

insulated power cables, however, self-sufficiency is likely to take some time, although a few schemes have been approved for their manufacture.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF HINDUSTAN HOUSING FACTORY PRIVATE LTD., AND THE AUDITORS' REPORT

THE MINISTER OF WORKS, HOUSING AND SUPPLY (SHRI K. C. REDD*) : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table, under sub-section (1) of section 639 of the Companies Act, 1956, a copy of the Fourth Annual Report of the Hindustan Housing Factory Private Limited for the year ending the 31st July, 1957, together with a copy of the Auditors' Report and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India thereon. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-552/58..]

NOTIFICATION PUBLISHING AMENDMENTS CINEMATOGRAH (CENSORSHIP) RULES, 1951

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRI G. RAJAGOPALAN) : Sir, on behalf of Shri B. V. Keskar, I beg to lay on the Table, under sub-section (3) of section 8 of the Cinematograph Act, 1952, a copy of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Notification G.S.R. No. 17, dated the 6th February, 1958, publishing further amendments in the Cinematograph (Censorship) Rules, 1951. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-569/58.]

NOTIFICATION PUBLISHING AMENDMENTS IN COFFEE RULES, 1955

THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE (SHRI N. KANUNGO) : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table, under sub-section (3) of section 48 of the Coffee Act, 1342, a copy of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry (Department of Commerce and Light Industries) Notification S.O. No. 11, dated the 6th February,

1958, publishing further amendments in the Coffee Rules, 1955. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-570/58.]

ELECTION TO THE EMPLOYEES* STATE INSURANCE CORPORATION

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri M. John, being the only candidate nominated for election to the Employees State Insurance Corporation, I declare him duly elected to be a Member of the said Corporation.

We take up the Budget discussion.

THE BUDGET (GENERAL), 1958-59 — *General Discussion*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shrimati Savitry Devi Nigam.

श्रीमती सावित्री निगम (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
सभापति महोदय, प्राइम मिनिस्टर द्वारा पेश किये गये इस कांग्रेस, केयरफुल और कुछ कुछ प्रोप्रेसिव बजट का मैं हार्दिक स्वागत करती हूँ ।

श्रीमान्, इधर कुछ दिनों से वातावरण अजीब बनाने वाला था, कुछ र्थुमर्स से भरा हुआ था और एन० आई० सी० के झपेले द्वारा यह मिजरेबिल और ससपिगस सा हो रहा था । इस बजट से जन-मानस को कुछ राहत सी मिली है और सब ने शान्ति का अनुभव किया है । यही इस बजट की सब से बड़ी विशेषता है । भले ही प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब को प्रसन्नता नहीं हुई कि यह बजट उन्हें पेश करना पड़ रहा है, किन्तु आदमी के बनाये हुये प्लान्स के ऊपर एक इनएक्टिविबिल शक्ति का जो अन्तिम निर्णय होता है, उसी को बिना किसी अपवाद के श्रेष्ठ मानते हुये उनके इस प्रकार बजट मूव करने का मैं हार्दिक स्वागत करता हूँ और मैं समझती हूँ कि यह देश में नव योभाग्य लाने वाला होगा ।

श्रीमन्, इस बजट को "कांशम" और "केयरफुल" मैंने इसलिये कहा है कि इसमें कोई सरप्राइजेज नहीं हैं और डेफिनिट भी इतने बड़े मुल्क के बजट के लिये बहुत थोड़ा केवल २७ करोड़ का है। "कुछ कुछ प्रोग्रेसिव" शब्द जो मैंने जोड़े हैं, उसका कारण यह है कि इसमें लांग अवेटेड गिफ्ट टैक्स आया है, जो कि पिछले दो बड़े ही क्रान्तिकारी मेजर्स इस्टेट ड्यूटी और एक्सपेंडीचर टैक्स को पूरा करने वाला है। भारत में पूंजीवाद धीरे धीरे दम तोड़ रहा है और अन्तिम समय की वीखलाहट में आ कर इधर-उधर मुंह छिगाता फिर रहा है। इस्टेट ड्यूटी बिल और एक्सपेंडीचर टैक्स बिल के पास होने के बाद पूंजीवादी सत्ता-प्रेमियों में उदारता की एक बाड़ सी आ गई और तमाम गिफ्ट्स दिये जाने लगे। रिश्तेदारों, नातेदारों और मिलने-जुलने वालों को गिफ्ट्स दिये गये और उसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि करोड़ों रुपयों की वह जायदाद, जो कि गिफ्ट्स में इधर-उधर पास कर दी गई, उसकी आय से सरकारी कोषों को बंचित रहना पड़ा और एक्सपेंडीचर टैक्स और इस्टेट ड्यूटी में भी काफी इसी प्रकार के एवेशंस हुये। श्रीमन्, गिफ्ट्स टैक्स का मैं हादिक स्वागत करती हूँ। वैसे तो जब यह बिल यहां सदन के सामने आयेगा, तो उस पर सदन के सभी सदस्य अपने विचार प्रकट करेंगे, लेकिन यहां इतना मैं कह देना चाहती हूँ कि मैं समझती हूँ कि इस टैक्स को और दूर तक ले जाने वाला बनाने के लिये सरकार इसमें एक थोड़ा सा अमेंडमेंट अवश्य ही मूव कर दे कि गिफ्ट्स को लेने और देने वाले दोनों से ही यह टैक्स लिया जायेगा। इसमें इस बारे में भी कुछ सतर्कता बरती जाये कि बड़ी-बड़ी जायदादें राधास्वामी और द्वारकाधीश के नाम से ट्रांसफर न की जा सकें और यह उसी समय होगा, जब कि दातव्य संस्थाओं की जो डेफिनिशन है, उससे रेलिजस

संस्थाओं को भी बिलकुल निकाल दिया जाये।

इस्टेट ड्यूटी बिल पर बोलते हुये मैंने कहा था कि १ लाख की जो छूट दी गई है वह बहुत है। अब जो इसमें संशोधन किया गया है और जो ५० हजार की छूट अब दी गई है, इसका मैं स्वागत करता हूँ। जहाजों के विकास के लिये जो ४० प्रतिशत की छूट है, उससे इस उद्योग में तरक्की आयेगी और वह भी एक प्रशंसा की वस्तु है। इनकम-टैक्स के विषय में जो संशोधन हुआ है और जिससे फ्री क्वार्टर्स और ट्रांसपोर्ट के लाभ पर जो टैक्स लगाया गया है—जिसका कि लाभ अधिकतर बड़े-बड़े अधिकारियों को ही मिलता था—वह भी एक प्रशंसा और स्वागत की वस्तु है।

श्रीमन्, इस बजट के लिये मैंने "कुछ कुछ प्रोग्रेसिव" शब्द लगाये हैं और उसका कारण यह है कि इसे "कुछ कुछ" नहीं बल्कि और अधिक प्रोग्रेसिव होना चाहिये था, क्योंकि अब ऐसा करने का समय आ गया है। यह आगामी वर्ष योजना का तीसरा वर्ष होगा और धन का हमें अत्यधिक आवश्यकता होगी। इसके बारे में प्राइम मिनिस्टर महोदय ने भी इशारा किया है। इसलिये आवश्यकता इस बात की थी कि किराये पर उठाये हुये बड़े-बड़े मकानों पर टैक्स बढ़ाया जाता। आप दिल्ली को ही देखिये, यहां तीन चार आदमियों के पास दिल्ली के तीन चौथाई मकानों की मिल्कियत है। तो यदि इस प्रकार के किराये के मकानों पर टैक्स लगा दिया जाता, तो उससे उन सम्पत्तिवान् मकानमालिकों पर कोई विशेष असर नहीं पड़ता। श्रीमन्, शादियों में होने वाली फ़िजूलखर्ची से हम सभी लोग बिज हैं। जिन मैरिजेज पर लोग एक हजार से ऊपर खर्च करते हैं, उनमें यदि एक या डेढ़ प्रतिशत मैरिज टैक्स लगाया जाये, तो वह भी लोग शादी के अवसर पर

[श्रीमती सावित्री निगम]

