practice of economy will not be carried to a point where it would ultimately cripple the very security of our country. Colossal wastage in public spending, more particularly in the implementation of the Plan projects, has been too much in evidence. Sir, if the channels of leakage could be effectively plugged, the necessity of additional taxation could easily be avoided. After all, it is not the size of

spendings but the achievement of the objectives that is the real test of the success of our fiscal policies. Sir, I have done.

DR. H. N. KUNZRU (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, when the Second Five Year Plan was prepared it was estimated that about Rs. 1,100 crores of foreign exchange would be required to carry it out. Last year we were told in connection with the reappraisal of the Plan that we would need about Rs. 1,700 crores for an investment expenditure of about Rs. 3,800 crores. I pointed out then that this estimate was not correct and that our need for foreign exchange resources amounted not to Rs. 1,700 crores but to about Rs. 2,000 crores. I now find that the total foreign assistance, or our need for the public and the private sectors is likely to amount to about Rs. 2,250 crores. I assume, Sir, that the further lid of about Rs. 300 crores that we expect, will be received by us during the next two years.

Now, all this total, I think, is made up of a number of items, the most important of which are the aid authorised for the purchase of agricultural commodities viz. food, the aid authorised for other purposes, the aid expected during the next two years, the amount drawn from the sterling balances and the amount that we have received from the International Monetary Fund and from the U.K. under the Pension Settlement scheme and commercial credits of about Rs. 100 crores which were meant equally for the public sector and the private sector.

Now, Sir, the total investment expenditure in the public and private sectors was estimated to be about Rs. 6,200 crores. Now I have tried to find out how much external resources would be needed in the public sector and how much for the private sector and for other purposes. So, we know that in accordance with the Appraisal and Prospects of the Plan, the private sector whose needs in respect of foreign exchange were estimated at

[Dr. H. N. Kunzru.] Rs. 320 crores when the Plan was drawn up would need about Rs. 440 crores on account of the rise in prices, etc. Well, I assume that the private sector needs about Rs. 450 crore. Then, Sir, there are other small industries which would need some help. I shall, therefore, make an allowance of about Rs. 500 crores for the private sector and for the needs of the other industries, to which I have just referred. Then, I understand that some of the foreign aid that we shall get will be spent or that some of the foreign resources that we shall have at our disposal by the end of the Plan-period\* will be used for non-developmental purposes. I do not know how far this information is correct but I have been told that the expenditure on such purposes on non-developmental projects may be between Rs. 150 and Rs. 200 crores. Sir, if it is so, it means that about Rs. 650 crores must be deducted from the total of Rs. 2,250 crores in order to have a broad idea of the foreign exchange required for the public sector. Sir, we find that for an investment expenditure of Rs. 3,800 crores, we shall require Rs. 1,600 crores of external assistance. That comes very nearly to between 45 and 50 per cent of the total investment expenditure. Then, we have to take account of the fact that about Rs. 1,200 crores of the expenditure would be met by means of deficit financing. This shows that for a Plan requiring an investment of Rs. 3,800 crores, we had really only about Rs. 1,000 crores and for the rest we depended either on external assistance or on deficit financing, that is on the existence of such circumstances as would enable the Government to resort to deficit financing of this extent without raising prices appreciably.

Sir, the figures that I have given may be regarded as fairly reliable figures only if we have not got to import more food than estimated at the present time. I understand that we expect that as against Rs. 240 crores provided for the purchase and for importing food by the Planning Commission, we shall have to spend I

about Rs. 360 crores, but if we have to import more food than is estimated now, obviously the total foreign aid that we shall need will be greater than Rs. 2,250 crores. I do not know Sir, apart from the speeches that are made by the Food Minister and by the Prime Minister, what is being done at the present time to tackle the food problem.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): More speeches.

DR. H. N. KUNZRU: I should therefore, as the Food Minister is here, take the liberty of requesting him to tell us before the debate ends what specific measures have been taken to increase production of food and the other agricultural commodities that we need, particularly food, during the currency of the present Plan. Well, this is a serious matter and all our plans have been upset for several reasons, one of the most important of which is the deficiency of food. A special responsibility rests in this connection on the entire Government. But I think the responsibility of the Food Minister, who is in immediate charge of this matter is particularly heavy. He has to convince us that he is alive to the seriousness of the situation and that he has the necessary resourcefulness and the driving power to carry through a plan for the production of more food, which will be commensurate to our present needs.

Well, Sir, there are other reasons too. For instance, why should there be a difference between our original estimate of the external resources that we would need and our need for them at the present time? I venture to think that what has happened so far, and what is happening now, shows the need for preparing our plans more carefully in future. I am not concerned with the size of the Plan. You may call it big or small as you like but at the time of the preparation of the Plan, the planners have no right to assume that all the favourable circumstances will exist throughout the Plan-period. In other words, it should not be assumed that everything

will happen in such a way as to further the carrying out of the Plan. It should reasonably be assumed that something or other will happen to upset the calculations of the planners and they should allow for them at the time of the preparation of the Plan. Again, Sir, in an estimate of this kind, in making a plan for the development of the country, it should also be borne in mind that if certain circumstances deteriorate, there is a danger—a serious danger, if deficit financing on a large scale is resorted to—creating disturbance in the economy, particularly in the economy of those who are poor. At the present time we find that prices of food-grains have gone up. It is claimed that a few months ago the prices began to come down, but they began to go up again and now it is claimed again that the prices are coming down. This is no wonder. Rabi harvest will soon be gathered and prices are coming down now. It is what ought to be expected at this time of the year. But what we have to see is whether our policy is such as to give a reasonable assurance that the prices of the necessaries of life will not increase so much as to press heavily on the poorer sections of the population.

I shall now come to the estimate made by the Planning Commission last year of the resources that would be available for carrying out the Plan. We learn from the Appraisal and Prospects of the Plan that the total resources available would be about Rs. 4260 crores and that it would be possible to incur an investment expenditure of about Rs. 4500 crores provided Rs. 240 crores more were provided in accordance with the suggestions made by the Planning Commission. The Commission suggested that about Rs. 100 crores should be raised by additional taxation, that economies in expenditure, that is the non-plan expenditure and the collection of arrears should provide about Rs. 80 crores and that the collections from loans and small savings should be stepped up by Rs. 60 crores. New taxation measures have been brought forward by the Finance Minister in

order to carry out this limited Plan which will cost Rs. 4500 crores. When the Commission told us how the additional sum of Rs. 240 crores was to be raised, it proposed that by additional taxation about Rs. 40 crores should be raised by the centre and the remaining Rs. 60 crores by the States. I should like to know whether the States have agreed to raise this sum by imposing new taxes. As the Centre is imposing fresh taxation, we should like to know what the purpose of this taxation is. Is it only to fulfil the obligations of the Centre or is it in pursuance of an understanding with the States that the suggestions made by the Planning Commission should be fully carried out? Again, I should like to know, to what extent economies in non-plan expenditure have been effected and how far more readiness has been shown in the collection of arrears of taxation or better arrangements have been made for the collection of arrears of taxation. Even if we impose the taxation to the extent of Rs. 100 crores but if the other resources are not available, we shall not be able to carry out even the Plan of the modified size. I shall like also to know whether we expect the yield that we shall be able to raise this year from loans and small savings, to be Rs. 60 crores as suggested by the Commission? This year the Finance Minister has come forward With proposals for raising about Rs. 26 crores. Of this Rs. 23 35 crores will be the share of the Centre. Some portion of the remainder will be in lieu of sales tax. What the exact share will be I don't know but it cannot be less than about Rs. 2 1/4 crores.

Now I should here like to make an enquiry with regard to the revised estimates of revenue for the year 1958-59 and the estimates of 1959-60. We have been told that the customs revenue in the current year has gone down by about Rs. 35 crores. Now I find that the total quantity of goods imported has not declined and so far as I can see, is not likely to decline much as compared with preceding estimates. There is no doubt that more stringent regulations have been

[Dr. H. N. Kunzru.] adopted to curtail imports, but are the restrictions on imports of such a character as to reduce our revenue by about Rs. 35 crores? I know that it is the high-rated goods the import of which into the country has been specially restricted and it is quite possible that the reduction of even a small quantity of goods which have to pay customs duties at a very high rate will suffice to bring about this reduction of Rs. 35 crores but I would like to have a little more definite information about it than has been given to us so far. What are the items principally on account of which this shortage in customs revenue has taken place and what was the rate of customs duties imposed on them? It is only then that we can feel sure that the estimates that have been placed before us are in accordance with actual facts and do not tend to be an under-estimate of the revenue that is likely to be received. I raise this question particularly for the reason that I wanted to feel sure that in 1959-60 our financial position will be what the Finance Minister has suggested it to be. Is the taxation that we are imposing meant only to meet the present deficit or is it meant to augment our resources in order to carry out the modified plan in its entirety? Now here the Centre has imposed taxation which will bring in in the course of two years about Rs. 50 crores. The Finance Minister has further said that it will be necessary to raise new resources in order to carry out the Plan.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

I am referring to paragraph 38 of his speech on this subject where he said:

"The resources position for the next two years will continue to remain difficult and a considerable further effort to augment the resources available for development, will be necessary."

Now, this remark of the Finance Minister makes me ask, what it exactly means. Do Government intend to

come forward with fresh taxation measures in the course of this year or next year? If so, do they propose to raise the additional taxation suggested by the Commission, that is, about Rs. 100 crores themselves or is there any hope of the States too taking a hand in adding to the existing resources? This is an important matter and we should know exactly what the intentions of the Government on this subject are.

I should like to have information on one more point in connection with the Budget. The Plan Outlay is likely to be of the order of Rs. 3600 crores by the end of next year, that is, 1960-61 and it is thought that the budgetary deficit by the end of the current year will amount to about Rs. 950 crores. Next year, there will be a deficit of about Rs. 222 crores, that is, by the end of 1960-61, the limit provided for deficit financing will have been reached.

SHRI M. C. SHAH (Bombay): By 1959-60, not by 1960-61.

DR. H. N. KUNZRU: Yes, by the end of 1959-60, the limit of deficit financing suggested by the Planning Commission will have been reached. If the modified Plan is adhered to, we shall require only Rs. 900 crores more and this expenditure can be met from our existing resources. If, however, Government is tempted to complete the original Plan and to spend Rs. 1200 crores more, it would mean an additional deficit financing of about Rs. 250 crores. Now, I should like to know really whether Government is firm on the point mentioned by Shri Morarji Desai in his Budget Speech that the size of the Plan will be limited to Rs. 4,500 crores or, is there already some wavering on the part of the Government and it is seeing visions of being able to increase the expenditure by Rs. 300 crores when dealing with the Budget for 1960-61. I hope, Sir, that Government has no such idea. If more deficit financing is resorted to, what its effect on prices will be in the situation in which we are, is obvious.

I shall have an opportunity to speak about the new taxation measures later on, but I should like to refer just to one matter before I deal with Defence and that is, the changes made in the system of company taxation. Sir, the change made has come in both for condemnation and for praise. I do not pretend to be able to understand these changes fully, but if the total yield from the new taxes is to remain unchanged, that is, the burden to be borne by the companies will remain unaltered, I do not think that the changes deserve either the condemnation or the praise that has been given to them. It is true that the procedure has been simplified and that I think should be welcome, but there is a fear that the result so satisfactory to Government may be arrived at by adding slightly to the burden of the shareholders. I do not know the exact method of grossing and of calculating super tax but I hope, Sir, that these matters will be carefully explained so that if any misapprehension exists on the point it may be removed. If no additional burden is going to be placed on the shareholders then we can wholeheartedly welcome the changes that have been made.

Now, Sir, I want to say a few words about Defence because it is an important subject which I am always loath to pass over. Sir, I have to point out with great regret that the Defence Minister took no part in the discussions in this House either during the Budget debate or during the debate on the Appropriation Bill . . .

SHRI V. K. DHAGE (Bombay): Or, during the President's Address.

DR. H. N. KUNZRU: ... to reply to the observations made here in connection with matters relating to the Defence Ministry. I hope that this year he will make an effort, even if he is otherwise very busy, to come personally and to deal with such matters as pertain to his portfolio.

The next point that I should like to refer in connection with the Defence Ministry is about the future size of

the Defence budget. The Defence Ministry has surrendered about Rs. 24 crores to the Finance Ministry. I say Rs. 24 crores because that is the difference between the Budget estimates for 1958-59 and the Budget estimates for 1959-60. It may be that the Finance Minister was able to persuade the Defence Minister to surrender this sum in order to enable the Government to meet the difficulties connected with the carrying out of the Plan. I want, therefore, to know whether all the present needs of the Defence Ministry have been satisfied. Again, Sir, I should like to know whether, in regard to such matters as housing and education, the money that is required has been provided in the Budget. If it has not been, if the Budget provision for these things is unchanged, why was it not possible for the Defence Ministry to retain an extra crore or two in order to speed up the construction of houses for soldiers? It may be said, Sir, that the organisation at the disposal of the Defence Ministry is not adequate to make use of additional funds for works, but if that is so, Sir, it is up to the Defence Ministry to strengthen its Military Engineering Service to deal with this important business which is shelved year after year. Now I come to one or two special matters to which I should like to draw the attention of the House. Sir, I referred to the need for quarters for married soldiers two years ago. I pointed out then that only about 14 or 15 per cent, of the married soldiers were provided with married quarters and the then Finance Minister, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, gave a very sympathetic reply. Referring to my suggestions with regard to housing and education he said that while he could not promise that the requisite funds would be forthcoming, he would like to do all that lay in his power to meet my demands. Now, was any advantage taken of his sympathy to get more funds from the Finance Ministry for these urgent measures? And the sums required would not be very large. Even a small sum would at least assure the soldiers that their needs were being seriously considered

[Dr. H. N. Kunzru.] and would make the officers feel that the education of their children, which makes them more anxious than anything else, would be looked after. So far as I have been able to ascertain, the provision for the construction of houses for soldiers has remained unchanged during the last two years. Similarly, the provision for the education of officers' children has also remained unchanged. How has this happened? I know that some assistance was given for the construction of quarters for soldiers belonging to the Army at Ambala but Ambala has the good fortune of having a particularly energetic General who was able to get houses constructed by the soldiers themselves. I should like to know whether any attempt was made to increase the provision for the construction of houses elsewhere. Again, I should like to say that I am not quite sure that the scheme that was put through at Ambala will be feasible everywhere. Bearing these things in mind, I again ask the Defence Ministry to make adequate provision for the removal of the very serious difficulty from which the soldiers have been suffering for years and years. Money is provided for every other need, for equipment and things of that kind, but the human needs of the Army have seldom received adequate attention.

Before passing on to my last point, I should like to say that the education of officers' children requires serious consideration. What their difficulties at the present time are, ought to be well known to the Defence authorities. I suggested before, and I take the liberty of suggesting once more, that a few schools should be established to provide for the needs of officers' children in this respect. We have King George Military Schools which are meant for the education of the children of soldiers. Some provision is made there for the education of officers' children too but this arrangement has not been popular. And taking things as they are, we have to take account of the fact that it is not likely to be popular in future either. Some

special arrangement must therefore be made and it is therefore not unreasonable to suggest that a few special schools should be established for officers' children. There need be no bar to the admission of other children if there is room for them, but this matter does require careful consideration. If it is possible for the Defence Ministry to take up a school like that at Sanawar and make it more efficient than it is reported to be at present, that too will go far to meet the needs of education of officers' children.

Now, I come to my last point. I should have liked to say something with regard to the permanent commissions granted to a large number of officers recently and the appointments that have been made in the senior grades but there is no time for it. I should like to refer only to the need for maintaining discipline firmly in the Army, in the Navy, everywhere. I know that the Army authorities attach considerable importance to this but instances come to light from time to time, which show that the question of discipline is not being dealt with as firmly and carefully as it should be. I venture to give an instance—I do not want to mention any names—in order to show what I mean. There was an officer of a high rank in the Air Force who was compulsorily retired. I suppose he was compulsorily retired because his work was not found satisfactory or because in other respects he was not found suitable for the Air Force. Now, maintenance of discipline required that his connection not merely with the three Defence Services but with all the departments that are related to them should be severed. But I understand that this person has been appointed to a high post in the Technical Development Department which is intimately connected with the Defence Services. Now, if this is done one can easily understand how the morale of the Defence Services will be lowered. I know our Army is a small Army. Its efficiency will depend on its training, on its proper equipment and on its morale and if one of the essential factors on which its efficiency depends

is disregarded in any material respect, you can easily understand how serious the consequences of such action -can be in future.

Sir, I have finished, but I should like to impress once more on the Defence Ministry the desirability, indeed the urgency, of meeting those needs of the soldiers and officers to -which I have already referred, meeting the needs not merely of the soldiers in the Army with regard to housing but also of the ratings in the Navy whose wants in this connection have to be treated as seriously as those of the soldiers in the Army. I should also like to impress on the Army the vital importance of maintaining discipline. If the Defence Minister himself or if the Defence Ministry departs from the highest standard with regard to the maintenance of discipline, we can easily understand what the effect of it on subordinate officers will be.

1 P.M.

THE MINISTER OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE (SHRI A. P. JAIN): Mr. Deputy Chairman, since I spoke last during the discussion on the President's Address, the price position has considerably improved. At that time I said that the price of rice was ranging between 91 and 92 points treating 1952-53 as the base, that is, 100. as compared to the peak figure of 118-9 prevailing on the 20th September, 1958. At that time the price of wheat and gram was ruling very high. Since then, the index number of wheat has gone down from 130-2 on 7th February 1959 to 117-5 now, and the index number for gram has gone down from 133-7 prevailing on 7th February 1959 to 113-9 now. Now, these are welcome changes and primarily they are due to the larger supplies which the Government of India have been making to the States, to the regulatory measures which have been strengthened and also to the prospects of the arrival of the rabi crop. It is good that the prospects of the coming rabi crop are hopeful. Within the next three or four weeks I am hopeful that the price particularly of wheat, gram and other

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rabi foodgrains will go down and normality will be attained. But this after all is a short-term thing and there is no reason for anybody to grow complacent because of these changes. The important thing is the extent to which we can increase our production. This point has been referred to by more than one hon. Member of this House, by Shri Bhupesh Gupta, by Shri Nair, and lastly by my hon. friend, Dr. Hirday Nath Kunzru. First, an impression seems to have been created that agricultural production' is stagnant. The fact is far from that. Hon. Members, Shri Bhupesh Gupta and Shri Nair, took the figures of 1957-58. Hon. Members in this House are aware that the year 1957-58 is one of the worst years which we had to face in regard to agricultural production during living memory. Production of foodgrains went down from 68-7 million tons to 62 million tons. That is, in 1956-57 it was 68-7 million tons and in 1957-58 it went down to 62 million tons. That was due to the unparalleled drought that prevailed during that year. Now, Sir, in order to have a correct picture of the agricultural production, it is not fair that a bad year should be taken into account. The agricultural production in the year 1957 . . .

DR. H. N. KUNZRU: May I interrupt my hon. friend? He knows what the seasons in India have been over a period of years and it must be assumed in forming a quinquennial plan or a longer or shorter plan that some calamities will occur.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I took into account two years, and as far as cereals are concerned, three years. Incidentally, I was correcting my speech and I find that it is so.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: I am coming to that. In fact, one takes a little time to develop the point. Now, Sir, in order to understand the production trends of agriculture correctly, an exceptionally bad year should be taken out and certainly an exceptionally good year also should be taken out. It is



[Shri A. P. Jain.] the normal trend that should be taken into account. In the year 1956-57, the foodgrain production was of the order of 66-7 million tons. I will not take into account production in the year 1957-58, which is particularly a bad year. Now, this year the estimated production of *kharij* crop is about 48 million tons—maybe a little more. As I said, the prospects of rabi crop are hopeful and we are expecting that the total production of all the food-grains in the year 1958-59 may well range between 70 and 71 million tons. Now, is this or is this not a progress over our past achievements? I have got the index figures of foodgrain production from the year 1949-50 right up to the present day, treating 1949-50 as the base, that is, 100. In 1951-52 the production went down to 91.1 points. That is, it went down by about 10 per cent. After that it began to increase and from 1952-53 up to 1956-57 it went up by 19.4 points, that is, 120.5. We can legitimately treat the increase in production during these five years as the average by which we have been stepping up agricultural production.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The base year, 100, is 1953-54, which again was a bad year.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: That will not make any difference, because after all one has to select a base year and those are the comparative figures. Now, that works out roughly to an increase of about 4 per cent, per year. Now, experience all over the world shows that an increase of 4 per cent, per year is by no means a bad increase and with the good crop this year and certain other measures, which we have taken, we hope that not only the tempo of that increase that is, about 4 per cent.—will be maintained, but our increase in agricultural production will be accelerated.

No, so far as the cash crops are concerned, I say with confidence that we have done even better. The pro-

duction of jute since independence has gone up by 200 per cent. At the time of partition the area which fell to our share used to produce about 17 lakh bales of jute. The production of jute this year is 51 lakh bales. This is a very creditable increase. So far as cotton is concerned, at the time of partition if I am not incorrect we used to produce 28 lakh bales and our production has now gone up by about 75 per cent, during this period. That, again, is a very creditable production. Similarly, in the case of sugarcane . . .

DR. H. N. KUNZRU: We are concerned with the Second Five Year Plan now and not with the First Five Year Plan.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: Well, Sir, I am taking the whole period. Now, in the case of oilseeds and sugarcane we have also done fairly well. But legitimately a question can be asked: What are the future prospects and what are we doing? Dr. Kunzru has posed a question and I must answer it. Now, we have carefully examined the schemes of production and we have come to the conclusion that our schemes of production from the technological point of view are sound and safe. There may be scope for an adjustment here or an adjustment, there. But those are the principal measures which have been adopted in India, as elsewhere, for increasing agricultural production. Those measures roughly are—irrigation, improved seed, fertilizers, soil conservation and reclamation and an omnibus heading 'improved agricultural practices' involving a number of schemes. It is true, Sir, that our supplies of fertilizers have fallen short of requirements. But that cannot be helped, because we have no foreign exchange to import fertilizers, and our internal production is pretty small. Steps have been taken to start the establishment of fertilizer factories, and satisfactory progress has been made at a number of places. We hope to increase our production of fertilizers considerably by the end of the Second Five Year Plan. I believe.

Sir, three or four new units of the same size as the old Sindri factory will come into production. There has been expansion of the Sindri factory and of the Always factory.

Coming to irrigation, minor irrigation works, we have fulfilled the target during these years of the Second Five Year Plan. There have been some difficulties about the targets of the major irrigation works. Originally for the Second Plan they were fixed at 12 million acres. On account of the paucity of foreign exchange certain components necessary for the construction of the dams could not be imported, and the target has been scaled down to 10.4 million acres. That will certainly have an adverse effect. Even the fulfilment of the reduced target of 10.4 million acres will depend upon the availability of iron and steel. I hope they will be available. But in other directions compensatory action has been taken. For instance, agriculture administrations both at the Central and the State levels had not kept pace with our increasing demands. Hon. Members are aware that a Committee was set up, and it has gone very thoroughly into the question of agriculture administration in the States. It has made very valuable recommendations which have won encomiums all round. Those recommendations have now been carefully examined by the States and accepted by them. They have already started taking action on those recommendations, and I think with the toning up of the agriculture administration to the necessary extent at the State level and its reorientation at the Centre, agricultural production will receive greater impetus.

Now, Sir, the House is also aware that we have started special campaigns, and those campaigns so far as our experience at present goes are proving helpful. The Community Development schemes are paying special attention to the agricultural programme. I find that there is all round awareness, consciousness at all levels in the administration, among the farmers and among those who are inter-

rested in agriculture for the need to step up agricultural production. While agriculture depends on industry, it should be recognized that agricultural production is affected by factors which are not within the control of human beings, namely the weather, and even in the most advanced countries like America where a lot has been done to overcome the freakishness of nature, nature yet plays an important role. Therefore, one cannot predict the future of agriculture with the same certainty as one can do in the case of industry. In a cotton mill if you put in a certain quantity of cotton, you can be sure of having a certain yardage of cloth. But in agriculture there are factors, there are elements which are not within human control, and no one has been able to predict the future of agriculture with absolute certainty.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: There is the misfeasance of man combined with the malevolence of nature.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: I do not mind this running commentary, though it is not called for.

Now, looking into what we have done in the past and how we are trying to step up our production schemes, the reorganisation of the administration, the concentration of the Community Development efforts on agriculture, etc., I am confident that the average increase of about 4 per cent. during the five years between 1952-53 and 1956-57 will exceed and that we will be increasing our agricultural production at an accelerated rate. Our increase in population is about 2 per cent, per year, and then there is further requirement on account of increased incomes. I think that an increase in agricultural production between 4 and 5 per cent, per year should be able to meet our demands, and I am hopeful that that rate of increase will be maintained.

Dr. Kunzru raised another point. While dealing with the question of the foreign exchange position, he mentioned that Rs. 260 crores had been provided under the Second Five Year Plan.

DR. H. N. KUNZRU: Rs. 240 crores.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: I am sorry. He mentioned that Rs. 240 crores had been provided in the Second Five Year Plan for the import of food. If food on a larger scale has to be imported, it will affect the foreign exchange position. On more than one occasions in this House and in the other House I have tried to explain the impact of the food imports on the foreign exchange position. Unfortunately some misunderstanding persists, and therefore I propose to take little time to explain the position. Now our imports from abroad ...

DR. H. N. KUNZRU: May I interrupt—it will shorten his speech? We know how these food purchases are financed. He need not trouble himself to explain. But if we import more food, it will mean that America or any other country from which we buy food will procure the food that we need, though it may ask us to repay the amount in our internal currency.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: Well, Sir, the lion. Member raised a question, and he is answering it himself, but let me answer him. Now we are importing rice and wheat from abroad. So far as rice is concerned we have to pay in terms of foreign exchange. We have entered into an agreement with Burma for the import of 2 million tons of rice some three or four years ago. Out of that we will be importing 3-5 lakh tons this year. We are under an obligation to do it. We will have to pay for that rice in terms of foreign exchange, and there is a provision for that. Next year too we shall have to import 3-5 lakh tons from Burma under that agreement. We have decided to build a buffer stock of rice from internal purchases. During the current year we are aiming to purchase 2 million tons of rice on behalf of the Centre and the states from the internal market. We hope to carry forward a reserve of a million tons or more. Therefore, I do not think that for some years to come we will be called upon to import rice except what is provided for under the existing agreement.

Now, I come to wheat. Wheat is imported under PL 480, and in working out our foreign exchange this PL 480 is not taken into account. It is a special deal with America, but one of the conditions of PL 480 is that before we can avail of any imports under PL 480 we have to make our normal purchases from the normal market, and it become necessary for this reason that when America started making concessional sales under PL 480, other wheat-producing countries of the world became nervous. They said that as a result of these concessional sales their wheat market would be affected. Therefore, the principle was accepted that before any country could make purchases under PL 480 it would make purchases from the normal market for its normal requirement. Our normal requirements were worked out at five lakh tons per year. Since then, because of the foreign exchange difficulties, the matter was taken up and that quantity has been reduced to two lakh tons. So, we shall have to pay for these two lakh tons in terms of foreign exchange. Any purchases made under PL 480 will be paid over a number of years and in rupees. The proceeds from PL 480 are partly given to us as loan for developmental purposes, partly it is advanced to the private *entrepreneurs* for rupee expenditure on their projects and partly it is reserved for the expenditure of the American Embassy and others inside the country.

The point that I was trying to make out is that while I am not at all enamoured of any import under PL 480, we are making every effort to eliminate imports. Nonetheless, the import under PL 480 does not cast any strain on our foreign exchange resources. On the contrary, it gives us some resources for our developmental plan. This is the position so far as that question is concerned.

I will refer to certain other points that have been raised by hon. Members. Hon. Mr. Nair devoted the major portion of his speech to

Kerala. He accused us of not giving a fair deal to Kerala. I would say that he did not exactly say that, we were discriminating against Kerala. But the whole burden of his speech I was that the Centre is not giving a fair deal to Kerala; Madras is acting against the interests of Kerala; the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister said something which was contrary to the interests of Kerala and the States of the Southern Zone and ourselves are combined together to act somewhat unfairly towards Kerala. I want to answer that charge fairly and squarely. What are the instances that he has cited? He said that last year at one time we advised the Kerala Food Minister not to make purchases in Tanjore—purchase of rice. That is a fact. At that time the rice market in Tanjore was somewhat rickety and in a difficult position. Prices were presenting considerable difficulties. In order to obviate further difficulties, we advised the Kerala Government not to make purchases there. There was nothing wrong in it. When conditions in the market are not steady, whether it is the Central Government or it is the Madras Government or it is the Kerala Government, it has to adjust its purchases according to the requirements of the situation. If this is discrimination, I do not know what idea or conviction of discrimination exists in the mind of the hon. Member. It is a fundamental thing . . .

SHRI PERATH NARAYANAN NAIR (Kerala): Was any source of supply suggested?

SHRI A. P. JAIN: I am coming to that. Please have a little patience. (

When conditions in the market are difficult, the buyers—particularly the bulk buyers—have to adjust their purchases so that the market is not further disturbed. It was a temporary thing that we did.

The second example of discrimination which he advanced was that we have banned the export of paddy from Madras to areas outside. He said that

paddy used to be imported from the Tanjore area into certain areas of Kerala for milling purposes. We have done it and that is for this reason that the prices of rice and paddy were controlled in all the three States— Andhra Pradesh, Madras and Mysore— but they were not controlled in Kerala. Now, they have been controlled in Kerala. As a result of the non-control of prices in Kerala and for certain other reasons, traders were moving large quantities of paddy from the Tanjore area where they used to be traditionally milled for other areas. The mills were on the verge of closing down and that would have created great difficulty for Kerala because certain types of parboiled rice are manufactured in Tanjore for the purposes of export to Kerala. If these mills had closed down, Kerala could not have secured its supplies from Tanjore. We wanted these mills to work and the rice to be produced. We wanted to prevent this rice from going underground and it was for this reason that we banned the export of rice from the State of Madras to other regions and from Tanjore to other parts of Madras. That kind of action can hardly be called discriminatory. And in that notification we have provided that the State Government can allow the export under permits. We have, on the assurance of the Madras Government, written to the Kerala Government that they should indicate their normal requirements and permits for that quantity will be issued. Does that mean that, in the Southern Zone, when difficulties—temporary difficulties—arise, no step should be taken? No Zone can function in that manner. Kerala would have to suffer as much as any other State in that Zone. Therefore, I maintain that the accusation is altogether unfounded.

Then, hon. Mr. Nair said that the Centre was applying double standards; it was buying rice for Bengal in Orissa, but is not buying rice for Kerala in the Southern Zone. I want to point out the fallacy of this argument. We are buying no rice for any State Government in Orissa.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He did not say that. You allow Bengal to buy in Orissa.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: We have not allowed Bengal to buy rice in Orissa. When Bengal entered into an agreement with it, we superseded that agreement. All the rice that is being purchased in Orissa, in Madhya Pradesh, in Punjab and in Andhra Pradesh by the Centre is not being purchased for any Government. It is being purchased for the Central pool and wherever there is need, whenever we find that a State Government requires it, we give it to them when proper justifications are put forth. Now, in the case of the south, what Kerala wanted was that we should function as their agent for the purchase of rice, I was not prepared to accept the position. The Centre is not purchasing rice for any State Government and if we accept the position for the Kerala Government, we have to accept it for all the other State Governments then and we become the buying agent. I do not buy anything on my behalf. What we told them was that they could purchase rice anywhere in the Southern Zone. That is the position, and whenever they require our assistance, we will give it to them. The Chief Minister of Kerala came here and we had a full and frank discussion. We said that we were prepared to go to the length that if they could not make purchases in the free market, we would issue orders to the millers to supply them the quantity at the controlled rates. After all, that is all that we are doing and what more can we do? So I was rather surprised that the charge should be levelled that the Centre is discriminating against Kerala. I would not be fair to myself or fair to the position which I hold if I discriminate against any State Government. It is rather unfortunate that this question of discrimination has not only been repeated in this House but also by the Chief Minister of Kerala and by the Food Minister of Kerala. That is a kind of thing which does not pay.

SHRI PERATH NARAYANAN NAIR: Just one point of fact is that from March, 1958 to December, 1958 and then January, 1959, the Kerala Government could not purchase rice at the maximum controlled rates. They pointed out the difficulties to the Central Government, and the Central Government did not help the Kerala Government for which, actually, in the months of December and January they were obliged to purchase at prices higher than the maximum controlled prices. Is it not a fact, I would like to know.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: The hon. Member has not enough of patience—I was I coming to that point.

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU (Madras): Have they fixed maximum prices in their own State? They have not.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: Now I am holding the floor.

Now, Sir, presently I shall refer to the movement of rice from other States to Kerala, but I want to make one or two points. On the last occasion, when I was speaking, I gave certain figures about the production in Kerala. Unfortunately I said that during the three years of the Communist regime—it was in fact two years and I corrected myself to that extent—I said that during the Communist regime there, they had increased their production by 2,000 tons.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I think it is not good for the hon. Minister to use that expression, "Communist regime" that way; it is incorrect to use it that way.

DR. H. N. KUNZRU: It is quite correct; there is no mistake there.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: It is correct. Are you not

...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If you like you can use it.

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL: NAIDU: It is absolutely correct.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: Is it not a Communist Government? I think it is quite right.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Why do you fight shy?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am not fighting shy, but for a Cabinet Minister to use that expression "Communist regime", I do not think it is right.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Communist Government is all right.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: I shall say "Communist Government" if that word "regime" hurts my friend.

Now, during the period of two years that we have had the Communist Government there in Kerala, their production had gone up by 2,000 tons. I gave that figure on the basis of the information supplied by the State Government. Since then the State Government had revised their figure, and they say that in the year 1958-59 their production has gone up not by 1,000 tons but by 6,000 tons; in other words they say that instead of 2,000 tons their production has gone up by 7,000 tons during two years. The hon. Mr. Nair said: Well, that is good. Let us see whether it is good. The increase of population in Kerala in a year is of the order of three lakh persons. Now to feed three lakh persons we need 30,000 tons of foodgrains.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Three lakhs in what period?

SHRI A. P. JAIN: In one year. He has himself given the figure, that the population of Kerala is 15 millions and for feeding that population . . .

SHRI J. V. K. VALLABHARAO (Andhra Pradesh): The children born each year do also eat rice in course I of time.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: For feeding that population they say they require 1\*5 million tons, that is, for every 10 persons they need 1 ton. So during these two years the need for food in Kerala purely on account of the increase in population increased by about 60,000 tons. Besides, there is the increasing need on account of better standards of living. May be the total requirements of Kerala may have increased by about a lakh tons. As against that they have increased their production only by 7,000 tons. That is the main difficulty. Unless we step up production . . . (Interruption). I am being assailed here every time.

(Interruption.)

Now, Sir, I am not prepared to give in.

I Now, Sir, I am being assailed here in season and out of season and they say very correctly that the production has not been going up. But if that is the criterion, then that criterion should not be applied only to my or to any other State; it should be applied all round. Thus, from that point of view the main difficulty of that State is that it is not increasing its production anywhere near the figure of its requirements.

SHRI PERATH NARAYANAN NAIR: Just a point of fact . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order, he is not yielding.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: Now another thing. Hon. Shri Nair has accused me of underestimating the deficit of Kerala. Roughly speaking, he said that the requirements of food of Kerala were of the order of 1.5 million tons; that Kerala produced 881,000 tons and 10 per cent was used for seeds that is, the net availability for food purposes was roughly 800,000 tons

[Shri A. P. Jain.] and 10 per cent was for seeds, and that thus there was a deficit of 700,000 tons. Now he conveniently forgets tapioca; that Kerala produces between 150,000 and 200,000 tons of tapioca every year, and that tapioca has always been consumed there. Now he says and from what he says obviously I can draw the inference that they do not want to eat tapioca. Do they want people in Madras or the people in the other States to eat that tapioca? You are producing tapioca; you have been eating that tapioca; that is one of your staple foods. Therefore, if we take into account all that tapioca, their requirements are of the order of about 500,000 tons, a figure which I have been repeating over and again in this House. Well, there are certain deficiencies in tapioca and we may make good those deficiencies. It may be fortified with groundnut flour, with wheat flour or anything of the kind. So I am sorry that the hon. Member did not present a correct picture when he accused me that we have tried to underestimate the deficit of his State.

SHRI PERATH NARAYANAN NAIR: On a personal explanation, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is not yielding to you, Mr. Nair.

SHRI PERATH NARAYANAN NAIR: What he says is very unfair.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: Thus how are we trying to minimise the deficit of Kerala.

Now, Sir, these are some of the points. How are we to judge whether the Southern Zone as such has succeeded or not, or has it given a fair deal to Kerala or not? Firstly, Sir, is the question of the movement of foodgrains a point which was raised as an interruption during my speech a few minutes ago. The movement of rice from Tanjore and Andhra during the period of 2 months and three weeks, that is,

December, 1958, January, 1959 and the first 22 days of February, has been of the order of 80,000 tons by rail. This excludes all the movements by trucks and other vehicles plying on the roads. What was it last year compared to this? It was of the order of about 60,000 tons for the comparative period of three months. The movement this year in 2 months and 3 weeks has been 80,000 tons as against 60,000 tons in 3 months last year. That is an improvement. Then, Sir . . .

SHRI PERATH NARAYANAN NAIR: At what price?

SHRI A. P. JAIN: At the controlled price.

SHRI PERATH NARAYANAN NAIR: I contest that statement.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: You can contest that.

Now, Sir, what after all is the criterion to judge whether Kerala is being properly treated or not? I say that the prices prevailing in Kerala and the corresponding prices prevailing in Andhra, Madras and Mysore are the only criteria. Now in order to fix the controlled prices we requested the Kerala Government to send us their recommendations about the differentials in the prices that usually prevail in Andhra and Kerala, in Madras and Kerala and in Mysore and Kerala.

Well, if the rice has to move from Andhra or Madras to Kerala, one has to incur expenditure on transport to railway stations, on loading and unloading, on transit losses, on freight, on commission, on interest and also profit to the wholesaler in Kerala. They have recommended to us that if the prices in Andhra are X, then the rice prices in Kerala would be X plus Rs. 2/2/9. That is the differential. In the case of Madras, they have said that the differential should be Rs. 1/10/9. Therefore, so long as the prices in Kerala of the rice supplied from Andhra is

within the range of Rs. 2/2/9, Kerala has no reason to complain. Similarly, in regard to the rice moving from Madras, so long as the prices are within the range of the prices prevailing in Madras plus Rs. 1/10/9, they have no reason to complain.