खुशी खुशी दे देंगे। थोड़ा सा गिफ्ट्स देने के लिये भी वे तैयार हो जायेंगे।

श्रीमन्, देश को अपनी पंचवर्षीय योजना के लिये धन की आवश्यकता है और वह हमें कहीं न कहीं से लेना है। बजट प्रोजेक्ट पढ़ते समय मैंने देखा कि ५ करोड़ ४६ लाख रुपया प्रिवी पर्सन की सूरत में राजा-महाराजाओं को दिया जाता है। ठीक है, दिया जाय; पर श्रीमन्, मेरा निवेदन है कि इतना रुपया दिये जाने पर भी उनकी दशा बड़ी ही दयनीय है और ये लोग अनाथालय के बालक या मौत के दिन गिनने वाले पेंशनर की तरह हैं। प्रिवी पर्सन दे कर हम उनको सीधी मदद नहीं कर रहे। अगर हम उनका सर्वे करें और उनको रिट्रिब्यूट कर देने की योजना बनायें, तो हम इससे कहीं अधिक रुपये में उनको लाभ पहुंचा सकेंगे। श्रीमन्, चांदी के टुकड़े फेंक कर बदले में हम उनका स्वाभिमान, उनका आत्मगौरव छीन रहे हैं और उसके बाद हमें दम्भ यह है कि हम उनका कल्याण कर रहे हैं, यह एक झूठा सा भ्रम है। श्रीमन्, उनकी कोई सिक्यूरिटी नहीं, उनको पता नहीं कब ये प्रिवी पर्सन बंद हो जायें। इस शक की तलवार उनके गले में लटका दी गई है। वे फ्रस्ट्रेटेड एमप्लेस और अकर्मण्य बनते जा रहे हैं। जिन्हें हमने बोझ बना लिया है, उन्हें हम शक्ति बना सकते हैं। श्रीमन्, उनमें से जो तीव्र बुद्धि और अच्छी एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव कैपेसिटी के यंग युवराज हैं उन्हें अच्छी-अच्छी नौकरियां दी जायें। जो विधवायें, बूढ़ी स्त्रियां और बच्चे हैं उनको और अधिक रुपया इकट्ठा कर अछूती और सिक्योर पब्लिक लिमिटेड कंपनियों में लगाया जाये, और इस प्रकार उन्हें रिट्रिब्यूट कर दिया जाये कि प्रिवी पर्सन बंद हो जाने के बाद भी वे अपने पैरों पर खड़े हो सकें और जो आज लाइबिलिटी है, वे एसेट बन जायें।

श्रीमन्, मैं चाहती थी कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर महोदय इस बजट के साथ कोई ऐसा नया क्रान्तिकारी गिफ्ट लाते, जिससे हम और अधिक प्लान कांशस हो जाते। श्रीमन्, मूंदड़ा डील के बाद यह पूरी तरह प्रमाणित हो चुका है कि देश की इकानामी को पुष्ट करने के लिये हमें अधिक शक्तिशाली बनाना होगा, अपने पब्लिक सेक्टर को अकेला एल० आई० सी० का नन्हा शिशु शेरों में भरे जंगल में कैसे खड़ा रहेगा? मैंने सन् १९५४ में इंड्योरेंस व्यवसाय पर बोलते हुये उन्हें नेशनलाइज करने की मांग पेश की थी और आज सन् १९५८ में बैंकों के विषय में वही मांग पेश करती हूं कि बैंकों को तुरन्त नेशनलाइज कर देना चाहिये। अगर देश के एसेट्स का हम सदुपयोग करना चाहते हैं और गवर्नमेंट चाहती है कि बैंक मजबूत हों, स्टेट बैंक और रिजर्व बैंक की शक्ति बढ़े और देश के अन्दर स्टर्टेवाजी और होडिंग को रोकना है, तो बैंकों को नेशनलाइज करना चाहिये। श्रीमन्, जिस समय चावल के भाव बढ़ रहे थे, उस समय फूड मिनिस्ट्री की तरफ से विजिप्ति निकाली गई कि स्टेट बैंक और रिजर्व बैंक अनाज की खरीद के लिये रुपया एडवांस नहीं करेंगे; उन्होंने रुपया एडवांस करना बन्द भी कर दिया, फिर भी लाखों टन चावल देश में इन्हीं बैंकों की बदौलत खरीदा गया, जो चारों ओर बिखरे हुये हैं और उन्होंने रुपया एडवांस किया। यहां तक हुआ कि फूड मिनिस्ट्री को अंत में गेहूं के दाम गिराने के लिये, प्राइमोज को बढ़ने से रोकने के लिये सबसिडी देनी पड़ी और देश के पब्लिक एक्सचेंजर के हाथ से इस तरह से करोड़ों रुपया निकल गया।

श्रीमन्, बावजूद देश के बड़े-बड़े नेताओं की मार्मिक अपील के पिछले वर्ष के पहले दस महीनों में ४४८ करोड़ रुपया ही छोटी बचतों के द्वारा प्राप्त हो सका। उसे भी मैंने देश की आर्थिक शक्ति के अन्-

सार बहुत कम माना था। किन्तु, श्रीमन्, इस वर्ष हमें और भी दुःख हुआ यह देख कर कि वह रकम पिछले दस महीनों में केवल ३७.६ करोड़ की हो रह गई। बचत बैंकों को प्राप्ति में १४ करोड़ रुपये की कमी कोई मामूली कमी नहीं है। मोटे तौर पर हम इस उदासीनता को, इस रुकावट को पांच भागों में बांट सकते हैं। पांच कारणों में हम उसको बांट सकते हैं। उनमें सबसे बड़ा कारण है—lack of publicity; दूसरी बात है—lack of trained personnel; तीसरा कारण है—lack of trust in the mind of the masses about the working and about the usefulness of the small savings scheme; और चौथा कारण है—numerous difficulties faced by the workers. मैंने पिछले वर्ष प्राइम मिनिस्टर और फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर महोदय की अपील सुन कर भारत सेवक समाज में यह निश्चय किया था कि हम लोग दस लाख पया इकट्ठा करेंगे। श्रीमन्, दिल्ली के तमाम स्माल सेविंग्स के अधिकारियों और दूसरे अधिकारियों को सभा बुलाई गई। तीन दिन तक हम इस बात पर विचार करते रहे कि क्या क्या कठिनाइयां हमारे सामने हैं। उसके बाद हम लोगों ने सर्वसम्मति से एक योजना बनाई, जिसमें पांच बातें थीं। एक बात यह थी कि एक सप्ताह हम मनायेंगे, उसमें सत्तर, अठहत्तर कार्नेर पब्लिक मोटिंग्स होंगी, जिनमें हम जनता को एजुकेट करेंगे और दो बड़ी पब्लिक मोटिंग्स होंगी, प्रोसेशंस होंगी। सप्ताह के अन्तिम दिन में हम लोग जितने भी कार्यकर्ता हैं, सब प्रोसेशंस में जा कर स्माल सेविंग्स के सर्टिफिकेट लगे। सब कुछ हो गया, श्रीमन्, स्कीम भेज दी गई। लेकिन बावजूद हमारे रिमाइंडर के, एक महीने के बाद यह सूचना आई कि स्कीम पास हो गई, तो अच्छी बात है। इसके बाद बजट मांगा गया। उस को भेज दिया गया। हम लोगों ने मामूली ७०० रुपये का बजट बनाया था। लेकिन, श्रीमन्,

नतीजा यह हुआ कि आपस में एक कंट्रोवर्सी चलती रही। जिन आफिसरों ने उस कार्य में अपनी सारी शक्ति दी, वे फिर देखने में नहीं आये, क्योंकि उनके खिलाफ शायद एक्शन लिया गया कि उन्होंने बिना ऊपर के वासेज के पूछे हुये, ऊंचे आफिसर्स को नगलेक्ट करके, क्यों एक स्वतंत्र आर्गनाइजेशन के साथ मिल कर ऐसी योजना बनाई। नतीजा यह हुआ कि तीन महीने तक, बावजूद रिमाइंडर के, कोई जवाब नहीं आया। इधर हमने मोटिंग अनाउंस कर दी थी, वर्कर्स को काम अलार्ड कर दिया था। हम लोग परेशानी में पड़ गये। जब यह हाल राजधानी में स्माल सेविंग्स स्कीम का है कि हमारे कार्यकर्ताओं को ये कठिनाइयां उठानी पड़ती हैं तब देश के अन्य स्थानों में न जाने कितनी कठिनाइयां को उन लोगों को उठाना पड़ता होगा। ऐसी परिस्थिति में, श्रीमन्, क्यों नहीं यह रकम—बचत बैंकों को प्राप्ति में १४ करोड़ की कमी—घटने के बजाय और बढ़ जायेगी?