Now, looking at the average prices prevailing in Kerala during 1958-59, except on a few occasions, the prices there have been lower than the comparative prices that should have ruled on the basis of this differential. That I say is my biggest defence that Kerala has not been discriminated against. On the other hand, on overwhelming occasions, say on 90 per cent, occasions, the prices prevailing in Kerala have been lower than what would be warranted by this differential.

SHRI PERATH NARAYANAN NAIR:  
Prices of rice?

SHRI A. P. JAIN: Yes, of rice. I can give figures from month to month, and if you want, from week to week. I will say that the prices prevailing have been lower than the comparative prices prevailing in Andhra or in Madras allowing for this differential.

SHRI PERATH NARAYANAN NAIR:  
For the same variety?

SHRI A. P. JAIN: That is the only criterion and that is the correct criterion. But where supplies are not adequate, the prices will surely go up.

At present we have fixed control prices for the whole of the southern region and in future no case for complaint should arise. But, while I cannot take the responsibility for acting as the purchasing agent of Kerala, I can assure the Kerala Government through my hon. friends here that I will do my best to ensure that adequate supplies are made available, and if any regulatory measures, if not so far issued, have to be issued, I will be prepared to

do it. But it does not pay a Government to develop a complex and try to feel that everybody is against them. After all, the people of Kerala are Indians. It is they who suffer. We cannot be a party to anything which may affect them adversely.

Sir, a few more points have been raised about the progress in poultry and fishery. I will not go into the details, but all I can say is that so far as poultry goes, in 1955-56 India used to produce 8'57 million eggs. This figure went up to 9:47 million eggs in 1956-57 and again in 1957-58 it has gone up to 14 million eggs. In a two years' period it is a good progress. In any case there is ample scope for further development.

In regard to fishery also constant progress has been made, but part of the progress had to be held up because of want of foreign exchange to import certain equipment. We are trying to overcome that difficulty. Our fishery has made sufficient progress and I think with the progress of time we will make even greater progress.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Is the hon. Minister aware of the Bengal scheme for fishery?

SHRI A. P. JAIN: That is a State scheme.

Before I resume my seat, I want to repeat that I do not want the feeling to grow that there is any idea on the part of the Centre or of other State Governments not to deal in a friendly manner with the Kerala Government, particularly in the matter of food. If there is at any time any misunderstanding, I would request the hon. Members to have a chat with me. I will give them all the facts and figures, rather than raise this question here in the House because it does not leave a good taste in the mouth. Sir, I cannot do better than give them an assurance that if there is any difficulty in



[Shri A. P. Jain.]

Kerala-----any unforeseen difficulty  
----- apart from other schemes that  
we are drawing, I will be prepared to give  
them ad *hoc* help. After all, those people have  
to be fed and we must do our best to help  
them.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY (Andhra  
Pradesh): Sir, just on a point for clarification.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI  
MAYA DEVI CHETTRY) in the  
Chair.]

The hon. Food Minister was pleased to  
mention the various steps taken for stepping  
up food production. But, I want to know  
whether he is aware of the fact that there was a  
shortfall of nearly 3,31,872 tons of additional  
anticipated food production in Andhra because  
of non-supply of steel for agricultural  
purposes, which resulted in water not being  
supplied to 6,55,000 acres; *i.e.* each ton of  
steel not supplied has led to a loss of 70 tons  
of food. If that is so, will the hon. Minister do  
something to supply steel to Andhra Pradesh,  
especially when it happens to be a State with  
surplus food for almost the whole of the  
southern zone.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: In reply to that . . .

SHRI J. V. K. VALLABHARAO: Along  
with that the hon. Minister can also reply to  
my point. The hon. Minister spoke about the  
food production in Kerala. I am not going to  
enter into a debate on Kerala. But I would like  
to know whether . . .

SHRI A. P. JAIN: About Kerala the hon.  
Member can have a talk with me rather than  
raise a discussion here.

SHRI J. V. K. VALLABHARAO: It is  
necessary because we would like to know  
whether in Kerala any land, where food can  
be grown, is kept vacant and which is not  
being used for food production or whether the  
land in Kerala is useful only for arecanuts and  
coconut and other

types of production, but not food  
production?

SHRI A. P. JAIN: So far as the question of  
the hon. Member is concerned, I am not in a  
position to say whether the figures are correct  
or wrong. They say that in China they have  
produced as much as 800,000 lbs. of paddy  
per acre whereas Kerala is producing only 800  
or 900 lbs. of paddy per acre. I think there is  
ample scope for increasing the production per  
acre there.

SHRI PERATH NARAYANAN NAIR:  
This is a fine example of the attitude of the  
hon. Minister.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, one  
question^

SHRI A. P. JAIN: Let me answer the other  
question put by the hon. lady Member. I was  
not aware that figures could be so accurately  
calculated that for every ton of steel or the  
supply of steel, so many acres of land can be  
worked and so many tons of food can be  
produced, even assuming that the supply of  
iron and steel has not been adequate. In fact  
there is a shortage of iron and steel in the  
country, but with the new factories going into  
production that shortage is going to be  
removed. I shall try to get as much of iron and  
steel for agricultural purposes as I possibly  
can. In fact I have been trying to exert as much  
of pressure as I possibly can. But still the  
shortage has persisted and I hope it will soon  
be over.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra  
Pradesh): Is the same true about fertilizers, so  
far as Andhra Pradesh is concerned?

SHRI A. P. JAIN: It is done on *pro rata*  
basis. We work out the demand of the States  
and we also work out the supply. Then we dis-  
tribute it on *pro rata* basis among the States.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I want to ask a  
question about West Bengal

from which, Madam Vice-Chairman, you come. The hon. Minister will have certainly noted that there was a discussion on food in the West Bengal Assembly and that serious charges were made against the State Government including the charge that Calcutta was not getting food supply at reasonable prices. I would like to know what is the position? Has the hon. Minister spent a little time on West Bengal? He has spent a lot of time on the situation in Kerala. Will the hon. Minister tell us the position about West Bengal which is also under his control?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI MAYA DEVI CHETTRY): Shri Biswanath Das.

SHRI BISWANATH DAS (Orissa): Madam, I thank you very much for calling me to have my say on the Budget. Before I enter into it and offer my observations on the Budget it will be fair to state how this House has been treated in the matter of allotment of time. Madam, three days have been allotted for the discussion of a budget covering about Rs. 800 crores in a House consisting of 250 Members, each speaker getting about 15 to 20 minutes of time for his speech. What could it else be if not to regard it as a discussion in a school debating club? Could it be a Parliamentary discussion on such an important question as Budget which covers not only the annual budget of the administration but also of the commercial undertakings of the Union Government, as also the Plan and the Planning Commission? If all these including the most difficult food situation have to be discussed in the course of 15 or 20 minutes, it must be a superhuman effort.

Madam, let me also state in this connection that State Legislative Assemblies for general discussion of the Budget get far more time than what has been allotted for a discussion of the Budget in this House. In this view of the question I cannot congratulate the Chair for having secured a small allotment of time,

nor could I congratulate the hon. Ministers for having been able to find allotment of this much of time for a discussion of this Budget.

Madam, after having said so, let me offer hearty congratulations to my hon. friends, the Minister for Finance and his talented colleague Shri Reddi, for having been able to explode the so-called age-old theory of finance being handled by financial wizards. Madam, since the British time a sort of impression was created amongst ourselves and also in the country that 'Oh, lo and behold the Finance Ministry; unless there is a wizard to handle Finance and guide the department, the department would go out of the picture and India will get into nothingness' I must heartily congratulate my hon. friends, the Finance Minister and his talented colleagues, that they have been able, in course of this short time, to throw out and wipe off this unfortunate notion and they have been able to prove that they are as good and valiant Finance Ministers and administrators of Finance as anyone could be. Madam, they have been able to find resources through their own exertions. They have been able to bring to normalcy some of the unstable exchange features of the Finance Ministry and they have been able to restore confidence in the matter of implementing the Second Five Year Plan in the coming two years. Not only that. They have also been able, in course of this short time, to present a budget in a very useful and illuminating manner, which was hardly expected, should I say, of novices. It would be unfair for me to call such talented friends as these novices, but they are not experienced in Union Finance because both of them, Shri Desai and Shri Reddi, were Finance Ministers of States. Therefore, it would be unfair to say novices but they were inexperienced in matters of Union Finance. They have been able throughly to explode this unfortunate theory.

Madam, added to this, there are also certain welcome features in this

[Shri Biswanath Das.]

Budget, namely, for the first time we see a Budget presented to us where Defence expenses have been reduced, reduced in substance and also economical use of sales and disposals. From both sides, there had been a reduction and the result is that a good sum of money has been found, to the extent of Rs. 24 odd crores— Rs. 24'15 crores. Therefore, this is a striking contrast to the Budgets which we have been accustomed to for the last so many years. This is certainly a feature which any member of this House will be delighted to see and will have to congratulate the hon. the Finance Minister upon.

Madam, then the Government have given a very clear analysis of the foreign exchange position. I must frankly confess, Madam, that there were a number of misgivings not only amongst us but advantage was also being taken by the Opposition to carry on a campaign: "Oh! Lo and behold. These Congressmen are mortgaging India." Now fortunately for us a clear-cut analysis of the present position and the future possibilities of all our commitments so far as foreign exchange is concerned during this Plan-period has been given and given beyond any sense of doubt. So, to that extent I should also offer my hearty congratulations to my friends.

Thirdly, Madam, the OGL is buried alive. I was one of those few who called aloud against this OGL, the most mischievous form of State action ever since the dawn of freedom, ever since our independence. Madam, we fought for Swadeshi, we suffered for Swadeshi and I am one of those who feel that no country can rise to heights without a notion of Swadeshi. We went to jail for Swadeshi when we picketed foreign shops. Would it be fair that this very Government should think of opening the doors for dumping consumer goods in this country and stifling the 2 P.M. home industries? I am very gald

and I congratulate my hon. friends for having given a decent burial to this O.G.L. at least for this

I year and I demand, as firmly as any of my hon. friends on this side----- and that side also I expect-----and say clearly, strongly and unequivocally that this O.G.L. must be buried alive and that the notion of Swadeshi must be preached, practised and carried on in effect till India becomes self-reliant and economically strong to build up her own industries and specially cottage and village industries. This is the minimum I would expect and unless and until this is done, I cannot condone any Ministry for anything.

I was listening to the comments of my hon. friend Dr. Kunzru to know why there has been a reduction in customs duty. Necessarily there will be. Because the gates were wide open for these unfortunate things in the expectation that they will get a good return in customs duty. Now the Sea Customs Duty is reduced not only because of the O.G.L. being buried ten fathoms deep but also because of reduction in export duties. Therefore necessarily there is bound to be a reduction in our customs duties and I am delighted that there has been and there should be the reduction. My only anxiety is this. I expected a clear statement from the Finance Minister whether the exchange position so far as this planning period is concerned, is firmly established and we will no more go from State to State and organisation to organisation with a beggar's bowl for accommodation or for loans. That is what I wanted to be clear about and of course some indications have been given but I wanted a clear and firm assurance on this.

Madam, I now come to another aspect of the question namely, the real Budget. What is the Budget. To me the Budget is nothing short of the means to give effect to the Directive Principles of State Policy. We have our aspirations, our aims and ambitions recorded in our constitution and they are embodied in the Directive Principles of State Policy in those 15 articles. I want that

every Budget should give this House a clear-cut notion as to what extent, in terms of fulfilment, these items of Directive Principles of State Policy have been carried out. I must frankly confess that little has been stated in this regard and for myself, I would not regard a budget as a budget unless and until earnest attempts have been made to give effect to those aspirations of the nation. What are those aspirations? Those are mostly contained in article 41. There are some in other articles too, but the main ones are in article 41. What are they? They are the right to education, the right to work, the right to public assistance during un-employment. What have you done for these? My friend the Education Minister has already stated: "Lo and behold! I will not be able to give effect to the Directive Principles of State Policy in the course of the time prescribed." He wants more time. That is a definite statement of fact. Well, we have to go on. But what are the Government doing or going to do in regard to other aspects? It is only one out of many of those Principles. What are the Government going to do with regard to the position retarding the other Principles contained in our Constitution? I want a clear reply on this issue. *Again* there is one thing to which your heart will be most directed and that is with regard to the immoral traffic about which you were one of the valiant fighters in this House. You have passed a legislation penalising 'immoral traffic'. Good, but those in the profession have to be rescued and have to be provided for. What are you going to do? Where is your programme? Where is your allotment? I for myself would not call it a budget unless and until anything is done in this regard. When I say 'you', I mean the House. You amended the Hindu Code. You have made something other than what the society was. Do it and by all means, go ahead. Regarding the Income-tax Act, the hon. Finance Minister amended it and made it difficult, if not impossible, now-a-days to go on -with joint Hindu Families. That as-

pects of security which the Hindu society had provided in her social organisation is shattered to pieces. What are you going to do? What is your alternative to the same? Where is your provision for rescue homes in every district? I demand from the Ministry, I call on the Government and I beg of the hon. Members of this House not to sleep quiet unless and until you provide rescue homes in every district. What are you going to do with these unfortunate people for whom there is no protection? Give them protection and a morsel of food. Your Budget is not a budget, your activity is not an activity until this minimum is done. I am aware of the fact that UP has taken the lead in this direction but what are the finances of a State? True, it is that the responsibility for this is left in the Concurrent List. But to throw it on the State is merely mocking at the problem and not realizing either the immensity of the problem or the responsibility of the State for the purpose.

My only sorrow is that the Treasury Benches are practically empty. So let me speak to the hon. Members of this House and through them to the Ministry that these must be heard and provision must be made otherwise the budget cannot be called a budget in any sense of the term.

I should like to come to another aspect, namely a more rational distribution of the proceeds of a number of taxes, the income-tax, excise duties, tax on passenger rates, etc., than has been done so far. I am aware of the fact that the Finance Commission takes decisions and recommends and the recommendations are followed; but I would like to request the hon. Members to think of certain ways which have got to be given up and that is the most pernicious system, the most pernicious principle of treating the realisation as the basis for distribution. This is a principle which cannot be accepted in any country. If there is to be any basis of distribution to the States, it should be on the basis

[Shri Biswanath Das.] of necessity or on the basis of development of areas. What do you think of States like Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Andhra? Why should they suffer because of a company operating its headquarters in Calcutta. Bombay or Madras? Let me illustrate Sir. We have got the Brajrajnagar Paper Mills in Orissa. It manufactures paper out of raw materials in Orissa and the people of Orissa get the worst of it by having to drink, foul water of the river. When the question of distribution comes up, the whole thing goes to Calcutta and Bengal, because the company is registered in Calcutta. We cannot allow such an unfortunate, unfair and injurious system as this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI MAYA DEVI CHETTRY) : Mr. Das, your time is up.

SHRI BISWANATH DAS: I am sorry. I will sit down.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE (West Bengal): Madam, I thank you for the opportunity given to me to speak on this Budget. First of all, I congratulate the Finance Minister and also the Ministry for preparing and presenting a Budget which has caused universal satisfaction in the country, except in some quarters where there is a little confusion, confusion in the sense that it has not been understood that we have to remember that this Budget is to finance our Plan which has been prepared to build a society based on a socialistic pattern. Some of my friends have laid unnecessary emphasis on one Nagpur resolution about ceiling on lands. My young friend Shri Bhupesh Gupta, is not present here. I wanted to remove some of his confusion. The Nagpur resolution, although it puts a ceiling on land, it is not the entire Congress plan or programme. It is one of the items. We are to see whether the Budget has attempted to utilise all available resources in the country to finance the Plan which is for build-

ing up a socialistic pattern of society. The Plan was discussed in this House; it was placed before the people who were also given an opportunity to discuss it. After taking into consideration the various aspects and the various opinions, the Plan was finally adopted by this House. Now, in order to make an attempt at finding finances for that Plan, one should have that aspect of the whole thing in mind. Whether the Nagpur resolution on ceiling on land has been taken into consideration or not is not a very important point here because the State Governments are to implement that part of the resolution. We have also to congratulate the hon. Minister for curtailing Defence expenditure. Every-one in this House has a feeling that some attempt should be made to curtail Defence expenditure and, for the first time, he has made an attempt and has made some curtailment in-Defence expenditure.

In regard to the general acceptance of the Budget in the country, my hon. friend, Shri Bhupesh Gupta who is not here, himself read out extracts from certain papers to show as to how it has been accepted by the general public. I need not say anything more on that account. Another hon. friend of mine who is not here, Shri Deogiri-kar, said that this Budget may be called a cautious Budget. Yes, I also will agree with him but it certainly is not a timid one. The Budget is a bold one, as I have already stated and tends to make an effort to finance the Plan. Therefore, on that ground also, our congratulations are due to the Finance Minister.

I suggested something in regard to foreign investment while speaking on the Budget last year and I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Finance Minister to that aspect now. My suggestion was for the setting up of an investment centre.

Then, Madam, I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to a problem relating to the Eastern region, especially Calcutta. Some of the

employees of the Life Insurance Corporation have been served with notices of discharge although they were given promises and assurances that their services will never be terminated and that they will be absorbed in the organisation. I know some of them went to court and the decision of the court went against the Life Insurance Corporation. The Life Insurance Corporation was obliged to reinstate them and pay them compensation also. I would like our Finance Minister to look into such cases which are still pending before the Life Insurance Corporation. It is no use driving these people to desperation, force them to go to court when we already know that the decision of the court is against us. Therefore, their cases should be considered sympathetically and justice should be done to them. Then I come to the problem—a vital problem—of the people living on both banks of River Hooghly. Their number will be near about a crore including the population of Calcutta and Howrah. Their problem—a very pressing and a vital one—has been discussed in this House and in the other House so many times. First of all, about 14 crores of people in India depend on the economy of Calcutta Port. The deterioration of Calcutta Port is a headache for our Government, for the Planning Commission, for everybody, and they are trying to find out a solution of that problem. There is also the salinity of the water of river Hooghly. In this House, Madam, you will remember that the Deputy Minister for Railways in reply to a question stated that the deterioration of the engines was due to the salinity of river Hooghly. Then there is erosion on both banks. Those who have seen it will support what I say. Such erosion is taking place on both the banks of the river that houses, *mandirs*, ghats for bathing, all these are being washed away or submerged for the last three or four years. One solution is a subsidiary port to Calcutta Port on the west bank of Hooghly. This suggestion was made by the World Bank but the suggestion was for a deep draft port and for

that investigation is going on. In the meantime we have been told that some decision has already been taken to have a subsidiary port at Haldia. By all means We must go ahead with that project to give relief to Calcutta Port to some extent but that is not going to solve the problem which I have in my mind.

Then, Madam, there is another project, Farakka Barrage Project. The German expert, Dr. Hansen, we were told, was of the opinion that the Farakka Barrage will solve all the problems of this region. We do not know how long it will take for the Government to come to a decision about this Farakka Barrage. The other day there was a report in the papers that our Government has taken a decision and that the matter will be placed before the Cabinet and it was also stated that probably the Cabinet will also agree to this proposal because they have realised the urgency of the matter. But on the same day another report also appeared in the papers that the Pakistan Foreign Minister has stated that they were negotiating with our Government regarding this Farakka Barrage. We know the result of such negotiations and I am not very hopeful, if we were to depend on these negotiations with the Pakistan Government for the construction of this project, if we will have it in the near future. Even if we had the Farakka Project, the problem which I am now stating will not be solved because it will take some ten to twelve years to be completed. In the meantime the salinity of the river is increasing alarmingly. Therefore something in between has to be done to remove this salinity of river Hooghly. Madam, there was an article in *Prabasi*, a Bengali magazine, in its *Shravan* issue written by Shri Kanai Ghose under the title Calcutta and the industrial area around it on the verge of ruination'. In that article he has, in my opinion, made out a very good case basing on historical data and Government re-

[Shri Surendra Mohan Ghose.]

ords that unless we pay immediate attention to this problem, it may be that we shall have to repent.