अब मैं थोड़ी सी रेमेडीज बताना चाहती हूँ कि किस प्रकार स्माल सेविंग्स के द्वारा हम चालीस के बजाय साठ करोड़ रुपये इकट्ठा कर सकते हैं, ऐसा मेरा मानना है। मैं जानती हूँ कि जनता जनार्दन में कितनी बड़ी शक्ति है। भारतीय जनता को हृदय-विशालता का अनुमान हम सबको है। हम जानते हैं कि जब जनता एक बार कनविन्स हो जायेगी कि सचमुच हमारा रुपया देश की योजना में उनकी और उनकी संतान की तरक्की के लिये लगने वाला है, तो अवश्य ही वह सरकार की सहायता के लिये आगे बढ़ेगी। श्रीमन्, सोशल वेलफेयर बोर्ड के पास काफी अच्छा आर्गनाइजेशन है। यह काम उनको लेना चाहिये। पूरी तरह देश के अन्दर उसका जाल बिछा हुआ है। स्कीम्स को सफेसफुल बनाने के लिये और लोगों को एजुकेट करने के लिये बाल

[श्रीमती सावित्री निगम]

इंडिया रेडियो से रेगुलर अनाउंसमेंट होने चाहियें और टाक्स होने चाहियें। तीसरी बात यह है कि तमाम स्माल सर्विसेस के वर्कर्स का एक सेमिनार होना चाहिये। चौथी बात यह है कि रिवाल्यूशनरी चेंजेज इसको वर्किंग में आना चाहिये। पांचवीं बात यह है कि क्विक एंड स्पीड डिस्पोजल होना चाहिये, उन ट्राफिकेड्स का और उनके कमोशन क्लेम का। छठी बात यह है कि एक एक्सटेंसिव पब्लिसिटी का प्रोग्राम रखा जाना चाहिये। हमारे नेताओं को स्माल सर्विसेस स्कामों का अध्ययन करके अपने उद्घाटन भाषणों में और दूसरी तरह-तरह को स्पोचेज में उनकी उपयोगिता बताना चाहिये।

स्लम क्लीयरेंस के लिये जो एक करोड़ चार लाख की ग्रांट सेंक्शन हुई है, मैं उसका अत्यन्त स्वागत करती हूँ और उसके लिये आभारी हूँ, लेकिन मैं साथ ही साथ सरकार को एक चेतावनी देना चाहती हूँ, धन का दुरुपयोग रोकने के बारे में। श्रीमन्, तीन बातें बहुत आवश्यक हैं। एक तो यह कि जितना भी रुपया कंस्ट्रक्शन के लिये अलॉट हो, कंस्ट्रक्शन सोशल वेलफेयर आर्गनाइजेशन के द्वारा ही करवाया जाना चाहिये और उनका पूरी तरह कोआपरेशन लेना चाहिये। दूसरे यह कि पी० डब्ल्यू० डी० के इंजीनियरों को चाहिये कि बजाय इसके कि वे कांटेक्टर्स लोगों को कांटेक्ट दें, वे लेबर कोआपरेटिक्स बनायें और उन्हीं से निर्माण कार्य करायें। इससे दो लाभ होंगे, एक तो कोआपरेटिव मूवमेंट आगे बढ़ेगा और दूसरे मिडिलमैन जो रुपया खा जाता है वह बच जायेगा। तीसरी बात यह है कि **contractors should be eliminated entirely**, चौथी बात यह है कि कोआपरेटिव हाउसिंग सोसाइटीज बनाकर स्लम इवेलर्स को उन्हीं के जरिये लांग टर्म लोन दिये जायें ताकि वे स्वयं अपने पैरों पर खड़े हो कर अपने मकानों को स्वयं बनायें।

श्रीमन्, जहां कांटेक्टर होते हैं, वहां रिश्वतें चलती हैं, चूने में बजरी मिलाने जाती है। जहां आफिशलडम होता है, वहां पगड़ियां चलती हैं। मैं आपको दिल्ली का ही एक जीता जागता उदाहरण दूँ। जमना बस्ती व अन्य स्लम इवेलर्स को बसाने के लिये चार बस्तियां जिलमिल, ताहिरपुर, तिलोकड़ी (जंगपुरा) और पंचनगर हैं और एक बस्ती ईदगाह है। श्रीमन्, यदि उनका सर्वे किया जाये तो आखें खुल जायेंगी। आंचे से अधिक मकान नान स्लम इवेलर्स के नाम अलॉट हुये हैं। लोगों को यह कहते सुना जाता है कि पगड़ियां दे कर उनका अलॉटमेंट उनको दिया गया है। ईश्वर जाने, लेकिन हां, यह बात जरूर है। यह बात कभी भी सर्वे करके देख ली जाये कि ये मकान बजाय स्लम इवेलर्स के दूसरों को दिये जा रहे हैं।

श्रीमन्, जो मैंने कहा कि लांग टर्म लोन दे कर आप इन चीजों के लिये कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज बना दें, इससे दो फायदे होंगे। एक चीज तो यह है कि पी० डब्ल्यू० डी० प्राइवेट ठेकेदारों द्वारा जब कभी कंस्ट्रक्शन कराता है तब ३० या ३५ परसेंट ज्यादा खर्च आता है; इसका कारण यह है कि पी० डब्ल्यू० डी० वाले १७-१८ परसेंट ओवरहेड चार्ज करते हैं। इस बात को श्री जे०सी० शर्मा ने अच्छी तरह से प्रमाणित कर दिया है। इसलिये मेरी प्रार्थना यह है कि जब सरकार पर इतना बोझ पड़ता है कि वह स्लम इवेलर्स के वास्ते कंस्ट्रक्शन के लिये इतना रुपया देती है, इवेलर्स के लिये ५० से ८० परसेंट तक सबसिडी देती है, किराये में मदद देती है, तो क्यों नहीं वह लांग टर्म लोन दे कर इन कामों को करने के लिये कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज बना देती है? इससे यह फायदा होगा कि सरकार पर इतने रुपयों का जो बोझ पड़ता है, वह हल्का हो जायेगा और कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटी अपने आप इस कार्य को आसानी के साथ कर लेगी।

श्रीमन्, जो रुपया इम्प्रूवमेंट ट्रस्ट में वेस्ट हुआ है, उसके बारे में मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि पिछले महीने कई-कई अस्तियों में तो लाखों रुपया इसने खर्च किया है। आज भी श्रीमन्, कोई वहाँ पर जाकर देखें तो उसे यह मालूम होगा कि जहाँ पर टंकी लगाई गई हैं वहाँ पर रिबेजका कोई इंतजाम नहीं किया गया है, जहाँ पर मकानों में बिजली देने की फिटिंग हो गई है, वहाँ पर बिजली देने की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। जहाँ पर ड्रेज बना दी गई है, वहाँ तो उनकी दुईशा हो गई है। इस तरह से जितना रुपया इस काम में लगाया गया था, वह सब वेस्ट हो गया है और तीन चौथाई रुपया ठेकेदारों की जेबों में नाजायज तौर पर चला गया है। श्रीमन्, इसमें शक नहीं कि होम मिनिस्टर साहब की बुद्धिमत्ता, उदारता, दिलचस्पी तथा परिश्रमशीलता पर हम सब लोगों को पूरा विश्वास है और हूँ कि बजट एलाटमेंट के बावजूद भी, श्रीमन्, यूनिशन टैरीटरीज का बुरा हाल है और उनमें सुधार की आवश्यकता है। इस संबंध में मैं अण्डमान के बारे में थोड़ा कहना चाहती थी, मगर समय की कमी के कारण भविष्य में इस विषय पर कभी विस्तार से कहूँगी।

अब मैं यहाँ पर दिल्ली को मिसाल के रूप में पेश करके कुछ कहना चाहती हूँ। श्रीमन्, इस समय दिल्ली में करीब १४ या १५ अथारिटीज अलग-अलग ढंग से काम कर रही हैं, इनका यहाँ पर जमघट लगा हुआ है। अगर आप किसी एक अथारिटी के पास किसी काम से जाइये, तो वह दूसरी अथारिटी के पास जाने को कहता है। दूसरे के पास जाइये, तो वह तीसरे के पास जाने को कहता है। यहाँ पर बैस्टेज का यह हाल है कि सड़कों की खुदाई होती है फिर उस पर सीमेंट बिछाया जाता है। जब सड़क तैयार हो जाती है, तो दो-तीन महीने के ही

बाद उसको फिर से खोदा जाता है ताकि उसके नीचे पानी के नल बिछाये जा सकें। बहुत रिप्रेजेंटेशन देने के बाद सात-आठ महीने के बाद सड़क तैयार होती है, तो फिर सड़क तोड़ना शुरू हो जाता है। मालूम करने पर यह बताया जाता है कि अब इसके नीचे टेलीफोन के तार बिछाये जायेंगे। इस तरह से दिल्ली में कोई भी काम समन्वित ढंग से नहीं किया जा रहा है और जनता का लाखों रुपया बरबाद किया जा रहा है, जो कि उसी की भलाई के कामों में लगाया जा सकता था।

अब मैं आपके सामने लेबर कालोनी का नमूना पेश करना चाहती हूँ, जहाँ कि बहुत ही डिसगॉस्टिंग हालत है। वहाँ पर न डाक्टर है न किसी प्रकार का दवा बांटने का इंतजाम ही है और न राशन ही ठीक समय पर मिलता है। इन सब हालतों को देखकर वहाँ के चेयरमैन साहब उकता गये और उन्होंने अपना इस्तीफा भेज दिया।