Then, Madam, there was a meeting of the Shipping Sub-Committee of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Calcutta very recently and it was reported that the hon. Minister, Shri Raj Bahadur welcomed in this connection the Report of Capt. Killick. Madam, I had an occasion to see . . . (*Time bell rings.*) Two or three minutes more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI MAYA DEVI CHETTRY) : Fifteen minutes are over.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE: Fifteen minutes will be too short for me. I have not spoken on the President's Address. Generally I do not speak. Please give me five minutes more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI MAYA DEVI CHETTRY) : The time allotted is fifteen minutes.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE: I am trying to finish this. I won't take up any other point. Let me finish this. In Capt. Killick's Report it is suggested:

"The simplest and cheapest method of restoration is an artificial barrage scheme to regulate a flow of fresh water direct from the Ganges throughout the year. Apart from any considerations of conservancy, the influx of salt water due to the preponderance of the flood flow during the dry season has rendered the water in the upper reaches of the Hooghly so excessively saline as to be barely potable and a restoration of the fresh water supply is essential for the reduction of this excessive salinity."

Further on he states:

"In 1942, T. H. Oag was of the opinion that 2,700 cusecs of fresh water were necessary to sweeten

the river at the then existing degree of salinity, the position is now much worsened and it is possible up to double that volume would be needed for this purpose alone."

Madam, then there was a symposium in Calcutta where a number of expert engineers took part. As time is short I cannot go into the details but they also were of the opinion that something should be done immediately. They also suggested some remedy—not exactly what should be done but a direction. Then the other day the President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce in his speech also referred to the problem and said:

"I am told that increased salinity of the River in its upper reaches is symptomatic of the damage which has resulted from the failure of fresh water supplies during the long dry season with the consequent destruction of the preponderance of the ebb over the flood flow."

So from every quarter they have emphasised the need for taking up this problem immediately and doing something so that the salinity may be reduced. One of the suggestions is that some high-powered committee representing the different ministries concerned should be set up to look into this, to make a survey and immediately suggest some solution.

Madam, my time is up and I do not like to take others' time. Thank you.

SHRI P. T. LEUVA (Bombay):  
Madam Vice-Chairman, it is rather unfortunate that on a subject like fjiis, where the lives of millions of our countrymen are affected, we have to go by the limitations of time in offering our remarks, as a result of which I will not take the House to the various details, which I would have liked to do. I would like to compress my remarks in as short a space as possible.

Madam, the lot of the Finance Minister is not a happy one. If he receives bouquets from one side, he gets brickbats from the other. Our country is occupying such a crucial position in the under-developed countries of the world that every action of the Finance Minister will have repercussions not only in this country but outside the country as well. We have chosen the path of economic development in a planned manner, but as you are aware, economic development in an undeveloped economy has to pass through very critical and trying times. The resources which are available to a developed economy, industrialised economy, are not available to a country like ours. That puts a limitation on our efforts to utilise the resources, the limited resources that are available to us, to the best advantage possible. In the light of these factors we have to judge the budget proposals that are before the House for discussion. We have also to consider one very important factor and that is what were the economic conditions prevailing in the preceding year, because these are the things which will condition our action in future.

The Finance Minister in his budget speech has given a review of the economic conditions prevailing in the country during the preceding year. It is no use denying the fact that last year we were rather unhappy. There was a short-fall in agricultural production. There was also an overall short-fall in industrial production as well. In view of those factors we might be tempted to take a pessimistic view, but as you are aware, agricultural production in this country has to solely depend, to a large extent, on the vagaries of the monsoon. Even though our cultivated area in acreage is larger than the cultivated area in China, our production is less than that of China. The reasons are many, but one of the most important of them is that the cultivated area under irrigation in India, according to the figures available, is hardly 17 to 18

130 USD—5.

per cent, while in China, the story is the other way. In our country still we are not utilising modern techniques of production, but it is heartening to note that during the last five years or so, our consumption of fertilizers is increasing. Even then, without the assistance of irrigation our agricultural production is not likely to improve. Similarly, we had a short-fall in industrial production. The reasons are many, but one of the dominant factors, which is now controlling our industrial production, is the availability of raw materials. We have to depend on raw materials from outside countries and our foreign exchange resources do not permit us to import as many raw materials as we might desire. These are the factors which have impeded the growth of our industrial production, which, in turn, has affected the national income as such. Although last year the national income may not have increased, at least it has remained at the same level as that of 1956-57. A point was made by my hon. friend, Mr. Rohit Dave, that the *per capita* income is going down. It is no doubt a fact that there is a slight fall in the *per capita* income in this country, but the reasons are quite obvious. The rate of increase in population, which we had assumed to be 1.25 per cent, per year, has actually turned out to be 1.8 per cent. Therefore, naturally with the level of income, it is bound to show a fall in *per capita* income. These are factors which we have to bear in mind in order to chalk out the future course of action.

Madam, no development can take place unless we are prepared to work hard, unless we are prepared to make sacrifices. Today in our country so far as the financial resources are concerned, I can say with justifiable pride that our performance in the raising of resources has actually exceeded the targets which were set before us by the Planning Commission. The Planning Commission, in the Second Five Year Plan, had fixed a target of Rs. 850 crores to be



[Shri P. T. Leuva.]  
 raised by additional taxation. According to the Appraisal of the Second Five Year Plan published by the Planning Commission, we have, really speaking raised ! Rs. 900 crores. Therefore, from the point of view of making revenue available to the State for the purpose of implementing the Plan, it cannot be shifted to the shoulders of the people in the sense that they have not given the resources which were fixed by the Planning Commission. Under the circumstances a natural question can be asked: What is the reason why our economy is not picking up? The reason was also given in the Appraisal that during the two years which were under review in that report they had come to the conclusion that even though resources were raised by additional taxation, the additional resources were diverted to projects which were not under the Plan, meaning thereby that we had permitted ourselves to utilise our resources for non-Plan projects. It is, therefore, now essential that, whatever additional resources we may raise, we have to maintain a strict control to see that the additional resources, which we raise, are not spent away on projects which are not in the Plan. It is very difficult, Madam, to know what a Plan project is and what a non-Plan project is, because there is a certain volume of expenditure under the Civil Administration which is of a developmental character. That expenditure rises because there is a certain amount of expenditure on Plan projects. It is now a happy sign that the Finance Minister has adopted an accounting procedure whereby there would be separate sets of accounts for Plan expenditure and non-Plan expenditure. I hope that with this control our resources would be utilised in a more scientific manner.

Madam Vice-Chairman, the question of deficit financing has been raised in this House on several occasions. I am no financial or economic expert. But whatever common sense

that I possess guides me in one direction, and it is this that it would be unscientific and uneconomic to put a ceiling on deficit financing as such. I do not see any sanctity attached to a ceiling to be fixed, because if the production increases in the agricultural sector as well as in the industrial sector, there is no harm if deficit financing is resorted to. But if there is a short-fall in industrial or agricultural production and even then if purchasing power is pumped into the system, it may be that inflationary pressures might arise. But our past experience shows that even if we accept the various estimates that we made regarding the volume of deficit financing till today which might have amounted to Rs. 900 crores or more, in spite of a volume of expenditure of that nature we do not see those pressures which can be called as alarming. In a developing economy some rise in prices is going to be inevitable, because whatever you might plan to spend may not produce immediate economic results. A project might take time to give you dividends. In that process it is possible that for a certain period of time there might be rising price. Our experience shows that the volume of deficit financing that was resorted to in the past has been absorbed in the economy, and if we step up our effort and increase production in the future, I do not see any necessity to put a ceiling on deficit financing as such. Now the resources which are required for running the administration have to be raised by the State in one or two ways. One of the ways is that the money which is required for current expenditure may be raised by taxation. The money which is needed for purposes of capital expenditure may be raised by borrowing. But if both these sources do not give us sufficient money to implement our programme, then the Government has no alternative but to resort to deficit financing. I would, therefore, suggest to the hon. Members who are unduly apprehensive about deficit financing—let them make efforts to>

mobilise the savings of the people for development purposes. I have been saying, and I repeat it today, that there is a surplus of purchasing power in the rural areas. Although my hon. friend, Dr. Reddi, did not agree with me last time and this time also. I have no hope that he will agree with me when I say that there is enough scope to raise further resources from the rural areas, I am not advancing this argument for the purpose only of mobilising the resources. I am making the suggestion on a different ground altogether. As you are aware, 70 per cent, of the population of our country reside in villages. The biggest industry that we have got is agriculture, and nobody can deny the fact that the return for agricultural produce has certainly increased, which has resulted in an increased purchasing power in the rural areas and which is now being spent on higher consumption. It is for the purpose of restraining consumption of foodgrains that I am suggesting that we must make every effort to remove that surplus purchasing power for the benefit of society as a whole. We may get market loans to the extent that we desire, but our only hope of increasing the rate of development in this country lies in our success of small savings, because, unless we intensify our efforts in mobilising the resources lying in the rural sector, that saving is likely to be dissipated. I would therefore urge upon the Finance Minister to intensify his efforts and step up our target for small savings.

Now I will come to the question of taxation. The Finance Minister has made proposals for raising a further revenue of Rs. 23 crores only. Even though on current account there is a deficit of Rs. 82 crores, he has not thought it wise to raise the entire amount by taxation. In that direction he has adopted the wisest course because the level of taxation that we have now reached, is of such a nature that it may be that further raising of resources by taxation may hamper production, because the task

of the Finance Minister is to evolve such a system of taxation that it does not hamper production but in a way proves as an incentive. Now for that purpose let me take the case regarding his proposals for direct taxation. (*Time bell rings.*)

Madam Vice-Chairman, if you give me some time, I would like to make one or two observations.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI MAYA DEVI CHETTRY) : Yes. but you have taken twenty minutes.

SHRI P. T. LEUVA: I will make a reference to the taxation on companies. The Finance Minister has been assailed on both sides. Neither my friends sitting opposite nor the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry are satisfied. This very fact shows that the proposal of the Finance Minister is in the right direction. Those friends who opposed the withdrawal of the wealth tax on companies did not care to study the speech of the Finance Minister. If they had devoted certain time and attention and had the patience, they would have found in the Budget Speech itself that what he proposed was only absorbing the wealth tax on companies and the tax on excess dividend in his new proposals of taxing the companies. A great furore has been raised regarding the doing away with the grossing of dividends. Those people who do not care to understand a technical matter will always make criticisms which are not worthy. Under the present system what happens is, when a dividend is declared, the company pays the income-tax and the super tax on its profits to the Government. And after deducting those taxes, a dividend is declared which is not the entire surplus which remains after deducting the taxes. But under the present system, when income-tax and super tax are paid by the company on its profits, the notion is assumed that on the dividend which has been received by the shareholder, income-tax has already

[Shri P. T. Leuva.]

been paid by the company and notion-ally, a credit is given to the shareholder to the extent of that income-tax and when the assessment of the shareholder is to be done, the dividend *plus* the notional amount of income-tax are added to the income-tax of the shareholder. But he gets a credit for the income-tax which has been paid by the company. Now, as you are aware, Sir, the rates of taxation on companies are certainly higher than the rates which are being paid by individuals. As the Finance Minister has explained, this system is very involved, very technical and a time-consuming one. Now it has been replaced by a system which is very simple and it is this that now the companies will pay 25 per cent. income-tax and 20 per cent. super tax on their profits. That means 45 per cent. Forty-five per cent. will be paid by the companies on their profits. But so far as the dividend is concerned, the system of grossing will be done away with. But at the time when the dividend is paid to a shareholder, the company will deduct 30 per cent. of the dividend and make an advance payment to the Government for its tax liability, and when the shareholder's income is assessed, there would be a credit given to him of the income-tax which would be liable to be paid on his dividend. If 30 per cent. is more than what his liability is, he will get a refund. But if 30 per cent. is less than what he has to pay, then he will have to pay to the Government as such. And the entire proposal of the Finance Minister is not to increase the burden of the company or the shareholder. Government is not going to realise a single farthing more than what it is getting today. Therefore, to say that the companies or the shareholders would be at a disadvantage is, to my mind, a misunderstanding of the whole situation because we are considering the case of such companies which are in a majority. We take the instance of average companies making average profits. It is not possible for any Government or for

any human being to provide for each and every eventuality.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI MAYA DEVI CHETTRY): Twenty minutes were allotted to you. You have taken twenty-five minutes.

SHRI P. T. LEUVA: I will take only one minute more. I will only refer to one point which has been severely criticised by so many people and that is regarding indirect taxation on *khandsari* sugar and after that, I will resume my seat. I am sorry that I have to take up the time of the House, but this question is of such vital importance that if I do not make my remarks regarding this tax, I will be failing in my duty. *Khandsari* sugar and crystal sugar are two varieties which are produced from one and the same sugar-cane. The production of *khandsari* sugar at the moment is only 2-2 lakh tons in a year and all the factories more or less are situated in T.J.P. It has been questioned why this necessity of life of a poor person is being taxed unnecessarily. If you see the figures, you will find that within the course of five years, especially since 1955-56, the number of units producing *khandsari* sugar is going up. The units which were, in 1951-52, producing only 90,000 tons are now estimated to produce 22 lakh tons. What is the reason? The reason is very simple that *kharwlsari* sugar has not to pay anything by way of taxes to the Government. At the moment, sugar is charged excess excise duty; then commission has to be paid to the co-operative societies; there is the sugar-cane cess and so many things are there, which give an undue advantage to the *khandsari* sugar to the tune of Rs. 14 per cwt. Another most important thing is regarding the economic waste that is involved in the manufacture of *khandsari* sugar. As you are aware, Sir, *khandsari* sugar gives only a recovery of six to seven per cent. of the sugar-cane which is utilised for production, while the crystal sugar gives you a recovery of nine to ten per cent. On economic grounds only, I without referring to any other question, it would be justified that we

should not allow anything which is of an inefficient nature, which is an economic waste to the nation. This three to four per cent, waste which is less in the sugarcane is itself a sufficient ground for discouraging the production in the *khandsari* sector.

Madam Vice-Chairman, as I have exceeded my time, I do not wish to say anything more. I thank you very much.

SHRI J. V. K. VALLABHARXO: Madam, many of my friends on this side and the other side have spoken on the Budget and made valuable suggestions and criticisms. I do not like to take much time of the House in going into the details of the Budget. But one thing we have to bear in mind and that is that this Budget is presented in the midst of our implementing the Second Five Year Plan. The Second Five Year Plan has held out many hopes to the people regarding employment opportunities, regarding food, regarding industrial development and all-round social progress. But unfortunately today, after nearly 2½ years of the working of the Plan we have a speech from the Finance Minister who tells us that there is something wrong everywhere, falling production, rise in prices, somewhere some drought, and he does not give us even a confident note about employment. What is the reality in the country today? After 2½ years of working of the Plan with laudable objects we come to a stage of questioning the very fundamentals that are posed by the Plan, namely, the object of a socialist society. My friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has correctly stated that neither in the Budget Speech nor in any of the speeches of those of my friends who have supported the Finance Minister have they taken into consideration what has happened to the great ideal that they want to reach.

Madam Vice-Chairman, just now we heard the speech of the Food Minister as to what the situation in

I am sorry he is not here. He very cleverly has given us certain facts and figures and intelligently avoided the consequences of them. Today the economy of the country and the very fulfilment of the Plan stand on two vital kingpins, which I call two vital issues, food and agricultural resources. Today we are driven to a position where even after ten years we are not able to reach anywhere near a solution of the food problem. Years roll by; crores of rupees are spent on importing foodgrains yet we take satisfaction that everything is going on very well.

Well, the Food Minister himself has given us figures about the increase in food production. I take them for granted. Also the statistics that are provided by the ECAFE survey tell us that there is increasing food production, that there is increase in import of foodstuffs and that there is increase in the cultivation of land where cereals and pulses are grown. Nearly two crores of acres additionally are brought under cultivation and there is increase in the yield per acre also in the matter of rice, jowar, maize and wheat, which is also constant. But what is happening with all this increase? Why is it that today still there is famine in the Anantapur district? Why is it that still today there was wheat shortage for some days in Delhi? How is it that today the common man is not able to reach the prices that are being offered by the hoarders and the blackmarketers in the cities? What is wrong with this Government? Has the Government any policy regarding food prices? Has the Government ever thought out seriously why it is failing to hold a price line for the foodstuffs?

The other day the Finance Minister was telling us that the food situation was deteriorating because there was failure of crops last year, which was, after all, an exceptional year as the Food Minister himself agreed just a few moments ago. What is happening to this food production? Who is responsible for this debacle? The Govern-

[Shri J. V. K. Vallabharao.] Some time back the National Development Council gave serious thought to it, and many leading economists also suggested that unless and until we controlled the food prices, unless and until the State takes on trading in foodgrains, the rise in food prices can not be checked, and with it again the rise in the prices of other essential commodities. The National Development Council decided on and recommended to the Government the above steps. The Prime Minister also has made many statements, but here comes the Food Minister and tells us that there are many administrative difficulties, here, there and everywhere. Administrative difficulties and all types of difficulties were put forward and the common man was thrown to the whims and fancies and the vagaries of the looters and the blackmarketers. The State machinery is at the disposal of these looters. In my State of Andhra the whole State stood as if in surrender to the mill-owners, and the mill-owners in Andhra dictated terms to the Government in Andhra Pradesh about the prices of rice. Here in Punjab, which is supposed to be a granary, which is supposed to be a surplus State, the people in Ambala and Amritsar and the workers in those places have to go starving, because they are not able to reach the prevailing high food prices. There are the Scheduled Banks which lend money, and there is the Governor of the Reserve Bank who says: We cannot help it. The banks come out and give loans and advance money to these hoarders to take over all the food that we import. Here is a case where the Government should be hauled up. I can even say the Food Minister has failed in his duty to solve this problem. Even after ten years if you cannot solve this little problem I think it is eternal shame to the Government, and I do not know how he thinks everything is O. K.

[MB. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

He tries to point his accusing finger at the Government in Kerala and to say that the Government there are

mountain-tops or in the sea beds. Well, Government owes an explanation to this House.

The Foodgrains Inquiry Committee, the Asoka Mehta Committee I mean, has suggested the solution and the Government accepted it and they formed a Food Committee. But nothing tangible has been done so far. This is a glaring example of how bungling on vital issues is being done.

Another important point which I would like the House to ponder over is the problem of land. This again is very serious. The food problem cannot be solved unless and until a basic change in the economic relations of the peasantry in the countryside is brought about. The Planning Commission recognised it. The First Five Year Plan said it. The Second Five Year Plan demanded it, and the Prime Minister and every one of the big leaders announced that unless and until we have land reforms, unless and until there is a ceiling on land and unless and until the peasant is assured of a share in the economy of the country this problem cannot be solved. The disparities in income will go on and unless and until the disparities are removed nothing can be solved.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: What?

SHRI J. V. K. VALLABHA RAO: I am only sorry you are not in a village. Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am glad that at least now the Congress has passed certain resolutions, especially on the question of land reforms and land ceilings, at Nagpur, and very high-sounding speeches are delivered about the necessity of cooperative farming, and other things also. So far as co-operative farming is concerned, it is very good in principle and theory, but the virulent campaign that is carried out without there being the minimum necessary steps which should precede co-operative farming with a view to implementing it, and the speeches delivered in this regard seem to me like just giving the signal to a train which has no engine at all, and my friends like Shri Masanf

form and just say that the train is moving over them. Well, where is the peasant today in the rural economy? What is happening to him? Where is the tiller of the land? The moment you announce that land reforms are going to come about, the moment the Government said that in my State of Andhra and issued an Ordinance saying that the peasantry should declare what amount of surplus land they had got over and above twenty acres—what happens in days and even in hours! In my district a certain zamindar, who happened to be a member of the hon. lady Member's party, owned some 2,000 acres of land. All those 2,000 acres have become 20 acres in one night by jugglery.

THE MINISTER OF REVENUE AND CIVIL EXPENDITURE (DR. B. GOPALA REDDY): What is that lady Member's party?

SHRI J. V. K. VALLABHARAO: I am only referring to your hon. friend who is sitting behind you. (*Interruptions.*) I could not follow.

SHRIMATI YASOHDA REDDY: He wants to know what the Communist Members have done.

SHRI J. V. K. VALLABHARAO: You refer to Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy. He will tell you.

I wish the Government of Andhra had published the figures of land redistribution among the poor peasantry. I am prepared to help them.

Sir, when the question of land redistribution came, immediately an Ordinance was issued. Transfers took place and people were evicted from their land overnight. In the district of Vizag, in one zamindari area, from nearly ten to fifteen villages peasants were evicted. The land was parceled out and all kinds of relations were created and new people were entered and the Hindu Succession Law was taken advantage of. All types of officers went to the help of these land owners. And, today the situation is that in a district like Khammam where

the Government was expected to have 60,000 acres of extra land . . .

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO (Andhra Pradesh): 1,60,000 acres.

SHRI J. V. K. VALLABHARAO: Instead of 1,60,000 acres of land there is not even 3,000 acres of surplus land. In West Bengal, the Government told us, they were expected to have 12,00,000 acres of surplus land; now the hon. Minister said that there is not even 1\*6 lakh acres surplus land. In Punjab, they say that three lakhs of acres of surplus land will be available. What is happening to your slogan? What is happening to your resolutions? Your resolutions and slogans are just warnings to the propertied classes to set right their houses and cheat the common man. That is what is happening today. Today where is the guarantee to the peasant that the land which his father tilled, which he tilled and which he has been using for generations, that he will retain it. A proper thing would have been a guarantee to the tiller annulling all these *benami* transfers. With the issue of the Ordinance transfers have been effected.

Now you talk about land reforms, about co-operative societies but the peasant is nowhere in the picture. I would like to know from the Government whether they are honest in their resolutions and professions? Are they honest in their vast declarations about socialist pattern of society and all these things? At least the minimum that is expected of this Government and the Andhra Government is their honesty in the Nagpur Congress Resolution and a vital problem like the food problem. The first and foremost step should be the stoppage of evictions. Issue an Ordinance from the Centre instructing your ministries in the States stopping evictions, stopping *benami* transfers, putting a ceiling. Only after that think of your co-operatives. (*Time bell rings.*) I began at five minutes past three.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You<sup>1</sup> have already taken 15 minutes.

SHRI J. V. K. VALLABHARAO: Two minutes more. So, this is the immediate thing that could be done. But without doing this, to talk that you will be able to have co-operative farms and that everything will be all right is, I am afraid, living in somebody's paradise, but not in reality.

Thank you.

**प्रो० रामधारी सिंह दिनकर (बिहार) :** उपसभापति महोदय, श्रीमन्, बजट प्रपोजल मेरी समझ में ठीक से नहीं आते हैं और आंकड़ों का भी विशेषज्ञ मैं नहीं हूँ, लेकिन इस मौके का फायदा मैं कोई ऐसी बात कहने को उठा रहा हूँ जो बहुत जरूरी है और जिससे सरकार भागती रही है। मेरा आशय शिक्षा के कामों से है। उद्योग और वैज्ञानिक अनुसंधान के मोर्चों पर देश की प्रगति जिस तेजी से हो रही है उस तेजी से तो क्या, किसी प्रकार की भी तेजी से हम शिक्षा के मोर्चे पर नहीं बढ़ रहे हैं। जब से देश स्वाधीन हुआ, सारे देश में एक राय बन गई कि भारत का शिक्षा मंत्रालय मंथर गति से चल रहा है, मेरा खयाल है अब वह घोंघे की चाल से चल रहा है।

**एक भाननीय सदस्य :** किस चाल से।

**प्रो० रामधारी सिंह दिनकर :** घोंघे की चाल से "स्नेल्स पेस"। निराशा—कारण क्या है? स्वाधीनता के बाद शिक्षा मंत्रालय का सबसे जरूरी काम यह था कि देश भर में पढ़ाये जाने वाले पाठ्य ग्रन्थों में संशोधन करवाये क्योंकि यंत्र तो हमने अंग्रेजों के पाले हुए लिये थे, उनमें नई भावना भरने के लिए हमारा यह परम कर्तव्य था कि हम पाठ्य ग्रन्थों का संशोधन तुरंत करवा दें जिससे कि हमारे छात्र देश भक्ति के भावों को अपना सकें, राष्ट्रीय एकता के महत्व को समझ सकें और जो कुछ भी भारत के प्राचीन ज्ञान में श्रेष्ठ है उसे यूरोप के नवीन ज्ञान से एकाकार करके प्राये चल सकें। लेकिन शिक्षा मंत्रालय १२ वर्षों में यह काम नहीं कर सका और जब भी हम इसकी पूछताछ करते हैं तब कहा जाता

है कि अभी रिसर्च हो रहा है। श्रीमन्, साम्यवादी लोग केरल में १९५७ में सत्तारूढ़ हुए और बिना रिसर्च किये ही १९५८ में उन्होंने अपने पाठ्य ग्रन्थों को बदल दिया जिसके खिलाफ वहाँ के चंद लोग चिल्लाते हैं। अगर एक सरकार के लिये संभव था कि पाठ्य-क्रम का आमूल परिवर्तन एक साल में कर दे तो १२ साल के अन्दर इस देश की सरकार, भारत के शिक्षा मंत्रालय के नेतृत्व में, यह काम न कर सके, यह लज्जा का विषय है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि संविधान के पैता-लीसवें अनुच्छेद में हमने यह व्रत लिया था कि संविधान लागू होने के बाद दसवें वर्ष तक हम ६ वर्ष से लेकर १४ वर्ष के बच्चों को शिक्षा अनिवार्य और मुफ्त कर देंगे। उस अवधि में अब एक साल बाकी है किन्तु, आसार नहीं दिखाई देते कि उस अवधि में भी यह काम होगा। अभी मेरे कानों में यह बात पड़ी है कि सरकार किसी ऐसी योजना पर विचार कर रही है जिसके अधीन ६ से ११ वर्ष तक के बच्चों के लिये अनिवार्य और मुफ्त शिक्षा का प्रबन्ध किया जायेगा, तीसरी योजना के अधीन वह भी तब जब ३ अरब रुपये इसके लिए निकाल दिये जायेंगे। शिक्षा पर हम लोग जिस दृष्टि से विचार करते हैं उसे देखते हुए मुझे शंका है कि राधा को यह धी मिलेगा और राधा नाचेगी।

(Interruptions.)

न राधा को नो मन धी मिलेगा और न राधा नाचेगी। न ३ अरब रुपया शिक्षा मंत्रालय को मिलेगी और न यह काम शिक्षा का होगा।

इससे भी एक बड़ी अहम बात है जिसकी ओर मैं सरकार का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ। संयोग से सरकार के एक बड़े ही ऊंचे सांस्कृतिक सदस्य अभी यहाँ मौजूद हैं। वे मेरे बातों पर ध्यान देंगे। बेसिक एजुकेशन (बुनियादी तालीम)—को अब सरकार ने सबके लिये लागू बना दिया है। बुनियादी तालीम पर इतने दिनों तक विचार हुआ है

और इतने बड़े बड़े लोगों ने इस पर विचार किया है कि उसके बारे में जो शंका उठावे उसी की अक्ल पर लोग शंका करेंगे। लेकिन मेरे भीतर कुछ शंकाएँ जगी हैं। ये शंकाएँ बुनियादी तालीम की पद्धति पर भले न हों। लेकिन, सरकार, बुनियादी तालीम और प्लानिंग कमीशन, इन तीनों का जो संबंध है उस संबंध के कारण मुझको वह शंका दिखलाई पड़ती है। बात क्या है? गांधीजी ने कोई जीवन दर्शन नहीं लिखा, गांधीजी ने शिक्षा का भी दर्शन नहीं लिखा। वे दर्शन लिखने वाले व्यक्ति थे नहीं। जैसी स्थिति होती थी वैसी प्रतिक्रिया उनके भीतर से निकलती थी। उन्हीं प्रतिक्रियाओं से हम आज दर्शन तैयार करते हैं। उनकी कल्पना में बुनियादी तालीम की जो रूपरेखा आई थी वह यह थी कि यह देश गरीब है इसलिए यदि स्कूलों से कुछ प्राप्ति भी हो तो शिक्षा का काम आसान हो जाय।

जाहिर है कि उन दिनों शिक्षा पर कम खर्च किया जाता था। लेकिन आज देश की आमदनी बढ़ी हुई है, और शिक्षा पर बहुत अधिक खर्च हो रहा है फिर शिक्षा के विशेषज्ञों ने कहा कि बच्चों से अगर यह कहा जाय कि तुम अपनी कमाई से स्कूल चलाओ तो यह बच्चों के प्रति अन्याय होगा, इसलिये अब हम इस पक्ष को नहीं मानते हैं। यह बहुत अच्छी बात हुई है हाँ सिद्धांत रह गया कि बच्चे काम करके सीखें यानी 'earning through doing' जो शिक्षा का शैक्षणिक पक्ष था वही अब ठहरा है लेकिन ठहरा है किस रूप में? विनोबा जी ने पारसाल यह कहा कि बुनियादी तालीम का वानरीकरण हो गया है। एक श्लोक है :—“विनायकंप्रकुर्वाणो रक्षयामास वानरम्।” बनाने गये गणेश और बना दिया वानर। बुनियादी तालीम इसलिये आई थी कि वह सस्ती होगी, परन्तु अब साधारण स्कूल से उस पर कम से कम दूना खर्च आने लगा है। अब कठिनाई यह है कि तीन अरब रुपये सरकार को मिल भी जायें तो सामान्य शिक्षा वाले स्कूल अगर हम खोलें तो शायद ६

से १२ वर्ष तक की उम्र वाले बच्चों को या १३ वर्ष तक की उम्र वाले बच्चों को शिक्षा दे सकते हैं और स्कूलों की संख्या बढ़ सकती है। परन्तु कहीं हम इसी फेर में पड़े रहे कि जो भी होगा वह बेसिक होगा तो प्राथमरी शिक्षा को अनिवार्य बनाने का जो आदर्श है वह अवधि के भीतर पूरा होने वाला नहीं है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि खर्चीली होने के अलावा बुनियादी तालीम के शिक्षक भी इस देश में तैयार नहीं हो रहे हैं। बहुत कठिनाई से शिक्षक मिलते हैं और यह काम भी बड़ा कठिन है। साधारण पढ़ाई लिखाई का काम बहुत लोग चला सकते हैं, लेकिन, लड़के को एक पदार्थ दिखलाकर उसी पदार्थ से विश्व-ब्रह्मांड की विद्या समझा देना, यह कुछ बड़े दक्ष शिक्षकों का काम है। वे शिक्षक इस देश में नहीं मिल रहे हैं। लेकिन, बेसिक स्कूल सबको खोलना होगा।

एक और बात है। अपने प्रान्त में मैंने बेसिक स्कूलों में जा करके समझने की कोशिश की कि यहाँ चीज क्या पैदा हो रही है। यह देख कर मुझे कुछ थोड़ा संतोष हुआ कि धीरे-धीरे सर्वोदय का वातावरण इन स्कूलों में पैदा हो रहा है। सर्वोदय के वातावरण से मेरा क्या तात्पर्य है? बेसिक स्कूल के छात्र और शिक्षक, बड़े उद्योगों के प्रति घृणा सीखते हैं, कुटीर उद्योगों के प्रति उनमें प्रेम है। शहरों के प्रति उनमें विरक्ति है, गांवों के प्रति भक्ति है। देश-भाषाओं के प्रति प्यार है, अंग्रेजी के प्रति उदासीनता है और चारित्रिक गुणों पर भी वे कुछ अधिक ध्यान देते हैं। सब मिला कर, मुझे ऐसा लगा कि जो वातावरण बना रहा है वह बड़ा ही अच्छा है, लेकिन अच्छा होने पर भी प्लानिंग कमीशन से उसका क्या सम्बन्ध है? उन स्कूलों में जो वातावरण बन रहा है वह तभी लाभदायक होगा अगर प्लानिंग कमीशन उस दिशा में जाने वाला हो। अपना बात को मैं जरा



[पो० श्री रामधारी सिंह दिनकर]

श्रीर स्पष्ट करूं। बेसिक स्कूलों में मैंने गांधी और विनोबा की छोटी सी मौजूदगी पाई है। लेकिन प्लानिंग कमीशन में गांधी और विनोबा के लिये कोई जगह है या नहीं, मैं नहीं कह सकता। सारा देश कहता है कि नहीं है। प्लानिंग कमीशन का रुझान बड़े उद्योगों पर है, श्रीनिकेतन पर नहीं। प्लानिंग कमीशन का रुझान अंग्रेजी भाषा पर है इस देश की भाषाओं पर नहीं, और प्लानिंग कमीशन की कल्पना से जो समाज जन्म देने वाला है वह विज्ञान का समाज होगा। पेट्रोल, भाप और बिजली का समाज होगा, स्पुतनिक युग का समाज होगा और उसके सारे साधन वैज्ञानिक साधन होंगे।

अब इस स्थिति में मैं यह सोचता हूँ कि सब मिला कर—कि बेसिक एजुकेशन और प्लानिंग कमीशन दोनों सही नहीं हो सकते। अगर बेसिक एजुकेशन सही है तो प्लानिंग कमीशन को अपनी दिशा बदलनी चाहिये और अगर प्लानिंग कमीशन सही है तो बुनियादी तालीम उसके लिये गलत साधन है। यह तो वैसा ही काम हो रहा है कि गांधी और विनोबा की फौज खड़ी करके आप उसके हाथ में हथौड़ा दे दें और कहें कि जमशेदपुर का निर्माण करो। कमीशन के मन में कहीं न कहीं कम्प्यूजन है, कहीं न कहीं सोचने वालों के दिमाग में सफाई नहीं है, नहीं तो इस तरह का काम नहीं होता। और अगर सरकार यह कहे कि बुनियादी तालीम भी सही है और प्लानिंग कमीशन भी सही है हम दोनों को सही मान कर चल रहे हैं, तब सरकार पर एक तीसरा दोष मैं लगाऊंगा। वह यह कि तब आप जो काम करने जा रहे हैं उसमें गांव वालों को धोखा होने वाला है, क्योंकि नगरों में आप अच्छे स्कूल रख रहे हैं, पब्लिक स्कूल कायम कर रहे हैं, अंग्रेजी शिक्षा पर आपका सारा जोर है। नतीजा यह होगा कि अफसर

इंजीनियर, शासक, राजदूत, ये बड़े लोग देश के पब्लिक स्कूलों से, नगर के स्कूलों से, अर्थसे और गांव वाले जो तैयार होंगे वे चर्खा-कर्षा बुनते रहेंगे, छोटी जगहों से आगे बढ़ने का उनको रास्ता नहीं मिलेगा। लेकिन मेरा खयाल है कि शायद सरकार इतनी निष्ठुर, इतनी बेरहम नहीं है। इतनी अन्धो भी नहीं है। कोई और कल्पना है जो सरकार के मंत्री अभी अपने ही पास दबाये हुए हैं, देश को जानने नहीं देते हैं। मेरा अनुमान है कि गांधीवाद अभिनव-गांधीवाद में परिवर्तित होने लगा है। Gandhi-ism is marching towards neo-Gandhi-ism

उसका माध्यम बने तो निराशा थोड़ी दूर हो सकती है। वह इस प्रकार कि सभी इस बात में सहमत हैं कि गांव में घोर आशिक्षा है, घोर बेकारी है, देश भर में गरीबी है। इसको हटाने का उपाय लोहे और सीमेंट का कारखाना है। लेकिन लोहे और सीमेंट का कारखाना कहां तक? विनोबा जो जो चिल्ला रहे हैं, जयप्रकाश जो कह रहे हैं, सर्वोदय की विचारधारा जो देश में फैल रही है वह उपेक्षित होने के लिये है या उसका भी असर इस देश पर पड़ने वाला है? मेरा खयाल है कि अगर विनोबा और जवाहरलाल ये दोनों दो धुबों पर रहने वाले न हों, दोनों के बीच कहीं मिलन हो सकता है तो उसका उपाय है कि आज से आठ, दस वर्ष के भीतर जब आपके पास काफी सीमेंट, काफी लोहा हो जाय तब गांवों के उद्योगीकरण पर आप ध्यान दीजिये। इसीलिये मैंने कहा कि केवल चर्खे और बैलगाड़ी से गांव का उद्धार होने वाला नहीं है, गांव का भी उद्धार होगा सीमेंट और लोहे से ही। गांव सुधरेंगे छोटे उद्योगों को वहां ले जाने से। और अगर सरकार के मन में यह कल्पना है कि आठ दस साल के बाद हम इन बड़े उद्योगों को गौण, लघु-उद्योगों को प्रधान करने वाले हैं

तो मैं समझता हूँ कि बेसिक एजुकेशन—बुनियादी तालिम—उसके लिये एक अनुकूल साधन है। यद्यपि, मैं फिर कहूँगा कि तब भी चर्खे और हाथ की आरी को तो न छोड़िये किन्तु बेसिक स्कूलों में अन्य वैज्ञानिक औजारों का भी प्रवेश कराइये। लड़कों के दिमाग को विज्ञान से परिचित कराइये। बल्कि मैं तो चाहूँगा कि केन्द्र से लेकर राज्यों तक सर्वत्र जो काटेज उद्योग के विभाग हैं और बुनियादी तालिम के विभाग हैं इनको एक मंत्री के हाथ में दे देना चाहिये जिससे बेसिक स्कूल वालों पर यह असर पड़े कि इस शिक्षा से विज्ञान का मेल कैसे हो सकता है।

मगर, एक और बात है जिसको देख कर, मैं निराश हो जाता हूँ न जाने हम लोग किधर को जा रहे हैं। अकबर का एक शेर है कि :

“नई नई लग रही हैं आँचें,  
यह कौम बेकस पिघल रही हैं,  
न मगरबी हैं न मशरकी हैं  
अजीब साँचे में ढल रही हैं।”

श्री अकबर अली खाँ : यह बहुत पुराना है।

प्रो० रामधारी सिंह दिनकर : बहुत पुराना शेर है पर आज के लिये ही उन्होंने लिखा था।

मैं घबराता हूँ यह देख कर कि अगर सर्वोदय वाली कल्पना ठीक है, अगर प्रधान मंत्री का विनोबा जी से अहमदाबाद में जाकर आलिगन करना ठीक है, अगर बेसिक एजुकेशन बुनियादी तालिम की पद्धति ठीक है तो फिर सरकार के नेताओं के मुँह से ऐसी बात क्यों निकलती है कि देश-भाषाओं का पक्ष लेना गलत किस्म की राष्ट्रियता है, गलत किस्म की देशभक्ति है। अभी उस दिन जब यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन पर विवाद हो रहा था तब न जाने कैसे डा० श्रीमाली के मुँह से यह बात निकल गई कि,

"Let us not have a false sense of patriotism in this matter."