श्रीमन्, दिल्ली के आसपास गांवों में ड्रेनेज सिस्टम की वजह से बहुत कठिनाई हो रही है। इस सम्बन्ध में आप सब लोगों ने परसों ही अखबार में पढ़ा होगा। मैं भी इस सम्बन्ध में कई रिप्रेजेंटेशन भेज चुकी हूँ। वहाँ पर एक जगह १० हजार एकड़ जमीन वाटर लागेड है और बेकार पड़ी हुई है। ८ हजार एकड़ जमीन में एक ही फसल उगाई जाती है और सारा पानी उस जमीन पर भर जाता है। इस तरह वाटर लॉगिंग से किसानों को नुकसान हो रहा है। इस सम्बन्ध में भारत सेवक समाज ने अथारिटीज का दरवाजा खटखटाया, प्रार्थना-पत्र दिये, विनम्र पत्र भेजे, लेकिन कोई सुनवाई नहीं हुई। अन्त में डिप्टी फूड मिनिस्टर महोदय ने बड़ी उदारतापूर्वक हमें पूरा सहयोग देने का वचन दिया। बावजूद इतना करने के भी आज तक उस बात पर कोई ऐक्शन नहीं लिया गया है।

[श्रीमती सावित्री निगम]

शायद वे लोग भी यह देख कर मजबूर हो गये होंगे कि दिल्ली में तो अथारिटीज का जमघट लगा हुआ है, उनके आगे हमारी कुछ नहीं चलेती।

डो० डो० पो० ए० के बारे में एक सवाल के जवाब में श्री करमरकर जी ने कहा था कि हमें मकान बनाने वाले बताते नहीं कि वे अनऑथराइज्ड मकान बना रहे हैं। One fine morning when we get up, we find unauthorised houses constructed. मैं उनसे यह पूछना चाहती हूँ कि यह भी क्या अलादीन का चिराग है कि एक ही रात के अन्दर मकान बनकर तैयार हो जाये। मैं अदब से कहना चाहूँगी कि अनऑथराइज्ड मकान बनाना कोई अलादीन का चिराग नहीं है। मकान बनाने में महानों लगते हैं। श्रीमन्, सबसे बड़ा सबूत तो मैं यह दिखाना चाहती हूँ कि भारत सेवक समाज के कार्यकर्त्ताओं ने सैकड़ों ऐसे अनऑथराइज्ड मकान जो बन रहे थे उनके बारे में अथारिटीज को खबर दी, लेकिन उस पर कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की गई। इन शिकायतों के सम्बन्ध में केवल एक ही उत्तर मिला—“आहे मन्त्री महोदय मालूम करके इसको देख लें—कि हमारे पास नीचे खुदे हुये या आधे बने मकान को रोकने की अथारिटी नहीं है। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि इस समय इस सम्बन्ध में जो कानून है, उसके मुताबिक हम इतना ही ऐक्शन ले सकते हैं। तब श्रीमन्, मैं पूछना चाहती हूँ कि राजधानी के अन्दर यह क्या अधेर हो रहा है, क्यों नहीं अथारिटीज कानून में अमेंडमेंट करवाती हैं। हम सब लोग इस तरह के अनऑथराइज्ड कंस्ट्रक्शन को रोकने के लिए अमेंडमेंट लाये जाने का समर्थन करेंगे। उस कानून के बावजूद सरकार कोई ऐक्शन अनऑथराइज्ड कंस्ट्रक्शन पर नहीं ले सकती है, जो कि सर्वथा अनुचित है। श्रीमन्, यह प्रश्न किया जा सकता है कि इस बीमारी का क्या इलाज है। तो मैं बतलाना चाहती हूँ कि यह

प्रश्न बहुत ही आवश्यक है। इस काम के लिए अलग से एक मिनिस्टर या डिप्टी मिनिस्टर हो। अगर एक व्यक्ति इस तरह के काम के लिए कर दिया जाये तो सब लोग उनके पास एप्रोच कर सकेंगे।

श्रीमन्, कृषि उत्पादन को चर्चा करते हुए माननीय प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने कहा कि ६ प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है। पर मैं इसे वृद्धि न कह कर यह कहूँगी कि सन् १९५३-५४ में ६८.७ मिलियन टन का जो अनाज का प्रोडक्शन था और सन् १९५५-५६ में घटकर ६५.२ मिलियन टन हो गया था, उसको हमने मेक-अप किया है। श्रीमन्, बड़ी-बड़ी काशिय हो रहा है, अर्नेस्ट एटशन हो रहे हैं, इस बात से कोई इंकार नहीं कर सकता। पर हालत यह है कि फूड और एग्रीकल्चर मंत्रालय पर ३,४३,१४,००० रुपया इस बजट में रखा गया है। श्रीमन्, हमारे देश के नैकड़ों हजारों वैंस्ट एक्सपर्ट्स स्कीमों को बड़े पैश्रम से बनाते हैं फिर भी ३७ लाख टन अनाज विदेशों से मंगाया गया। इससे लगभग ८७ करोड़ की विदेशी मुद्रा खर्च की गई। फर्टिलाइजर के इम्पोर्ट के लिए एक लम्बी चीड़ी रकम खर्च की गई थी। उसकी ऐंस्टीमेटेड प्राइस २७ करोड़ थी, लेकिन उसका इम्पोर्ट बंद करने से प्रोडक्शन में अवश्य कमी आयेगी, यह फूड इन्क्वायरी कमेटी ने स्वीकार किया है। अब हम फर्टिलाइजर का इम्पोर्ट नहीं कर रहे हैं, तो इसका असर हमारे प्रोडक्शन के ऊपर अवश्य पड़ेगा। इन हालात में हम किस तरह से सन् १९६२ तक ८०.४ लाख टन का जो प्लान टारगेट है, उसको पूरा कर सकेंगे और किस तरह से दस साल के अन्दर अपना प्रोडक्शन दुगुना कर सकेंगे। “ग्रो मोर फूड कैम्पेन” ने यह साबित कर दिया है कि करोड़ों रुपया खर्च करने के बावजूद भी कुल दो से चार प्रतिशत खेती की भूमि में तरक्की हुई है। इधर पापुलेशन ग्रोथ की हालत यह है कि प्रति साल ३३ लाख खाने

वाले बढ़ते हैं अर्थात् हर मिनट में करीब १० खाने वाले बढ़ते हैं। बीमारियों और महामारियों को रोकने के कारण डैथ रेट में भी जबर्दस्त कमी आई है। पहले डैथ रेट का अनुपात हजार में २५४ था, अब हजार में १४४ है। १८६१ से १९२१ तक के बीच जहां केवल १२ करोड़ पापुलेशन बढ़ी थी, वहां १९२१—५१ तक १० करोड़ ६ लाख की पापुलेशन बढ़ गई है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : कौन कहता है ?
ये फ़िगर्स गलत हैं।

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Let her go on.

Dr. W. S. BARLINGAY (Bombay):
Wrong figures.

SHRIMATI SAVITRY DEVI NIGAM:
It is not a wrong figure.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN
(Bombay): Ten crores of population?

SHRIMATI SAVITRY DEVI NIGAM:
Ten crores in thirty years.

इन्फैंट मॉर्टैलिटी में जो बराबर कमी हो रही है, उसको ध्यान में रखते हुए अगर फर्टिलिटी नहीं रोकी गई तो जहां अभी ४१.६ लाख मन अनाज हम रोज खाते हैं, वहां सन् १९६१ में ४५.६ लाख अनाज हम खपत करने लगेंगे। इसके बाद आप अन्दाजा लगाइये प्रोक्वोरमेंट और स्टोरिंग पर खर्च की गई रकम का। एक अलीगढ़ के गोदाम के किराये पर क्या रकम आपको देनी पड़ी? इस गोदाम का किराया ६ हजार रुपया दिया गया और उसमें अनाज नहीं रखा गया। मुझे किसी की आलोचना करने में दुख होता है, पर जिस तरह के हालात हैं उन्हें देखकर कहना ही पड़ता है। सरकारी अन्न गोदामों में चूहों और कीड़ों से बर्बाद होने वाले अनाज का अनुमान लगाइये। यहां

मिन्टो रोड के गोदाम में जाकर कोई भी संसद सदस्य इस चीज का निरीक्षण कर सकता है, जब राजधानी में यह हालत है तब आप देश भर के गोदामों की हालत का अनुमान लगा सकते हैं। गेहूं सड़ा हुआ होने के कारण व्यापारी उसको नहीं उठाता है और न लेता है। वे कहते हैं कि यह सारा गेहूं सड़ गया है इसको हम नहीं उठाते; लेकिन फिर भी व्यापारियों से कहा जाता है कि इस अनाज को पिसवा कर आटे के रूप में बिकवाइये।