अर्थात्, अंग्रेजी के विरुद्ध जो लोग देश भाषाओं की मांग करते हैं उनकी देशभक्ति झूठी है। मेरा ख्याल है कि जब देशभक्ति की आग लगी थी तब मैं और श्रीमाली दोनों छाया में बैठे हुये थे। तो कम से कम मुझे और श्रीमाली जी को यह हक नहीं है कि राष्ट्रियता की परिभाषा बनावें। राष्ट्रियता और देशभक्ति की परिभाषा उन्हीं को बनाने दीजिए जिन्होंने देशभक्ति की ज्वाला जलाई, जिन्होंने देश को स्वाधीन किया। दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि स्वराज्य लिया था गांधी जी और जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने मगर विचारों के नेता हो पड़े वे लोग जिनको देश-भक्ति की आग में जलने का मौका न मिला।

श्रीमाली जी चले गये हैं लेकिन उनके जो मित्र यहाँ हों उनके द्वारा मैं उनसे कहलाना चाहता हूँ कि देश भाषाओं का पक्ष लेना झूठी किस्म की देशभक्ति नहीं है। इस देश में देशभक्ति की गंगा महात्मा गांधी के कमण्डल से बही है और उसी के कारण हम सब लोग पवित्र हुए हैं। गांधी जी ने १९२१ में कहा था :

"The highest development of Indian mind must be possible without a knowledge of English. To get rid of the infatuation of English is one of the essentials of Swaraj."

और अगर श्रीमाली जी यह कहते हों कि दिनकर जी मैं भी इस सिद्धान्त को मानता हूँ, मेरा कहना सिर्फ यह है कि उतावलापन न करो, जल्दी मत करो तो इस प्रसंग में भी गांधीजी का उपदेश है जिसे उन्होंने १९४७ में हरिजन में लिखा था :

"My idea is for banishing English as a cultural usurper as we successfully banished the political rule of the English usurper. Everyday lost in making this necessary change is so much cultural loss to the nation."

### [श्री रामधारी सिंह दिनकर]

गांधी जी की इस बात के सामने भारत सरकार के मंत्री अगर यह कहें कि देश भाषाओं की मांग करने वाले झूठे देशभक्त हैं, तो फरियाद, मैं पंडित जी के सामने करता हूँ कि पंडित जी, देखिये आपके नेतृत्व में आकर लोग ऐसी ऐसी बातें पार्लियामेंट में कह रहे हैं। और अगर पंडित जी भी कह दें कि दिनकर, तुम गलत हो वे ठीक हैं तो मैं अपना सिर पीट लूंगा।

बात इतनी ही नहीं है। यह केवल राष्ट्रीयता का जोश नहीं है जो जनता को उसकी भाषा की ओर ले जा रहा है। जनता की भाषा की मांग के भीतर जनता के अधिकारों की मांग छिपी हुई है, उसके राजनीतिक अधिकारों की मांग छिपी हुई है, आर्थिक अधिकारों की मांग छिपी हुई है, सांस्कृतिक अधिकारों की मांग छिपी हुई है। समाजवाद के लिये हम लोग बड़े प्रयत्नशील हैं। जनता को उसकी भाषा दे दीजिये, चार आना समाजवाद अभी होता है। लेकिन जनता को उसकी भाषा देता कौन है? भारी सत्ता अंग्रेजी जानने वालों के हाथ में है और वे उस सत्ता को उनके लिये बचाना चाहते हैं जो लोग आज पब्लिक स्कूलों में अच्छी अंग्रेजी की ट्रेनिंग पा रहे हैं। देश के बाकी बच्चों के लिये कौन सोचे? वे तो भैस के बच्चे हैं। उनके लिये राजनीतिक अधिकारों की जरूरत नहीं है। वोट मांगना जनता की भाषा में और नोट लिखना अंग्रेजी में, यह विरोधाभास है जो सरकार को खा जायगा। इस देश में कोई भी ऐसी सरकार नहीं टिक सकेगी जो जनता से उसकी भाषा को छीन ले। इसलिये मैं कहता हूँ कि सिद्धान्त में देश भाषाओं को आप स्वीकार करते हैं यह बहुत अच्छी बात है, मगर आप दिन रात अंग्रेजी के लिये इतने चिंतित क्यों रहते हैं? अभी उस दिन बाडिया साहब ने कहा कि हिन्दी में जो कुछ छपता है वह देश का फालतू खर्च है और अंग्रेजी में जो कुछ छपता है वह बड़े पुण्य का काम है, वह बढीधाम है, उससे यह देश

बँकुण्ड जाने वाला है। धीरे धीरे लोगों ने विरोधी हवा बहा दी है। और ये लोग वे हैं जिनका जनता से परिचय नहीं, जो जनता का मुँह देखने कभी गांव में नहीं जाते होंगे, जिनके दिल में यह कभी आया ही नहीं कि जनता को कैसे जगाया जाता है, जनता को कैसे कार्यालय किया जाता है, फिर भी जिधर देखिये, ये लोग अंग्रेजी की चोड़ी उड़ाये चल रहे हैं। मन की चोड़ी उड़ाओ, लेकिन किसी दिन जनता सींग में तलवार बांध कर पहुंचेगी, यह पार्लियामेंट भी उस के लिये बड़ी चीज नहीं है, वह दूसरी पार्लियामेंट बना देगी। और, मैं कहता हूँ अंग्रेजी के लिये क्या इतना चिंतित होना जरूरी है। क्या श्रीमाली जी और वाडिया जी या दूसरे बड़े लोग अगर अंग्रेजी के पक्ष में लेक्चर न दें तो अंग्रेजी मर जायेगी? अंग्रेजी उस देश में अपने गुणों के कारण ठहरने वाली है। हम जानते हैं अंग्रेजी हमारे लिये विश्व ज्ञान की कुंजी है। और, हम अंग्रेजी को अपने देश में रखना भी चाहते हैं। (Time bell rings.) लेकिन उसे रखना है ज्ञान की भाषा के रूप में, लैंग्वेज आफ कांफ्रिहेंशन के रूप में। अंग्रेजी को बचाने के लिये हैदराबाद में इंस्टीट्यूट बनाया गया है। यह रुपये की बर्बादी है। अंग्रेजी अब नहीं पनप सकती। वह मनोवैज्ञानिक वातावरण बदल गया जिस के अधीन भारतवर्ष के लोग अंग्रेजी में दक्षता प्राप्त करते थे। जब यहां के नौ जवानों से यह कहा जाता था कि अंग्रेजी में तुम दक्ष न हुए तो तुम्हारा कोई भविष्य नहीं है, तब सभी लड़के अंग्रेजी पर अधिकार पाने की कोशिश करते थे। तब कुछ लोग राधाकृष्णन् भी बन सकते थे और जवाहरलाल नेहरू भी। लेकिन क्या आप आज भी देशवासियों से यह कहने वाले हैं कि अंग्रेजी नहीं पढ़ोगे तो तुम्हारा भविष्य नहीं है? न आप यह बात कह सकते हैं, न अंग्रेजी के पक्ष में वह वातावरण ठहर सकता है। मगर तब भी हम अंग्रेजी तो सीखेंगे ही। लेकिन अब अंग्रेजी सिखाना है तो मौलाना आज़ाद की तरह सिखाइये। मौलाना साहब

अंग्रेजी की बड़ी से बड़ी किताबें पढ़ लेते थे लेकिन अंग्रेजी बोलते नहीं थे। यह कुछ वाणी का ब्रह्मचर्य नहीं था बल्कि उनके मुँह से अच्छा उच्चारण नहीं हो सकता था। इसलिये वे अंग्रेजी नहीं बोलते थे। सारे संसार में आज जो लोग अंग्रेजी सीखे हुए हैं उनमें कौन अंग्रेजी शुद्ध बोलता है? हर जगह क, म, घ, कर के काम चलाया जाता है। लेकिन सर्वत्र वह ज्ञान की भाषा है, लोग अंग्रेजी से ज्ञान ले कर उस को अपनी भाषा में फैलाते हैं, अपने देशवासियों में फैलाते हैं।

इसलिये सरकार से मेरी जोरदार सिफारिश है कि वह ज़रा सी मोह माया को छोड़े और देश भाषाओं को खुल कर मैदान में आने दे। उन के मैदान में आ जाने पर अंग्रेजी के लिये जो रास्ता निकलेगा वह ज्ञान की भाषा का रास्ता होगा और उसी रास्ते का हमें विकास करना चाहिये।

आचार्य रघुबीर (मुम्बई) : उपसभा-पति महोदय, मैं वित्त मंत्री जी का बहुत आभारी हूँ कि उन्होंने बहुत सुन्दर आय-व्ययक जनता के सामने रखा। पुरानी कहावत है कि राजा को कर इस प्रकार से लेना चाहिये जिस प्रकार मधुमक्खी एक एक फूल से मधु का संचय करती है। किन्तु, पिछले कुछ वर्षों से हमारी मधुमक्खियाँ ऐसी आईं जिन्होंने अपने डकों का भी कुछ थोड़ा बहुत प्रयोग करना आरम्भ किया और जनता के बहुत से लोग तड़प उठे। मैं धनी लोगों की ओर निर्देश नहीं कर रहा हूँ, मैं सामान्य जनता की ओर निर्देश कर रहा हूँ। हमारे नये वित्त मंत्री जी ने मधुमक्खी के कर्तव्य का पालन किया है और उन्होंने जो आय-व्ययक हमारे सामने रखा है उसमें जो कुछ पहले लोगों को कुछ तड़प हुई थी, पीड़ा हुई थी, उसको कुछ दूर किया है। राजा के सम्बन्ध में जो कर थोड़ा लेता है दो शब्द प्रयुक्त हुए हैं, एक शब्द संस्कृत साहित्य में और एक फ्रेंच साहित्य में। वे शब्द हैं :

(१) सर्वस्य मित्रम् विश्वस्य सखा

(2) l'ami de tout le monde.

इस आय-व्ययक में बहुत सी विशेषताएँ हैं। एक बड़ी विशेषता यह है कि यह आय-व्ययक संतुलित नहीं है। अनबैलेंस है। बहुत सा घाटा दिखाया है। उस घाटे को किस प्रकार पूरा किया जायगा, अभी वित्त मंत्री ने नहीं बतलाया। लोगों को सान्त्वना हुई कि कोई नया कर नहीं लगेगा। किन्तु यह सोचने का विषय है कि जब शासन को व्यय करना है, तो व्यय तो होगा ही, और जो यह पचास, साठ करोड़ बच गया उस व्यय को वित्त मंत्री कैसे पूरा करेंगे? क्या वे यह समझते हैं कि जो व्यय उन्होंने लिखा है वह व्यय होगा ही नहीं, जैसा कि पिछले वर्षों में बहुत से व्यय नहीं हुए। अथवा उनका विचार है कि इस वर्ष में आगे जाकर नये कर लगाएँगे। इस बात का स्पष्टीकरण होना चाहिये।

हमारे इस आय-व्ययक में बहुत से उधार हैं। हमें सारे संसार से उधार इकट्ठा कर रहे हैं। किन्तु, वह उधार कैसे दिया जायगा, इसकी व्यवस्था अभी तक सुनिश्चित नहीं हुई। हम उनका देना टालते जा रहे हैं, किन्तु कब तक टालेंगे, यदि वित्त मंत्री इस बात का निश्चय करें अथवा शासन का मंत्रिमंडल इस बात का निश्चय करे कि जिस विभाग के लिये उधार लिया जा रहा है, उसी विभाग में जो आगे आने वाले समय में अधिक उत्पादन होगा उस उत्पादन में से ही उस उधार को दिया जायगा, तभी जनता को सान्त्वना होगी कि यह उधार वास्तव में दिया जायगा। जो उधार हमने लोहा बनाने के लिये लिया है, जिस समय लोहे का उत्पादन आरम्भ हो, तब उस उत्पादन में से ही उस उधार को और उसके व्याज को दिया जाना चाहिये। यह नहीं होना चाहिये कि सामान्य आय व्ययक के द्वारा सामान्य जनता पर उसका भार पड़े।

### [आचार्य रघुवीर]

अभी कुछ दिन हुए, इंडोनेशिया और दूसरे बहुत से एशियाई देशों के प्रतिनिधियों से इस विषय पर बातचीत करने से मुझे पता लगा कि एशिया के और अफ्रीका के भी कुछ देश ऐसे हैं जिनके प्रतिनिधि दिल्ली में इस बात के लिये चिंतित हैं कि भारतवर्ष कामन-वेल्थ का सदस्य बना हुआ है? क्यों चिन्ता है? क्योंकि बहुत सी वस्तुएं हैं जो हम कामन्वेल्थ के देशों से लेते हैं और एशिया तथा अफ्रीका के दूसरे देशों से मोल नहीं लेते क्योंकि कामनवेल्थ के देशों से सस्ती मिलती है। अभी थोड़े दिन हुए, यूरोपियन कामन मार्केट की चर्चा चली। अब वह प्रगति से आगे चल रहा है और जब यूरोपियन मार्केट, कामन मार्केट, अपने पूरे बल से लागू हो जायगा तब उसका प्रभाव संसार पर और हमारे देश के भी आयात निर्यात पर पड़ेगा। उस स्थिति में यह होगा, जैसी कि मेरी यूरोप के विद्वानों से, जैसे कि जर्मनी के प्रोफेसर एर्डमान से मेरी बात हुई और उनका विचार था—मेरा भी यह विचार है और संसार के अर्थ विशेषज्ञ व अर्थ शास्त्रियों का भी निश्चित मत है—कि जो अ विकसित देश हैं, अनडेवलपड कंट्रीज हैं उनको भी किसी दिन अपना कामन मार्केट बनाना होगा जिससे सामूहिक रूप में वे अ विकसित देशों के साथ व्यापार स्थापित कर सकें, उनके साथ समझौता कर सकें।

आय-व्ययक में रेलों और सड़कों का एक प्रश्न है। इस पर बहुत से लोगों ने चर्चा की है। मैं इस पर केवल एक ही शब्द यह कहूंगा कि क्या वित्त मंत्री और उनके साथी रेल मंत्री इस बात के लिये उद्यत हैं कि जो उन्होंने नया कर रबर के पहियों और तेल पर लगाया है, उससे सड़क पर आने जाने वाले वाहनों के ऊपर जो भार पड़ा है उसको दूर करने के लिये वे कोई दूसरा उपाय सोचेंगे?

भारतवर्ष में खेती बहुत आवश्यक है। खेती के लिए सीलिंग की अधिक से अधिक

सीमा निश्चित की जा रही है। कई लोगों ने इस ऊंची सीमा निश्चय करने का विरोध किया है किन्तु उनके विरोध करने का कारण और है। मैं उस सीमा का विरोध नहीं करता किन्तु मैं शासन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ कि जब हम यंत्रों का प्रयोग करेंगे, जब हम सामूहिक खेती करेंगे तो इस सीमा को निश्चित करने का अर्थ क्या होगा? इंग्लैंड में और दूसरे देशों में जहां बड़े बड़े यंत्रों का प्रयोग होता है वहां १००, १५०, २००, २५० और ३०० एकड़ खेती की इकाई है। यहां भी २५ या ३० एकड़ खेती की सीमा निश्चित करना बड़े यंत्रों के अनुकूल नहीं होगा। दूसरी ओर स्थिति यह है कि जब हम खेती में सुधार करना चाहते हैं तो उसका अर्थ यह होगा कि खेती में इस समय ७० प्रतिशत जो लोग लगे हुए हैं वह ७० प्रतिशत नहीं रहे जायेंगे। उनका प्रतिशत ७० से ६० और ६० से ५० प्रतिशत तक हो जायेगा और अंत में जाकर वह केवल १५ या २० प्रतिशत रह जायेगा। इसलिए खेती में उन्नति करने के साथ साथ यदि हम उद्योगों को गांव में नहीं ले जायेंगे तो हमारी खेती में जो सुधार हुआ है, और जो खेती में अधिक उत्पादन बढ़ाना है वह बहुत आगे नहीं चल सकेगा। इस विषय में चीनियों ने भी कुछ काम किया। चीनियों ने एक सिद्धान्त बनाया। माउ-त्से-तुंग ने उस सिद्धान्त को नाम दिया :Liang Tiao Tui Tsou Lu अर्थात् दो टांगों पर चलो। यदि एक टांग लम्बी हो गई और एक टांग छोटी रह गई तो गिर पड़ेंगे, आगे न चल सकेंगे। इसलिए उद्योग—चर्खा और कर्षा के उद्योग के अतिरिक्त यंत्रों का उद्योग, जब तक गांव में नहीं पहुंचेगा तब तक हमारी खेती भी आगे नहीं बढ़ेगी। हमारी खेती में जो लोगों की संख्या है, वह नहीं घटेगी।

अन्त में, श्री वाडिया ने दो तीन दिन पूर्व जो इस सदन में कहा था कि संसद् की कार्यवाही सम्बन्धी जो पत्र बांटे जाते हैं—हिन्दी में भी जो बांटे जाते हैं, वे व्यर्थ हैं। उससे मुझे बड़ा

क्लेश हुआ और लज्जा आई। हमारे एक साथी जो उस दिन यहाँ ऊपर बैठे हुए थे कहने लगे कि क्या तुम्हारे देश में कालोनियल एटमास्फियर अभी तक नहीं गया? मैं उसका उत्तर दूँ अथवा यह सदन उसका उत्तर दे? मेरे उत्तर देने से तो उसका निवारण नहीं होगा। उसके पश्चात् कल ही की बात है एक सज्जन इंग्लैंड से आये हुए थे, भाषा के प्रश्न का अध्ययन करने के लिये। मेरी मेज़ पर कुछ पुस्तकें पड़ी हुई थीं। तीन चार दर्जन पुस्तकें पड़ी थीं जिन में एक दो के नाम आपके सामने पढ़ देना चाहता हूँ। पहली का नाम है "किल डि पलाई"—मक्खियों को मारो,—यह पुस्तक अंग्रेजी में छपी है। दूसरी का नाम है --"बी ए गुड शैपर्ड"—गड़िये के लिये उपदेश है, आदेश है कि अच्छे गड़रिये बनो और अच्छी भेड़ें पालो। तीसरी पुस्तक है—"प्रोड्यूस क्लीन मिल्क"—शुद्ध दूध का उत्पादन करो। चौथी पुस्तक है "वे टू फीड दी शीप"—भेड़ों को क्या खिलाओगे। पांचवीं पुस्तक है "चीप हाउस फार गोट्स"—बकरियों के लिये सस्ते घर बनाओ। क्या ये पुस्तकें गवर्नमेंट के क्लर्कों के लिये बनाई हैं? उस अंग्रेज ने मुझसे पूछा कि आपकी जनता इतनी भी अपनी भाषा नहीं जानती कि जो इन साधारण विषयों पर अंग्रेजी में उसको उपदेश दिया जा रहा है। आज नोट लिखने वालों का शासन है और काम करने वालों का नहीं। क्या ये पुस्तिकाएँ आफिस में बैठने वाले क्लर्क लोगों अथवा पार्लियामेंट में अंग्रेजी में बोलने वाले सदस्यों के लिये छापी जा रही हैं? यह शासन बताये कि कितने लाखों रुपये इस अंग्रेजी पर खर्च किये गये? शासन बतलाये कि क्यों खर्च किये गये, और उससे किस को लाभ हुआ? हमारी जनता जो हिन्दी पढ़ना नहीं जानती, गुजराती पढ़ना नहीं जानती, मराठी पढ़ना नहीं जानती, मलयालम पढ़ना नहीं जानती, उनके लिये अंग्रेजी में छापने का प्रयोजन क्या है?

इसके पश्चात् मैं और विषय पर आता हूँ, वह है प्रशासन व्यय—civil admi-

nistration expenses—हमारे ८४० करोड़ के लगभग सम्पूर्ण व्यय में सेना का व्यय २४० करोड़ है। उससे नीचे उतर कर केवल प्रशासन का, सिविल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का व्यय २२२ करोड़ है। संसार में सबसे बड़ा पर्वत हिमालय भारतवर्ष में विद्यमान है। हमने एक नया पर्वत बनाया है सिविल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का जिसमें हम इस वर्ष २२२ करोड़ खर्चा लगा रहे हैं। संसार के किसी देश में भी एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन इतना महंगा नहीं और उसके द्वारा आज हम जनता को दे क्या रहे हैं? इस एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के द्वारा जो सुविधाएँ दी जानी चाहिए थीं और जो जन कल्याण होना चाहिये था, जो अघ्यापक बनने चाहिये थे, यदि वे सभी सुविधाएँ दी जायेंगी तो यह व्यय और भी बढ़ता जायेगा। जो १०० में से ३७ रुपया सिविल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन पर लग रहा है जब और सुविधाएँ जनता को दी जायेंगी तो और भी अधिक हो जायेगा। आप ध्यान कीजिये कुछ वर्ष पहले मैंने इस बात का ध्यान श्री देशमुख को दिलाया था और उन्होंने कहा था कि मैं देखूंगा। किन्तु आज तक उसका कोई परिणाम नहीं निकला। इस सम्बन्ध में मेरा यह कर्तव्य है कि मैं शासन का और इस सदन का ध्यान आपके द्वारा आकर्षित करूँ कि हमारे देश में जो अधिकारी वर्ग बढ़ता जा रहा है, उससे क्या स्थिति होगी। उसके बारे में एक-दो प्रसिद्ध संदर्भ पढ़कर सुनाता हूँ : **When every other class is destroyed, it is bureaucracy which, takes its place. Bureaucracy is more highly organised and more highly class-conscious than any other class in world history.**

Like any other social group, it lives and reacts, it defends itself and advances with the aim of increasing its power. It is an impersonal machine. It becomes corrupt and inevitably creates privileges and parasitic functions.

The interference of Government which is so necessary in the beginning\*

[**ग्राचार्य रघुवीर**]

gradually turns into a vital personal Interest on the part of ruling bureaucrats. Nationalized property doesn't seem to belong to anyone. Hence there are enormous thefts and misappropriations.

In 1954, in Yugoslavia alone, over 20,000 cases of theft of socialist property were discovered.

The bureaucracy tends to handle national property as their own, at the same time they waste it as if it was somebody else's.

इत्यादि । यह कहते हुए मुझे दुःख होता है कि हमारे देश में भी संदर्भ लागू होने लगा है किन्तु कितनी दूर तक लागू होता है, कहना कठिन है । हमारा एंटी करप्शन डिपार्टमेंट बन गया है और बहुत से विभाग बनते जा रहे हैं । किन्तु जो जो वस्तु हम शासन के अधिकारियों के हाथों में देते हैं उस में शैथिल्य आ जाता है, उस में इनफिशियेंसी आ जाती है । हमारा कर्तव्य है कि शासन का ध्यान इस ओर आकृष्ट करायें । इन शब्दों के साथ मैं माननीय मंत्री महोदय का अभिनन्दन करता हूँ कि उन्होंने अपने आयन्व्ययक में कोई नया कर नहीं लगाया और जनता को नई पीड़ा नहीं दी ।

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR BASU (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, while Parliament is undoubtedly expected to fulfil its critical role, I hope it will not be out of place—and it would be permissible—to say a few words in support of the Budget. May I begin by congratulating the hon. Finance Minister on the very clear and realistic presentation of the financial situation which he has made in his Budget Speech? Sir, the House, as I have said, cannot abrogate its critical role but is it necessary, at the same time, to indulge in scathing and reckless criticism and to coin words and epithets regarding the Budget to create a false and mischievous impression in the public mind? Sir, an atmosphere of gloom and despondency has

been created on the floor of this House with regard to the financial situation in this country and what is more, one hon. Member for whom I have great respect has gone even to the length of saying that the Second Five Year Plan has definitely failed although it has only passed through half its term. Sir, it has been said that attention, should be focussed on the failures which have overtaken the Government in the execution of the Five Year Plan and in the general administration of the country on the occasion of the discussion of the Budget. Simply because the anticipated targets have not been reached to the fullest extent, should we not take stock of the situation in retrospect?

Surely, we remember the hectic days this time last year when the country was being rocked by the shocks of an unprecedented Budget. Have we forgotten the uncertainties and the anxieties of heavy withdrawals from the Sterling balances and the dark future that seemed to lie ahead so far as the fulfilment of the Plan was concerned? Sir, what is the picture today? We are dealing with a sober and restful Budget when it can be said, in mild and measured terms, that the situation has eased to some extent. There has been some fall in prices and the decline in foreign exchange reserves has been halted. The economic situation is somewhat better and in the cautious and restrained words of the Finance Minister, 'we are sensing the effect of the various measures we have taken.' Clear signs of normalcy are appearing on the budgetary scene such as can be expected in an under-developed country seeking to achieve quick and substantial results. This is certainly not the time to preach a counsel of despair that all is gone and all is lost.

Sir, we have just heard from the Food Minister that agricultural production has registered an improvement. Industrial production also, the Finance Minister has told us, has shown significant increases in a wide

range of industries, and very important industries they are, which have been catalogued by the Finance Minister in his speech. Better utilisation of existing capacity and expansion of programmes has been responsible for the increase in production in the industrial field. Planned programme is in full operation for production of steel in the public sector and for the manufacture of heavy machinery and electrical goods. Foreign exchange difficulties have been largely obviated by the assistance extended by friendly foreign countries in which the Finance Minister himself has played a significant part.

Now, the position regarding the balance of payments reflects the progress of the Plan in an unmistakable manner. While the large import on Government account to implement the core of the Plan rose from Rs. 201.5 crores in 1956-57 to Rs. 492.8 crores in 1957-58, private imports declined during the year by Rs. 122.3 crores to Rs. 682 crores as a result of the strict restrictions imposed on imports during 1957. It has been suggested by the leaders of the private sector—currently meeting in Delhi—that the cuts in imports necessitated by our foreign exchange position have affected production rate. While this may be true to some extent in the engineering industry and such other industries in the private sector, and of course in the shipping industry also, the fall in imports, to my mind, is definitely a matter of congratulation and not of condemnation of the policy of the Government, namely, to prune our imports to husband our foreign exchange for the execution of the Plan with devotion and vigour. I am not unmindful of the fact that the fall in private imports is also responsible for the increased revenue deficit which has been caused entirely by the decline in customs duties on private imports. This should be a matter of national rejoicing that at last we are freeing ourselves from the shackles and stranglehold of foreign consumer goods of everyday use. It demonstrates that in independent

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India we are realising one of our cherished dreams when the Swadeshi Movement swept over Bengal in the early years of the century. 'Necessity is the mother of invention' was one of our favourite slogans in that great movement. Today this rigorous restriction on imports has resulted in increased production of a large variety of consumer goods within the country. Competition in quality and price is also enuring to the benefit of the common man. Further more, it is giving a fillip to our export trade to which large concessions and facilities have been extended. Therefore, on a long range view this inevitable fall in import duties is a significant step in the fulfilment of our national destiny. Sir, we are preparing for the day when in a fully developed industrial economy our exports of finished products and other materials will yield substantial balances in the normal course of trade and commerce. Until then in these abnormal years of a developing economy we must be prepared for a restricted import revenue. Of course, from the financial point of view this revenue deficit raises problems which will have to be met in a bold and realistic manner. Our ways and means programme and our expenditure budget will have to be framed and fashioned in such a way as to secure at least a balanced budget without fresh taxation even in these struggling years, when a real substantial surplus cannot be expected from our financial dealings. But so long as that ideal is not achieved, we have to lighten the burden to the utmost possible extent, so far as taxation measures are concerned.

Applying that test to these proposals which have been placed before us by the Finance Minister, what is the picture we get? In the matter of indirect taxation the Government has taken care to see that the burden does not fall on any article which is in essential use by the low income groups. Refined diesel oil, and vapourising oil, art silk fabrics, rayon yarn and staple fibre, motor vehicle



[Shri Santosh Kumar Basu.] tyres and vegetable oil with exemptions in favour of small producers and that highly controversial and questionable luxury which has been mentioned as 'some kinds of cigarettes'— these have been brought under the scheme of re-adjustment of existing excise duties. As regards khandsari sugar and unmanufactured tobacco adequate reasons have been given by the hon. Finance Minister in his speech. Now, Sir, that being the position . . . 4 P.M.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: Too much of sweetness.

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: It is for you, because you are too bitter all the time. Now, Sir, a point has been raised by my hon. and esteemed friend, Shri Mriganka Mohan Sur, that the enhanced duty on diesel oil will have an adverse effect on road transport and to that extent on prices of foodgrains and also on industrial progress. While it is true that diesel oil used in industrial establishments will have to bear a part of the burden, the proposed enhancement will have practically little or no effect on movement of foodgrains and industrial raw materials. The reason is not far to seek. These commodities are in the list of low-rated goods in the Railway tariffs and road transport is not interested in carrying them. Therefore, the increase itself on diesel oil will not affect, in my opinion, to any extent the movement of food or industrial raw materials.

It is, therefore, abundantly clear, in my submission, that the hon. Minister's approach in the matter of Indirect taxation is essentially a socialistic approach, although he has not shouted it out in his speech, as has been demanded by some hon. Members.

Similarly, in the matter of direct taxation, any fair and impartial observer will not fail to notice that the proposals do not in any way favour "big business" or "monopolist concerns"—expressions which have

become the stale stock-in-trade in some corners of this House. I will not go into details with regard to direct taxation, but I would only mention the increase in wealth tax on individuals and Hindu undivided families and withdrawal of exemptions in expenditure tax by tightening the existing law. These are steps in the same direction—higher taxes on the higher income groups without affecting the present tax position in respect of those less favourably placed in life. That is the spirit underlying these proposals, and that is the spirit which inspires the policy of the Government today.

Then, again, as a measure of simplification of company taxation, a combination has been proposed—combination of the income-tax and super-tax rates and the net incidence of the present taxes on income, excess dividends and wealth. This will mean no reduction in the revenue from company sources, as has been alleged from the Opposition Benches. The new rate of advance tax payable by the companies under section 18A of the Income Tax Act will secure to the Exchequer the same revenue as is at present derived from the taxes on the wealth and profits of companies. The wealth tax and excess dividend tax as such will, therefore, be abolished by this combination to attain simplification and better realisation. If this arrangement results in a fall in revenue or substantial loss to the shareholders, then the criticism directed from two opposite angles might both be justified. But neither of these is likely to happen. It would therefore, appear that the current ratio has been sought to be maintained not only of taxation on companies, but also on dividends receivable by shareholders. It is a point which was very strongly stressed by my esteemed friend, Shri R. P. Sinha. What is wrong with that, one may ask in all humility. An hon. Member has declared that businessmen will now evade the wealth tax by shifting their personal wealth to corporate companies, and it was only providing

an avenue of tax evasion. Could there be a worse misunderstanding of the entire position? If businessmen will shift their personal wealth to corporate companies, surely the wealth will not be buried under the floor of the company's offices or stowed away in the secret chambers of their office safes. The personal wealth of businessmen will be converted into shares and will at once become liable to individual wealth tax chargeable personally on the businessman himself. Shares are as much a part of personal wealth as cash and securities deposited in banks or stored at home. How can the merger of company wealth tax in the income-tax and supertax payable by companies create an avenue of tax evasion by individual businessmen, one fails to see. On the other hand, if wealth comes out in the open and is invested in shares, it at once becomes easily detectable for the purpose of wealth tax.

Now, Sir, coming to other ways and means for meeting the deficit, external assistance and treasury bills may save the economy for the time being and satisfy its immediate needs. But the emphasis must always be on internal resources through direct monetary assistance from the people themselves. I would, therefore, invite the attention of the hon. Minister to private reserves of hoarded gold and the intensive and extensive utilisation of the small savings campaign. During my recent tour of some urban areas in Calcutta, I have noticed the psychological response of the people to our appeal for small savings. • It was a heartening experience. The Government officers in charge of the campaign have also been quite helpful and co-operative towards non-official efforts. I would, therefore, appeal to the hon. Finance Minister, as a great popular leader, to take the lead in organising a mighty non-official organisation to push the small savings campaign and to mobilise our internal resources to the fullest possible extent. I would also invite the fullest co-operation of all parties in this great national task.

May I also make another suggestion for the consideration of the hon. Finance Minister? Is it not possible to devise a compulsory savings scheme to be applicable to our civil servants of all ranks and grades consistent with their present needs and requirements? I remember that in 1949, shortly after our assumption of full responsibility, financial strains of a serious character developed in our economy. At that time, Sardar Patel called upon the higher-paid officers and staff to contribute their share in the solution of the difficulty. By a system of voluntary cuts on the salaries of the highest paid officials and by a system of provident fund contribution applicable to others down to a certain level, Government servants in civil employ came forward to the assistance of the nation. I am not suggesting any voluntary cut or a compulsory cut in their salaries now, but I do suggest that a compulsory savings scheme may now be introduced by Government in respect of the staff for their mutual benefit. This will open out a sure and fruitful avenue which may augment our resources to a substantial extent, while contributing to the savings of the civil servants.

Sir, I do not desire to go very deeply into this question any further. I would also suggest that such surplus personnel in Government service might be diverted to many new offices and State Corporations which are being brought into existence. In this way, considerable saving may be made without actual retrenchment of the large body of Government servants who now find employment under the Government.

Sir, before I conclude, may I draw the attention of two or three Ministries to some particular grievances which have occurred to my mind? The Farakka barrage, which has agitated Bengal for many years past, is now nearing completion, so far as the preparation of the technical part of the scheme is concerned. There has been no provision in the Budget

[Shri Santosh Kumar Basu.] this year because there could not have been any, but may I request the Finance Minister to consider whether in the next year's Budget some provision may not be made so that the much needed barrage and irrigation project can be given effect to?

There is another matter to which I would draw your attention, and that is the salinity of water in the river Hooghly. That has become a problem of supreme importance and a danger to the Calcutta Port. I think the time has come when the Ministry of Irrigation and Power had taken greater notice of this question of salinity which also interferes with our railway administration every summer.

Now, Sir, the other question is one on which Mr. Rajagopalan, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, spoke last week, the question of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Allahabad. Sir, the *Amrita Bazar patrika* is being run by a limited company. Now the District Magistrate considered that they had published one or two issues or a few issues before the authentication of their declaration, which they had asked for, and as such the advice of the Ministry was sought. The Ministry advised that the law should take its own course. I quite agree, and nothing would be more correct than that. But is there anything standing in the way of a speedy grant of the authentication so that the paper may once again be started? The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is a paper of standing, position, and has been of great national service in the past. Is there any necessity that its publication should remain suspended for any length of time because the authentication is not forthcoming?

May I conclude, Sir, by drawing attention to a few more aspects of our financial position today? I have been very glad to find that some observations have been made in very responsible quarters so far as our

Plan projects and their execution are concerned. I shall quote the recent words of these observers from foreign lands, not as chits and certificates for inducing self-complacency in ourselves or in our officers but as impartial assessments of our work and mission, comparing India with the neighbouring country, Pakistan. Giving evidence before the House of Representatives' Foreign Affairs Committee on the U.S. Assistance Programme to India and Pakistan, the U.S. Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs told the Committee on January 29 last that he thought that the Indian development programme and the pushing up of development in India was probably the most important economic programme we had anywhere in the world. He also says that India is further advanced on the path than Pakistan. They have individuals able to organise, plan and operate. They need capital and they have a tremendous country with 400 million people. And mark these words: "As they go, all of Asia and Africa will go."

Members of the Russian Mission under the distinguished leadership of Mr. A. A. Andreyev, Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, only last week in Calcutta expressed himself in no uncertain terms. They were impressed with the development projects shown to them so far, and they enquired about the plants and their capacity and whether other similar ventures were going to be taken up.

*(Time bell rings.)*

Now, Sir, we have been optimists all our lives with faith and confidence in our great national venture even in the darkest days in the past. Let us not lose heart, fail or falter in carrying forward that venture to its successful fruition at this turning point of our nation's history.

SHRI HARIHAR PATEL (Orissa): Mr. Deputy Chairman, the hon. Finance Minister deserves to be thanked for one notable welcome feature in the Budget which he presented, and that is that there is no new proposal

for taxation. We have already had a lot of new measures of taxation in the past few years, and we have almost reached the point of saturation. Any new proposal this year would have certainly engendered a feeling of much resentment amongst the people, and I must say that the hon. Finance Minister has done well in taking note of this factor. Just as the stage has come when we are advised to consolidate our development projects which have been completed already or which are nearing completion and make them yield their best, so also I feel the time has come when we must consolidate our existing tax measures and make them yield their best. By saying this I do not suggest that the tax measures should be made regressive. Rather I suggest the opposite. We should properly analyse and see that, if the existing tax measures are at any stage or in any place regressive, then we should modify them and make them suitable so that the measures are actually progressive ones, because in the ultimate analysis all our Plans and all our activities are for the people's progress. No tax measures should be regressive or should hit hard the common man. It will now be profitable to examine the hon. Finance Minister's Budget bearing these principles in mind.

For a proper appreciation of the Budget it is of course necessary to review the year that is passing, and the hon. Finance Minister has of course presented us with an Economic Survey Report for the year 1958-59. This report gives us a very gloomy and dismal picture. It speaks of the decline in agricultural production to the lowest since 1953-54, slowing down of the rate of growth of industrial production, foreign exchange crisis, smaller stepping up in aggregate investment, slackening in internal demand of industrial products, worsening of employment situation, soaring prices, setback in exports, growing imports, and what not. The country has about 20 million people who hardly have an hour's work a day, 27 million with less than two hours

work, and about 45 million with less than four hours work a day, as revealed by Dr. Mahalanobis in a recent speech which he delivered. Besides these facts the dangerous portents now are more and more external finance and limitless borrowings. It will not be incorrect if I say that the year under review has thoroughly exposed the hollowness of our plans and the loose grip of our plans. The hon. Ministers have always been trying to explain away any setback or shortcoming or any untoward happening as owing to unexpected and unforeseen events taking place. They never try to realise that in a planned economy there is little room or scope for any accident to happen. There is no scope for unforeseen or unexpected things to happen. The only unforeseen thing that can happen is getting unavoidably involved in war. To make mention of any other factor as unforeseen or accident is just an admission of inefficiency and lack of foresight. What is the necessity of a plan if we always try to explain away everything—every shortcoming and every failing—as unforeseen and unexpected? The British have never had a plan in the sense we are now having. Yet, they have been progressing through experimental methods. We could have followed the same path. We could have very well saved our expenditure on planning if the Plan becomes ineffective. It is most necessary that the Government should take steps and be determined to see in what manner the Plan is made accident-proof and that unforeseen or untoward things happens and we march ahead as scheduled.