श्रीमन्, मैं एक बात यह जानना चाहती हूं कि अगर सरकार को सबसिडी देनी थी, अगर सरकार को प्रोक्वोरमेंट करवाना था, अनाज के गोदाम खुलवाने थे, तो गेहूं पर ही यह प्रेशर क्यों दिया गया? मोटे अनाज के लिए सबसिडी क्यों नहीं दी गई? आप ही देखिये कि आज एक रुपये का ढाई सेर गेहूं का आटा मिलता है। एक रुपये का तीन सेर जौ और बाजरा मिलता है, जिसकी कीमत पिसने के बाद एक रुपये की सवा दो सेर आती है। अब आप ही बताइये कि वे गरीब लोग जो अब तक ज्वार बाजरा पर रहते थे, वे क्यों न गेहूं खाने लगे।

12 Noon

श्रीमन्, अब मैं यह बताना चाहती हूं कि अगर हम अन्न में आत्मनिर्भरता चाहते हैं, तो यह आवश्यक है कि हम अपने एप्रोच में एक रेवोल्यूशनरी चेंज लायें। अन्न और फर्टिलाइजर्स की टोह में हम अमरीका और आस्ट्रेलिया की ओर निगाहें दौड़ाते हैं, लेकिन किसान जो अन्न उत्पादन करता है उसकी समस्याएं हल करने की हमने बहुत कम कोशिश की है। उसके दर्बाजे पर पड़ा हुआ लाखों टन फर्टिलाइजर वेस्ट हो रहा है। उसका उपयोग कराने के लिए हमने कोई भी आर्गेनाइजेशन नहीं बनाया और न कोई प्रयत्न किया है। यह यहीं पर संसद में एक पक्ष के उत्तर में कहा गया है।

[श्रीमती सावित्री निगम]

श्रीमन्, अब आवश्यकता है कि हम इन ब्रिटिश वेज और आउट-डेटेड वेज को बिलकुल बदल दें। हवी एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन, कंट्रोल प्रोक्योरमेंट, एक्सपेंडीचर, सेंट्रलाइज्ड एफर्ट्स इन सारी बातों को आप थोड़े दिनों के लिए अपनी डिक्शनरी से निकाल दीजिये। मैं यह मानती हूँ कि हमारे फूड मिनिस्टर एक कर्तव्यपरायण और बहुत ही योग्य व्यक्ति हैं। हमें उन पर गर्व है, किन्तु यदि उन्हें एजुकेशन मिनिस्टर, फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर बनाया जाये या और कहीं भेजा जाये तो उनकी शक्ति बहुत बढ़ जायेगी और देश का भी बहुत लाभ होगा। मैं यह भी मानती हूँ कि फूड मिनिस्ट्री के लिए उनसे योग्य कोई व्यक्ति नहीं मिलेगा। लेकिन मेरी यह अपील है कि फूड मिनिस्ट्री को अब और अधिक दिन बेकार में जनता पर न लादिये। मैं यह चाहती हूँ कि यदि संभव हो तो ये जो एक्सपर्ट एडवाइजर्स, सेक्रेटरीज, डिप्टी सेक्रेटरीज आदि की टीम है, जिनको मैं बेस्ट ब्रेन मानती हूँ और जो आज सेक्रेटेरियेट में फाइलों में फंसे पड़े रहते हैं या शीशियों में बीज वगैरह की जांच करते रहते हैं, इनको फील्ड में भेजा जाये। इनके लिये २०-२५ गांवों का एक यूनिट बनाया जाये और उसको इंटेसिव एरिया बना दिया जाये। फिर वहां पर एक एक डिमांस्ट्रेशन फार्म बनाया जाये जिसमें ये लोग स्वयं प्रयोग करें। उसके बाद आप देखेंगे कि अन्न का उत्पादन दूना होता है या नहीं। आज फूड एंड एग्रीकल्चर मिनिस्ट्री पर १६,४७,४०० रुपया खर्च हो रहा है। यह मामूली रकम नहीं है। इसे बचाइये। एग्रीकल्चर रिसर्च इंस्टिट्यूट, फूड रिसर्च इंस्टिट्यूट, फ्रूट रिसर्च इंस्टिट्यूट, ये सब अपना काम जारी रखेंगे। ये यूनिट जो गांवों में बनेंगे, उनसे तमाम अन्वेषण किसानों के द्वार तक पहुंचेंगे और उस समय आप अनुमान लगाइये कि हमारे प्रोडक्शन में कितना जबरदस्त रेवोल्यूशनरी परिवर्तन होगा।

श्रीमन्, मैं यह बता देना चाहती हूँ कि देश के ६७ फ्रीसदी लोग खेती करते हैं। उनके लिए कोई किसी किस्म का आर्गनाइजेशन लोअर लेवल पर नहीं है। लेकिन जो कुल १३ फ्रीसदी लोग इंडस्ट्री और बिजनेस में लगे हुये हैं, उनके लिए संकड़ों आर्गनाइजेशन गवर्नमेंट तो बनवाती ही है, वे स्वयं भी बनाते हैं। आज हम विदेशों से २७ करोड़ रुपये के फर्टिलाइजर एक्सपोर्ट करते हैं, लेकिन करोड़ों रुपये का काऊडिंग, लीब्ज, ह्यूमेन एक्सट्रैक्ट के रूप में जो फर्टिलाइजर वेस्ट होता है, उसको बचाने के लिए हमने अब तक कोई आर्गनाइजेशन सेटअप नहीं किया है। आज आवश्यकता यह है कि हर पंचायत में एक बड़ा कार्यकर्ता रखा जाये, जिसको अच्छी वेजेज दी जाये, ताकि वह किसानों की हर प्रकार से सहायता कर सके। आज करोड़ों लाखों रुपया बड़े-बड़े प्रोजेक्ट्स पर खर्च हो रहा है, लेकिन किसानों के द्वार पर जो खुदे हुये कुएं और सिल्टेड टैंक्स पड़े हुये हैं उन पर कुछ भी ध्यान नहीं दिया जा रहा है। दूर क्यों जाइये, मैं यहीं दिल्ली के गांवों की ही मिसाल दे सकती हूँ। यहां से ३०-३५ मील पर एक गांव है और वहां के लोग एप्लीकेशन पर एप्लीकेशन दिये जा रहे हैं कि हमारे यहां एक मिसिल्टेड टैंक है, जिससे इरिगेशन हो सकता है, उसकी मरम्मत करवाइये, लेकिन अभी तक कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की गई है।

भाखरा नंगल प्रोजेक्ट और दामोदर वैली प्रोजेक्ट से जो एरिया नीचा है, उसे पानी मिलेगा और जो ऊंचा एरिया है, उसे बिजली मिलेगी। इस बिजली और पावर के बारे में मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि इंडस्ट्रीज और गांवों का इलेक्ट्रिफिकेशन करने के बजाय इसको वाटर लिफ्टिंग के लिए दिया जाये। जहां अच्छे बीज से १० प्रतिशत उपज बढ़ती है और अच्छे फर्टिलाइजर से १५ प्रतिशत उपज बढ़ती है, वहां पानी से दो सौ और तीन सौ प्रतिशत तक उपज बढ़ जाती है :

श्रीमन्, हमारी समस्या न इवाफ़ किसानों की है, न जाएंट किसानों की है, बल्कि हमारी समस्या एवरेज किसानों की है। जो इवाफ़ किसान हैं उनके लगभग सभी घर वाले शहरों में नौकरो करते हैं और एक आदमी घर पर खेती करता है। जो जाएंट किसान हैं, वे जितनी भी सरकार की ओर से फ़ैमिलिडोज़ दो जाता हैं, चाहे वे रूरल क्रेडिट फ़ैमिलिडोज़ हों, चाहे कोऑपरेटिव फ़ैमिलिडोज़ हों, ले जाते हैं। लेकिन हमारी जो समस्या है वह जो मुसोबत में पड़ा हुआ किसान है, उसको समस्या है। उनमें विधवायें, अनाथ बच्चे और बीमार किसान अपनी ज़मीन को नहीं उठा सकते हैं। अगर वे किसी को उठायें तो वह कानूनन उस ज़मीन पर काबू कर सकता है। इस प्रकार हजारों लाखों एकड़ ज़मीन हर साल बिना जोते-बोये रह जाती है। इसके लिए कोई आर्गेनाइजेशन नहीं है। अब हार्वेस्टिंग ले लीजिये। ऐसे बहुत से लोग हैं जो हार्वेस्टिंग नहीं कर पाते हैं, क्योंकि मजदूर डेढ़-दो रुपये रोज़ में भी नहीं मिलते हैं। जहां गवर्नमेंट मिनिस्ट्रीज के बिस्स बढ़ा रही है, वहां गवर्नमेंट को चाहिये कि वह लोअर लेवल पर एक आर्गेनाइजेशन सेट-अप करे और वे लोग गांवों में जा कर किसानों से थोड़ा पैसा लेकर हार्वेस्टिंग कर दें। जब नेशनल ग्राइस पर हार्वेस्टिंग होगी, तो उससे किसानों को बड़ा लाभ होगा।

यही हालत रिक्लेमेशन की है। सतना, नागपुर, भुसावल, गोखरू में लाखों एकड़ ऐसी ज़मीन पड़ी हुई है जिसको रिक्लेम करने की ताकत हमारे किसानों में नहीं है। इस सम्बन्ध में कोई ऐसा आर्गेनाइजेशन नहीं है जो सरकारी तौर पर किसानों को मदद दे और प्रेमेंट पर उस ज़मीन को रिक्लेम करके खेती के लिए उनको दे। इस प्रकार जब तक हम किसान की असली मुसीबतों को दूर नहीं करेंगे, तब तक हमारे देश का भला नहीं हो सकता है। इस सारे काम के लिए सरकार को एक आर्गेनाइजेशन विलेज लेवल पर

बनाना चाहिये। आज जो विलेज लेवल वर्कर है, वह मुसीबत का मारा बर्ड डिविजनर है जिसका शरीर गांव में है और चित्त शहर में है। वह बिल्कुल इफ़ेक्टिव और कंपेबिल नहीं है। उसके द्वारा हम अन्न का उत्पादन बढ़ाना चाहते हैं। यह कितनी असंभव सो बात है। आज हमारे देश में जरूरत यह है कि अच्छे अच्छे ब्रेन्स और एडवाइजर्स जायें और जा करके उस विलेज लेवल वर्कर को मदद करें और उसके द्वारा काम करें, तब कहीं खेती में उन्नति हो सकेगी।

इसके पश्चात् ज़मीन का सर्वे भी जरूरी है और ज़मीन का क्लैसिफ़िकेशन होना भी जरूरी है, जिससे किसान को यह पता चल सके कि किस भूमि में क्या बोना है। आज कहीं तो तम्बाकू ही तम्बाकू की खेती हो रही है और कहीं गन्ना हों गन्ना बोया जा रहा है जो मिलें भी नहीं पेल पा रही हैं। इसका अन्न की पैदावार पर बहुत प्रभाव पड़ता है। इसलिए ज़मीन का क्लैसिफ़िकेशन होना बहुत आवश्यक है।

इसके अतिरिक्त 'ग्रो मोर फूड कैम्पेन' को भी इम्पीटस दिया जाना चाहिये। फ़िबेन गार्डन कैम्पेन और गार्डन कम्पेटीशंस दिलवाते तक ही सीमित नहीं रहने चाहिये। गांवों के लिए भी इनकी योजना बननी चाहिये और सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट को इसके लिए स्पेशल ग्रांट स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स को देना चाहिये। फूड हैबिट्स को चेंज करने का काम न्यूट्रिशन डिपार्टमेंट को तेज़ी से करना चाहिये। अभी जो काम हो रहा है वह नहीं के बराबर है। आजकल जो रिसर्च के काम लेबोरेटरीज में होते हैं वे या तो किताबों में ही बन्द रह जाते हैं या यहां लाइब्रेरी में आ जाते हैं और इस प्रकार उनकी जानकारी एक प्रतिशत जनता को भी नहीं हो पाती है। इसके अतिरिक्त चूहों और कीड़ों से अन्न को बचाने के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि सरकारी तौर पर हर प्रकार से प्रचार किया जाये और हर जगह इस सम्बन्ध में पुस्तकें पहुंचाई जायें। सब से ज्यादा ध्यान

[श्रीमती सावित्री निगम]

हम लोगों को जमीन तोड़ने के रिसोसेज की तरफ देना चाहिये। ऐसा होना चाहिये कि हर २५ या ४० गांवों पर एक विपमेंट रहे जो कि किसानों को किराये पर मिल सके ताकि वे उसे किराये पर लेकर जमीन को सस्ते दामों पर तोड़ सकें। आज भी जहां नलकूप और नहरें हैं, वहां गरीब किसान आसमान की ओर देखता है क्योंकि सिंचाई की दूरें इतनी बड़ी हुई हैं और उनमें इतनी डिस्पैरिटी है कि किसान सिंचाई का लाभ उठाने का साहस नहीं करता है और इस प्रकार वह सिंचाई के लाभ से बिलकुल वंचित रह जाता है।

श्रीमन्, यदि किसानों को यह भरोसा हो जाय कि जमीन पर उसकी पूरी मिलकियत रहेगी तो आप सच मानें कि बिना किसी प्रयत्न के हमारा अन्न का प्रोडक्शन दुगुना और तिगुना किया जा सकता है। इसलिए इंटरमीडियरीज और बिचौलियों का अन्त होना आवश्यक है और छोटे-छोटे बिचौलियों को तुरन्त ही कम्पसेशन दे दिया जाना चाहिये।

दूसरी बात यह है कि लैंड रिफार्म्स तब पूरे हो सकते हैं, जब लैंड रिकार्ड्स ठीक तरह से रखे जायें। यह बहुत जरूरी है। अभी बहुत सी ऐसी जगह हैं जहां अभी तक लैंड रिकार्ड्स ठीक नहीं हुये हैं। अभी आंध्र में और कोचीन में टेनेंटरी का कोई रिकार्ड ही ठीक नहीं है।

श्रीमन्, रेगुलेशन आफ लैंड, रेगुलेशन आफ रेंट, सिक्वोरिटी आफ टेन्योर और ओनरशिप आफ टेन्योर, जब तक ये तीन प्रश्न सुलझाये नहीं जायेंगे, तब तक किसानों का जीवन कभी भी निश्चिन्तता में नहीं हो सकेगा। नये-नये सुधारों के बावजूद भी वेदखलियों का, एजेक्टमेंट का बढ़ना बराबर जारी है। मध्य प्रदेश, कच्छ आदि में अभी तक कोई ठीक से कानून नहीं बना है। रेंट की यह दशा है कि हर स्टेट में इतना अन्तर

है कि कुछ पूछिये नहीं। कहीं तो वन फोर्ब और वन फिफ्थ आफ दि टोटल प्रोड्यूस है और कहीं पर हाफ आफ दि टोटल प्रोड्यूस है यानी कहीं-कहीं पर लोगों से पैदावार का ५० परसेंट रेंट लिया जाता है। यह धांधली शीघ्र ही बन्द होनी चाहिये। वेस्ट बंगाल, जम्मू में आज भी ५० परसेंट रेंट लिया जाता है। इसी प्रकार से यदि "पर्सनल कल्टीवेशन" की डेफिनिशन भी यूनियफार्म नहीं बनाई गई, तो पर्सनल कल्टीवेशन के नाम पर एक तरह से जमींदारियां बराबर बहाल रहेंगी और एजेक्टमेंट बराबर होते रहेंगे। मैं इस मामले को कई बार पहले भी उठा चुकी हूँ। आप देखिये कि जमींदारों ने नई-नई तरकीबें निकाल ली हैं, वालंटरी सरेंडर्स के नाम से धड़ाधड़ एजेक्टमेंट्स हो रहे हैं। वे रुपयों का लालच देकर और धमकियां दे कर उन लोगों से यह दरखास्त करवा देते हैं कि हम अपनी जमीन को वालंटरी सरेंडर करते हैं और फिर उसको अपने नाम करा लेते हैं। तो जब तक एक यूनियफार्म लेजिस्लेशन नहीं होगा तब तक ये बातें दूर नहीं होंगी। मैं मानती हूँ कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के सामने इस बारे में एक डिफिकल्टी है और वह यह है कि यह स्टेट सबजेक्ट है लेकिन फ्रार दि टाइम बीइंग जो स्टेट्स हैं वे बिल्डरनेस में पड़ी हुई हैं और वे इन सुधारों की तरफ कदम नहीं उठा रही हैं इसलिये उनके लिये एक थोड़ा सा गाइडिंग लेजिस्लेशन बना दें ताकि वे उस समय तक जब तक कि अपना लेजिस्लेशन नहीं बना पाते हैं हमारे इस सेंटर के बनाये हुये यूनियफार्म लेजिस्लेशन को एक गाइडिंग फ्रेक्टर मान कर किसानों को संरक्षण दे सकें।

ग्रामदान आन्दोलन इन सारी बीमारियों का एक बहुत ही सुन्दर इलाज है, लेकिन मैं यह कहूंगी कि खेती जैसे उत्पादन के महत्वपूर्ण साधन को भगवान के लिये थोड़े दिनों तक कोआपरेटिव फार्मिंग के चक्कर में और उसके एक्सपेरिमेंटेशन के चक्कर में न डालें। जहां ग्रामदान हो रहे हैं वहां कोआपरेटिव