The hon. Finance Minister has also tried to explain away or minimise things by saying that ours is a crisis of development. My humble request to him is that he should not try to deceive himself and also dupe all of us along with himself. I am rather inclined to view it as development of a crisis until and unless efficiency and economy are achieved everywhere. In fact, excepting investments in some projects in the industrial sector—say, the steel plants and some major irri-

[Shri Harihar Patel] gation works and power projects—I will say that investment in many other projects are rather ill-conceived and fruitless. In many instances, they are a mere wastage. Our hon. Prime Minister has all along been proclaiming loudly about investment in humanity. I do not deny his arguments and I do not question his noble intentions. But I complain that he is unable to perceive and naturally check the laxity, the corruptive influences and several vices also that are becoming invested in humanity owing to failure in seeing that the allotments are properly and effectively utilised. Even after eight years of toil under our Plans, the people do not feel enthused or encouraged. It is a very serious fact which should be taken note of by the Government. But I regret to say that they have made it very small factor and they try to dismiss it with an explanation that it is all wrong with the people themselves, and that the Government is not to blame. I would like to say that they should not feel like this; rather, they should take it as an indictment upon them that they have not been able to lead the people properly and that they have not been able to prove the efficacy of their methods, the efficacy of their manners and their ideology. It is high time that they thought about suitably modifying those things. If they analyse their conduct and activities during the past several years, I am convinced that they will gather enough strength to march ahead in the future years with stronger determination and confidence. We are on the eve of formulating the Third Five Year Plan and we wish that they should not miss this occasion.

Coming now to the Budget Speech of the hon. Finance Minister, I naturally longed for a realisation of the necessity for increasing efficiency and economy everywhere, not from the point of view of our economic situation only, but also for the reason that in that way only Government can

inspire confidence in the people and give them proper incentive and zeal to march ahead. Government must remember that condonation of—what to speak of indulgence in—inefficiency is encouragement to delinquency and delinquency results in crime and criminal behaviour. The growing indiscipline, discontent, desperation and defiance today in the country are rather owing to this factor and not to political parties and their professions as hon. Ministers are always prone to think. Party is but a multitude of individuals and if the individual is assured of a fair deal, there can be little for the parties to complain of, I am afraid I should express myself a little more elaborately so that I may not be misunderstood. To cite one instance, I would say that for the same work of removing 100 eft. of earth, the contractors under the C.P.W.D. get one rate, the contractors of the State P.W.D. get one rate and the Revenue Department grants them another rate. The difference sometimes is more than Rs. 10. But the labourers working under these contractors almost get the same amount of wages. So, you can well see how the major portion of the money is going into the pockets of people who actually do not toil and whenever a question is posed for increasing the wages of the labourers, we are told that increase in wages will result in economic problems, the prices will soar up and a lot of hotchpotch will be there in the country. But they do not realise that actually the money is going into the pockets of some individuals. Instead of going to undeserving people, it should come to the toilers actually. That is the point, and they do not even try to explain that. In fact, I feel that the present Government is rather guilty of one fact—"one who tries to please everyone pleases none" and they have been doing that. It should have tried, in the first instance, to tackle the problems of the poor people. There should have been schemes and projects in which they would have found a place so that they could

earn their food and clothing and a livelihood. Instead of that, our Government always thinks in terms of grand projects and schemes—all on a gigantic scale. I regret to say that in the present circumstances, in the present structure of our society, the benefits from all the schemes are naturally grabbed by the comparatively intelligent people in the society and the poor people are as they were.

Government spend, but they do not spend well. That is my complaint. People feel a sense of injustice everywhere and that brings about so many undesirable situations and results. We have already passed eleven years after our independence, but the primary demands of the people—food and clothing—still remain unsolved. We are still imparting foodgrains to feed our people and it should be regarded as a slur on our part. Hon. Ministers repeatedly say that the best attention should be devoted to agriculture, but we find little in practice. There is absolutely no scheme for increased production. Every year we are allotting large funds for the import of foodgrains. As a matter of fact, agriculture should supplement industry or rather it should help the growth of industry. In our country which is mainly agricultural, it is really regrettable that there has been little development of agriculture and still we are thinking of progress and that we have achieved progress during the past years. If one goes through the volumes distributed to us, one will see that there is absolutely no concrete scheme or there is nothing elaborately described in these books about agriculture. We are told that rural welfare is allotted so much.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: But the papers weigh twenty-seven pounds.

SHEI HARIHAR PATEL: Simply the outlines are there, but we do not find any scheme. As such we are at a loss to decide as to what we are to say about these things. Instead I

would have been happier if there would have been indications regarding details of the development schemes, especially this investment in humanity. It is a very good term, inspiring term but, in fact, expenditure on this score is very very discouraging and corrupting, so to say, because absolutely there is no check on the expenditure. The men in charge of implementing the projects are not men of unquestionable character, and they have been doing something which rather fills the people's hearts with despair and gloom regarding the future of the country, because we are borrowing money and wasting it, so to say, as if we do not achieve the results we desire, it is to be described as wastage.

Looking into the Budget one will see that there is indication of decrease in receipts under many heads during the year 1959-60, but at the same time there is indication of increase in expenditure. Some of the items have been reasonably explained, as to why there is decreased income and increased expenditure, but regarding other items I am sorry to say that the increase in expenditure has been generally sought to be explained away as normal growth. I do not understand what this normal growth is, and it has not been explained also. It is not at all a satisfactory explanation, and the fact remains that increase in expenditure on unproductive heads is a dangerous portent regarding development. Inordinate rise in expenditure has been even indicated under the heads Police, Jails, External Affairs, Audit, Civil Expenditure, etc., and there is the scanty provision for agriculture. These are some of the discouraging features of the Budget. There is no explanation regarding the expenditure to be incurred under the head Co-operation and Community Development. The speech of the hon. the Finance Minister is, so to say, soulless and uninspiring.

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI: YOU mean S-O-U-L or S-O-L-E.

SHRI HARIHAR PATEL: Soulless. It appears like a catalogue of our small achievements here and there, and if I may be excused for saying so, it just helps us in recollecting what we saw in the 1958 Exhibition, the posters, placards and some of the exhibits.

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: You want propaganda in a financial statement?

SHRI HARIHAR PATEL: No, that is what I am complaining against.

Then looking at the investment and return from State undertakings. I would say it spells bitter chill. Then, the rise in the cost of collection of taxes is more than what it should be, and there is no attempt to minimise the expenditure on collection of taxes.

Now coming to discuss about the taxation measures, Sir, I would simply confine myself to say that the duty imposed on refined diesel oil, and on motor vehicle tyres, etc. will seriously affect the problems of transport and the workers connected with it as well as the common man. If the hon. Minister has done this to protect the railways in earning better income from transport of goods, I will say that he has done a mistake. The railways are losing income from transport of goods because of their carelessness, inefficiency and negligence, and by giving this protection the railways will be rather encouraged to be more inefficient. The hon. the Finance Minister should remember that we have not an extensive and intensive system of railways and the people in the interior of our country depend more on road transport. As a result of this duty the prices will rise up, and the common man will be affected thereby. This will also result in more hardship to the undeveloped regions of the country because in my State of Orissa especially, the railway system is very unsatisfactory. The entire interior region of my State of Orissa is without railway, and so I would request the

hon. the finance Minister to look to this aspect, and it would have been better if this duty had not been imposed.

With these words I thank you for the opportunity given to me.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, this Budget presented on the 28th of last month has been described in many respects. One definition that has been advanced of the Budget proposals is this that it is an uninspiring Budget.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: Insipid.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Now, Sir, as the proverb goes, you can take a horse to water but you cannot make it drink. Similarly, Sir, if people are not capable of being inspired, then what is there to inspire them at all. Sir, I was inspired personally very much when I read only the other day about the inauguration of the Bhilai and Rourkela steel plants and about the third steel plant which is also going into production soon. I mean that at Durgapur. There are so many instances all over the front just now for people to get inspired, and if they do not get inspired by them, I wonder what other type of material can be provided to give them some inspiration.

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI: Nothing else.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Sir, I have got my own comments on the Budget, and it is this that it may be one thing or the other, or it may not be one thing or the other at all, but it is not a poor man's Budget. It is not a poor man's Budget, I repeat, and I am a representative of the poor, and if I find that there is no provision made for the amelioration of the present-day overtaxation in this Budget I am very much distressed because the poor man who is groaning under excessive taxation has not been promised any relief. If there is anything, there is some sort of additional taxation—of course

it is to a very limited extent. I was longing to see the present year's Budget; it was hoping against hope, I admit, because in these days of planning, there is no probability, there is no possibility of any amelioration of the sufferings of the poor man. It is all for posterity that we are planning and exerting ourselves, and the difficulty arises for a poor and a hungry person, who has no food to eat, who has no clothing to cover himself with, and who is shelterless. When these people cry aloud, what is there to console them with? There is nothing which we can provide them with, to say that things will go better and better. But even today the hon. Food Minister tried to pour oil on disturbed water. It is no use telling a hungry man that the rice crop is a bumper crop and the forecast about the Rabi harvest is very reassuring and bright. It does not fill an empty stomach. What we are concerned with is the present condition of the people of the country under our national Government, for which I longed and cried aloud from a thousand platforms, namely that as soon as we get Swaraj, with the political emancipation, rivers of honey and milk would flow in our country.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE (Bihar): Were you preaching like this?

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Yes, during all these long years of the Civil Disobedience Movement, Non-co-operation Movement and the Quit India Movement. If you think it was an offence on my part, of course, I am guilty of that. Yes, I had been doing it all along since 1921.

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI: Ganga and Jamuna.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: I was speaking neither of Ganga nor of Jamuna. All these rivers are of no use to us. In spite of them our production has become lesser and lesser than what it was.

Our Food Minister was today complaining that this year, the last year and the year before last were bad 130 RSD—7

years for agricultural production. For him every year that comes or every year that passes is a bad year . . .

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: Except the present year.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: .... and inauspicious year. I am very much fed up with these statements and assertions of the hon. the Food Minister and the only conclusion that I have been able to arrive at is that it is very difficult for a common man to make the two ends meet. There was no difficulty like this during the time of the late Shri Ran Ahmad Kidwai, no difficulty at all. Food was in plenty; he could produce food by his imagination by his initiative and by his own personal effort. He was not a believer in statistics and all that. He produced food from his own fertile brain.

डा० बी गोपाला रेड्डी : यह है खेती ।

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Sir, with regard to diesel oil, I have received many representations. I am glad that there is a sort of promise in the speech of the hon. the Finance Minister that he is thinking . . .

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: Where?

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Not in his speech but the newspapers indicate that something is going to be done in that respect. I am glad because it is a commodity which is being used by the cultivators as well as the trucks and buses. Of course, with the latter I am not in very great sympathy. Certainly it requires a change in the case of cultivators and agriculturists with whom I have got cent per cent sympathy. Of course, it can be done only by the other House and not by our House.

Sir, I am worried about these pious platitudes saying day in and day out that the national income is mounting, that *per capita* income is rising and that the standard of the people is very much high now as compared to what



[Shri H. P. Saksena.] it used to be. All these things, I submit, should have found a reflection in the way of life of the people but I do not see any reflection in their lives. Therefore, I am fed up with these things.

Sir, the major problem which remains unsolved up till now is the question of unemployment, especially the problem of the educated unemployed whose number is rising day after day and year after year. This is a very dangerous weapon with which we are faced and we shall have to put in our whole soul in this business and solve this problem. It is from this middle class that frustration grows and develops in such huge dimensions that it envelops and encircles the entire atmosphere, whether it be this Government or any other government.

My hon. friend, Mr. M. C. Shah, whom I look upon as an expert in finance, complained of the rise in our deficit financing. Now, as the financiers know and my hon. friend Dr. Reddy knows full well, deficit finance is a dangerous weapon. It should not be so loosely and easily handled as it is being done for the last so many years by our Government. That probably has added to the inflation that we find these days.

Sir, I am sorry my- friend, Mr. Jaswant Singh is not here; I wish he were here. He suggested the scrapping of the prohibition laws. To him I have to make a submission, and it is this. The days of White Horse Whisky and XXX Brandy and Champagne are all gone so far as India is concerned and they are not going to come back again. So, for heaven's sake he should not dream of bringing that age again to India.

Similarly, Dr. Variava spoke about the re-imposition of salt tax. Salt tax is a thing which cannot be dreamt even at least so long as I and people of that generation which look upon the *Dandy March* as a historic march

of Mahatma Gandhi are alive. Therefore, it is useless to talk of these thing in a financial budget when we are face to face with very serious difficulties of which I am perfectly conscious. That is why I had suggested in the year 1952 to my Communist friends, who opposed the First Plan, that if they were so chary to call it 'a national plan', I suggested to them to call it 'a rational plan'. Sir, I stuck to that view, and I am glad that due to my efforts they have all enthusiastically and universally supported not only the First Five Year but also the Second Five Year Plan.

I hope that when we come to talk and debate upon the Third Five Year Plan, they will come forward with greater enthusiasm and with greater confidence at that in supporting the Third Five Year Plan. Thank you.

SHRI LILA DHAR BAROOAH (Assam):  
Mr. Deputy-Chairman, Sir, in rising to support the Budget for the year 1959-60, I want to congratulate the hon. the Finance Minister on presenting the Budget, with the proposals of an increase in indirect taxes, and, at the same time, he has not placed any unduly heavy burden on any section of the public.

I was listening very carefully to the different arguments put forward by the hon. members of the House. I hold the view that the Finance Minister has tried his level best to do according to his capacity. He has tried to rationalise the tax system. If you look into the Budget, you will find that the Finance Minister has provided funds for all development works in the country including art and culture. As a result of financial assistance provided by him for the development of khadi and village industries, the production has shown a steady increase every year. In my opinion, Sir, the Government has constituted too many Boards for the development of cottage and village industries products, namely, the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Commission, the All-India Central Silk

Board, the All-India Handloom Board, the Handicrafts Development) Corporation, etc. In order to avoid duplication of work, I think sericulture may be included in the programme of Khadi and Village Industries Commission as silk is also included in khadi.

Mr. Deputy-Chairman, Sir, I feel, that one or two items of the indirect taxation proposals, namely, refined diesel oil and vaporizing oil—increase from 40 naye paise to 80 naye paise per gallon; low-speed diesel—from Rs. 40 per ton to Rs. 50 per ton; motor vehicle tyres—from 30 per cent, *ad valorem* to 40 per cent, *ad valorem*, would hit the road transport industry directly in Assam, because the price of high-speed diesel oil, spare parts, motor vehicle tyres and motor vehicle accessories is higher in Assam than in other parts of India. It is a known fact that road transport offers the public and the trade many advantages over transport by railways. Especially, the people of Assam are getting more help from the road transport industry in marketing their products without any loss than the railways. Out of 1,840 miles of new lines sanctioned by the Railway Ministry not a single mile has been included in the Assam State in the third year of the Plan but road transport in Assam, which is owned by the middle-class people, has rendered a great service to the public, especially in rural areas^ under great sufferings from all sorts of restrictions from mobile courts and Police authorities. The transport operators of Assam will be directly hit and will be the worst sufferers because formerly the tyres of motor vehicles generally could cover about 3,000 miles but now-a-days a tyre could cover hardly 1,200 miles in Assam, as there are very few surface roads in the State, for which the transport operator has to suffer a great loss due to heavy wear and tear of their vehicles.

I am glad, Sir, that the Ministry has made a budget provision for construction and development of roads other than highways in the Union Territories

and for certain special roads in the Jammu and Kashmir State and Assam. But, Sir, I would like to mention here that there is a great demand from the people of Assam as well as the Government of Assam for the development of the North Trunk Road from Dhubri to North Lakhimpur, which is the only link road to the Subansari Frontier Tract. Further, the Government of Assam has also moved for the approval of the Government of India to the scheme of construction of a bridge over Bhogdoi river in 191st mile of the Assam Trunk Road and I hope the Central Government will try to implement these two proposals from the provisions of Rs. 9 crores that has been made in the Budget estimates of 1959-60, for the construction and development of roads classed as national highways in various States all over India.

Sir, although the Finance Minister is trying to do something for the development of the country, the people of Assam feel that Assam has not been getting a fair share of the different development projects. There is a feeling in this small and undeveloped State that the Central Government is always trying to accommodate the most advanced and developed States having more representatives in the Parliament and in the Cabinet. Of late we have seen that even States having the highest representation in the service as well as in the Central Cabinet are criticising the Government for not getting their due share. But we have our faith in our Government and yet we would like to place our humble demands before them so that they may not forget our prayer at the time of the implementation of the plans due to heavy pressure of the well-represented States. For example, we understand that although the Refinery Project Report Committee submitted their views in their project report in favour of Assam for a big refinery, the Government of India has given approval to the programme to set up two oil refineries, one in Assam

[Shri Lila Dhar Barooah.] and the other in Barauni in North Bihar. Then again when the expert site selection committee recommended a site for the refinery at Silghat, the Central Government has selected another site on the Amingaon side of Gauhati over which the refinery authority could not come to any decision till the receipt of the final report of the Rumanian experts. From this you can see how the Government is following expert opinions. I hope the Government will try to expedite matters to remove public suspicions.

Then, Sir, the Government of Assam has recommended to the Government of India a scheme for the production of electrical energy by utilising a fraction of Naharkatiya natural gas and has also forwarded the project report prepared by the Japanese firm. There are also other proposals for utilisation of this gas. I am glad that the Central Government has also considered the best utilisation of this gas.

Then, Sir, the Brahmaputra river is known for its acute flood problems. A sum of Rs. 10' 16 lakhs has been provided for expenditure on investigation in the Budget provision of 1959-60. But we are surprised to know that the entire expenditure is recoverable from the Government of Assam. I hope the Central Government will also bear 50 per cent, of the cost.

Perhaps the Government of India is aware of the fact that T.B., Leprosy and Cancer diseases are spreading very rapidly in the State of Assam. The public of Assam is trying to establish a Cancer Hospital with the help

of the Assam Government and I hope the Centre will also try to help this enterprise from the scheme of the Second Five Year Plan.

Under small savings, the Finance Minister has shown a credit for a net receipt of Rs. 100 crores. He has also stated that the net collection from small savings has been steadily rising. The collections were exceptional owing to the special drive undertaken by some of the State Governments. The decision for allowing the sale of Treasury Savings Deposits Certificates through agents on commission basis has created a great enthusiasm among the public. For this the Finance Minister deserves congratulations.

Lastly, Sir, I would like to bring to the notice of the hon. Minister through you that the Government should pay serious attention to the development of not only the major projects of the developed States but also quite a few of the minor projects of the undeveloped States so that the country may develop very soon and at the same time the people of the undeveloped States may feel that the Government is doing something for them. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: Is the House prepared to sit for one more hour?

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: No, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11 A. M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 10th March 1959.