मूवमेंट के एक्सपेरिमेंट ज़रूर किये जायें और बड़े लार्ज स्केल में किये जायें और सरकार वहां उनको पूरी मदद दे लेकिन उनके अलावा और जगहों में, गांवों में, कांफ़ेरेटिव सोसाइटी बनें, जिसका कि दिलेज मनेजमेंट हो। वहां खाद के लिये स्टोर के लिये, हावैस्टिंग के लिये, प्लाउइंग के लिये कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटीज़ बनाई जायें तो वे बड़ा काम करेंगी, वे बड़ी कामयाब होंगी और किसान के हृदय में कोऑपरेटिव मूवमेंट के प्रति एक नया विश्वास तथा आत्मबल भरने में सहायक होंगी।

श्रीमन्, लैंड रिफ़ार्म के कानून बनने के बाद जब उनका इम्प्लीमेंट नहीं होता है तो आप समझ सकते हैं कि कितनी चिन्ता-जनक और ख़तरनाक हालत है। एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव डिफ़िकल्टीज़ के कारण लैंड रिफ़ार्म के हो जाने के बाद भी एक्ज़ेक्यूटिव बगैरह होते रहते हैं और इससे किसानों का विश्वास बिल्कुल टूट जाता है और उनमें एक बड़ा डिमारेलाइज़ेशन आ जाता है। इस विषय में लैंड रिफ़ार्म पैनल की जो टेनेन्सी कमेटी है, उसकी जो रिपोर्ट है, उसको मैंने पढ़ा है और उसको पढ़ने से आंखें बिल्कुल खुल जाती हैं और अनाज के प्रोडक्शन उत्पादन न बढ़ने के सारे कारण हमारे सामने आ जाते हैं। उसमें लिखा है :

(i) Gaps in the law; (ii) tenants are ignorant of these laws; (iii) lack of strong administrative machinery within the reach of the cultivators. ये कारण हैं।

हर बार जब भूमि सुधारों की चर्चा होती है तो बराबर वही बात कही जाती है कि स्टेट्स का यह सबजेक्ट है। इसीलिये मैंने यह कहा कि एव ऐसा यूनिफ़ार्म लेजिस्लेशन बनाया जाये जिसमें कि ये बातें हों :

(1) Rent not more than 1/5 or 1/4 of the total produce, (2) effective security to the tenants, (3) ceiling on the existing and future acquisition of land, (4) effective legislation to prevent ejections, and (5) effective steps for actual enforcement of land reform measures.

श्रीमन्, जब तक कि यह नहीं होगा तब तक मुझे यकीन नहीं है कि हमारा प्रोडक्शन बढ़ेगा या हमारी खेती में कोई उन्नति होगी।

श्रीमन्, एजुकेशन मिनिस्ट्री की जो नेशनल एडवाइज़री कौंसिल है, उसके अन्दर यह निश्चय किया गया था कि डेफ़ डम्ब एंड हैंडिकैप्ड के रिहैबिलिटेशन के लिये ५० परसेंट से १०० परसेंट तक स्टेट ग्रांट दी जायेंगी और १९५४-५५ में बहुत सी ग्रांट सैक्शन भी हुई लेकिन बावजूद हमारी तमाम कोशिशों के जितनी आर्गनाइज़ेशन हैं, उनकी तमाम कोशिशों के वे ग्रांट्स लैप्स कर गई और दी नहीं गई। हमने पार्लियामेंट में इसके लिये शिकायतों कीं और उसके बाद १९५५-५६ में इतनी होशियारी बरती कि शिकायत का कोई मौका ही नहीं रहे और इसलिये इसके वास्ते बजट में कोई रुपया ही नहीं रखा गया कि इस मद में कुछ दिया जाये। वही हालत १९५६-५७ की है। अब नतीजा यह है कि जितना रुपया मैगजीन्स और स्कालरशिप्स के लिये रखा गया था, वही इस साल भी दुहरा दिया गया है।

प्राहिबिशन के बारे में भी बहुत कुछ कहना है लेकिन मैं कुछ ज्यादा नहीं कहूंगी। केवल इतना कहूंगी कि प्राहिबिशन इन्वॉयरी कमेटी की रिपोर्ट को इम्प्लीमेंट करने के लिये कोई इफ़ेक्टिव कदम नहीं बढ़ाया गया है। लेकिन इसका मुझे जितना खेद है उससे कहीं अधिक खेद मुझे इस बात का है कि उन लोगों के द्वारा प्राहिबिशन की उपेक्षा होते हुए देखती हूँ जिन्होंने कि आजादी की लड़ाई में स्वयं प्राहिबिशन को अपनी अहिंसात्मक लड़ाई का एक अस्त्र बना रक्खा था। श्रीमन् मैं एक चेतावनी देना चाहती हूँ कि यदि इस पीढ़ी में कोई ठोस कदम नहीं उठाया गया तो जैसी हवा बह रही है उसको देखते हुए मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि प्राहिबिशन हमेशा के लिये एक स्वप्न बन कर रह जायेगा। अभी कल ही मैं फ़ाइव ईयर प्लान की रिव्यू

[श्रीमती सावित्री निगम]

रिपोर्ट पढ़ रही थी, इसमें बड़ो ही इंटरेस्टिंग रिव्यू दी हुई है। बजाय इसके कि इसमें यह लिखा जाता कि कितना खर्च हुआ, क्या क्या स्कीमें बनाई गई और क्या क्या बातें पूरी नहीं हुई, इसमें लोक सभा में जो एक रेजोल्यूशन पास हुआ है उसे दे दिया गया है। आप देखिये कि कैसी मेन्टेलिटी इसके पीछे चल रही है, किस कदर इसकी उपेक्षा की जाती है और जो इसका रिडिकुलस ढंग से मजाक उड़ाया जा रहा है उसकी चरमसीमा है। श्रीमन्, मैं यह बताना चाहती हूँ कि यदि हम चाहते हैं कि देश में लोगों का नैतिक स्तर ऊँचा हो, तो हम में इतनी करेज होनी चाहिये, हम में इतना आत्मबल होना चाहिये कि हम सामने आ कर साफ़ साफ़ कह सकें कि हमें प्राहिबिशन नहीं करना है और यदि करना है, तो उन लोगों के विश्वास को नहीं हिलाया जाये, जिन्हें कि यह विश्वास है कि आप को आस्था, आपकी श्रद्धा इस बात पर है कि देश के नैतिक स्तर को उठाने के लिये प्राहिबिशन एक जबरदस्त कदम होगा; धन्यवाद।

SHRI J. S. BISHT (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, I rise to welcome this Budget in so far as it implements the recommendations of Professor Kaldor for reform of our tax structure on a rational, equitable and scientific basis.

In my speech on the 16th May, 1957, in this House I wholeheartedly welcomed the Budget proposals of Shri T. T. Krishnamachari and pleaded that the other parts of Mr. Kaldor's recommendations be implemented. I am of opinion that this is the first attempt to lift the Indian tax structure out of an archaic and antediluvian rut and to place it on a scientific and rational basis. For this, we must congratulate the ex-Finance Minister for his courage in implementing the recommendations of

Professor Kaldor. It must however have a human approach. The needs of the State have to be met, but the need of the family or the household cannot be ignored or neglected. There has to be a fair balance between these two needs.

I once suggested, and I venture to suggest again, that an even more equitable, rational and elastic system can be based only on a classified system of family incomes, making due allowance between earned and unearned incomes. If we classify the incomes in, say, six categories, that is:—

- (1) income up to Rs. 1,200 per year,
- (2) above Rs. 1,200 per year and up to the income-tax exemption limit of Rs. 3,600 per year,
- (3) above Rs. 3,600 per year and up to Rs. 12,000 per year,
- (4) above Rs. 12,000 per year and up to Rs. 20,000 per year,
- (5) above Rs. 20,000 per year and up to Rs. 36,000 per year, that is, up to the expenditure tax exemption limit, and
- (6) above Rs. 36,000 per year;

and then calculate the incidence of all taxes, local, provincial and Central, on such levels of income of the families or households both in rural and urban areas, and then work out a system of taxation for the three taxing authorities, so that the total incidence of all taxes on any one is on an equitable basis at all levels and in all areas; we are likely to arrive at a really fair, equitable and scientific basis for our tax structure. We should of course leave a margin for further taxation at all levels in case of emergency such as war, pestilence, fire, flood or drought. The Taxation Enquiry Commission touched this point of "incidence of taxation" but did not pursue it further as they thought that this was a "difficult and intractable subject" as in India no comprehensive enquiry into tax incidence had

hitherto been made. I humbly venture to suggest that the Statistical and Economic Affairs Departments of the Government in collaboration with their opposite numbers in the States should be called upon to make such a comprehensive enquiry so that in the next four or five years' time the necessary data may be available, and the future Finance Minister in collaboration with his opposite numbers in the States may work out such a scientific, rational, equitable and flexible tax structure for the whole of India. This will be in the nature of planning of the taxation policy so that in future India and all its units will have a planned taxation policy. This will greatly help the future planners of our economy in framing their Five Year Plans in a manner that will avoid stresses and strains on the economy that we see today.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

Sir, we have the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956. It has been approved by Parliament and I am in wholehearted agreement with it, both in letter and in spirit. I believe this is the concrete shape of our declared objective of a socialistic pattern of society. In a country like ours a mixed economy is the one that suits us best. Such a mixed economy has paid dividends and delivered the goods in countries like Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, England, West Germany, Australia, New Zealand and Canada. In fact, the Scandinavian countries have attained the highest standard of living and at the same time retained their free democratic way of life and individual liberties. This being so, we have a sector exclusively the close preserve of the State and another sector for private enterprise, and yet another where both may operate. Having thus deliberately fixed our policy, it is only fair and right that the sector which is called the private sector should have full freedom to operate, of course, under State regulation, and should be encouraged in every way. It is far better to abolish it all together and turn

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the country into a totalitarian regime than to permit private enterprise, but harass it, insult it or discourage it. Production which alone can increase our wealth and raise our standard of living suffers by such discouragement of the private sector. The Communists set the tone in cursing this sector, and we have to be on our guard not to fall into their trap. After all the State gets the cream of this private enterprise in the shape of various taxes. And if this private enterprise flourishes, the State treasury flourishes too. The hands of the State are already too full with what it has to do. The private enterprise is in fact the dominant sector. Estimates of national income for 1955-56 issued by the Central Statistical Organisation show that Rs. 874 hundred crores is the net output of the private sector as against Rs. 3'6 hundred crores by Government enterprises. Obviously, therefore, we should not kill the goose that lays the golden eggs.

In the light of the observations that I have made, I am of opinion that we should not stray too far out of the integrated plan of Professor Kaldor. Professor Kaldor says that income-tax should be seven annas per rupee at the highest level or roughly 45 per cent, above an income of Rs. 25,000 and progressive up to that limit, and he rightly points out that when the marginal rate of income-tax is 90 per cent., the net profit on any particular concealment is 900 per cent, of the post tax income, and that from any point of view, it is far better to have a fool-proof system of taxation with a moderate rate schedule than a system which has the appearance of high progressivity, but which cannot be effectively or impartially administered and that its redistributive effects on wealth are only formidable on paper but ineffective in reality. The consequential result is that some unfortunate minorities in the country who are unable for some reason or other to make use of the facilities for evasion and avoidance are both unjustly and from a social

[Shri J. S. Bisht.] point of view most harmfully penalised. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari had last year assured in this House that this year he would bring the maximum rate on earned income from 77 per cent, to at least 72 per cent. But nothing has been done. This is really disappointing. I think it should be brought down to 70 per cent, this year and 65 per cent, next year, even though one may not go so far as Professor Kaldor who recommends a maximum rate of 45 per cent.

Another point which goes against Professor Kaldor's scheme is the wealth-tax on companies. I am of opinion that the plea for the exemption of companies from wealth-tax is justified inasmuch as the individual shareholder is already liable to pay this tax. We want these companies to accumulate capital and re-invest it in further expansion of the same unit or in new units. Surely, we do not want industry to be frozen at the present level. On the other hand, we want it to expand.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): I think this is being done now . . .

SHRI J. S. BISHT: No; it is not being done. We want the industry to create new employment and deliver more goods, and that is possible if they are allowed a good margin from which capital formation takes place. The same applies to the tax on higher dividends. Compulsory deposits and tax on bonus shares also need careful and sympathetic consideration. All this is suggested not for the benefit of the few but in the larger interests of a developing economy. All depressants have to be removed so that economy may bounce forward and create wealth and employment. In this connection, we cannot forget the example of West Germany and Japan which have leaped forward to the front rank of industrial production and greater employment in the short space of six or seven years. These are lessons which we learn from the working of the inexorable laws of economic forces and instincts.

It has to be remembered that the apparent loss of revenue on these accounts will be more than made up, nay, doubled by the additional revenue from the expanded and expanding economy as happened in West Germany. At present, our Indian industry is not expanding and industrial production is tapering off.

I have already supported wealth-tax in my speech in this House on 5th September, 1957. I will, therefore, make a passing reference to the gift tax and the estate duty. I shall have opportunity to examine these in detail when the Gift Tax and the Estate Duty Bills come up for debate. In my opinion, Sir, the wealth tax, the gift tax and the estate duty should be one integrated whole scheme. I said before that in order to have a rational and equitable base for the tax structure there should be an examination of its incidence on the individual. Here when we are levying these new taxes, we have an opportunity of writing on a clean slate. I suggest that these should be based on such an equitable and rational basis. I give an example. Mr. A. owns some taxable property. He pays income-tax and super-tax. He also pays wealth tax, and maybe, expenditure tax. Now, he has to pay the gift tax if he makes a gift, and on death, his estate has to pay estate duty. It is only fair that we should also examine the position from the angle of this individual so that a fair balance is struck between his interest and the need of the State. Mr. A. being a normal human being needs some incentive to earn, to save and to invest, and presumably, to leave something for his near and dear ones. That little incentive, call it selfishness, has to be allowed for in this practical world. Therefore, the incidence should not be such as will destroy his incentive altogether, or he will be forced to the criminal act of evasion or avoidance. I therefore suggest that we substitute one **Act**, called the Gift and Succession Act, an integrated whole, and abolish

the Estate Duty Act, which, in any case, is too abstruse and complicated. This Gift and Succession Act should have a tax basis on the Australian model. These are new taxes, and if people are to be reconciled to them and avoid evasion, they must start on a low level. The Australian rate is progressive, from 3 per cent, to 28 per cent. We might put it at the most from 3 per cent, to 30 per cent. That is number one. The other is that it should be spread over a generation of say 25 years because deaths do not occur at stated intervals or regular intervals in all families. Why should an unfortunate family that had too many deaths too soon be deprived of its property when another man may live to 90 years? Therefore, the equitable basis is to have it taken in yearly instalments spread over a period of 25 years or 30 years. In 'fixing the rate allowance must be made for what has been paid in wealth tax. The incidence of these three viz., wealth tax, gift tax and succession tax should be even and fair on each estate. "Here I may make the point clear that when I am referring to succession duty, it includes both testamentary as well as intestate succession, whether by will or without any will.

As I said before, the total of all these taxes should be progressive from a minimum of 30 per cent, for estates of the value not exceeding Rs. 60 lakhs, 40 per cent, up to Rs. 99 lakhs and 50 per cent, for Rs. 1 crore and upwards. In the long run, the State will be the gainer because there will be little or no leakage and there will be no incentive to commit any criminal act.

I now come to the controversial question of deficit financing and inflation. I hold definite views on this matter and I had expressed them in

detail in my speeches in this House on the 7th March, 1956, and again on 26th May, 1956, 15th December, 1956, and again on the 16th May, 1957. Lord Keynes devised this technique

of deficit financing in the special con-

ditions of a highly industrialised country like England in the thirties. There was the labour both skilled and unskilled at one end able and willing to work, and there was the whole industrial apparatus on the other, and some thing was needed to bring them together so that the wheels of industry could begin to move again and unemployment be got over. He devised this technique of injecting created money into the economy, which was in the nature of borrowing on the production of tomorrow. This did the trick, but experience has proved that in under-developed countries, as also in countries of Eastern Europe, wherever this was tried, it did not work and inflation followed. So, it proved a remedy worse than the disease. Additional purchasing power created additional demand for goods that were not there and could not be there due to the lag in time. Then wages rose, costs rose and the vicious circle began. I am, therefore, not happy over the quantum of this deficit finance for the current and next year. Professor Kaldor himself has stated in his report that the Indian economy can absorb only about Rs. 150 crores a year and that in the whole of the Second Five Year Plan the maximum it can absorb is about Rs. 800 crores. Here we are already having deficit financing of more than Rs. 800 crores within these two years. Since the last two years we have been supplied with an 'Economic Survey' with the Budget. This is very welcome indeed, but I regret to say that no satisfactory explanation is given of the puzzling phenomenon that is apparent in our present economic situation. I hope that the hon. Minister will be able to throw some light on this. Why is it that in spite of so much money injected into the system, cloth is not being lifted and the stocks of unsold cloth are accumulating? In many other industries, similar conditions prevail. So far as the consumer is concerned, there is obvious inflation, but so far as the producer is concerned, there is something like depression-

[Shri J. S. Bisht.] sion. Why is this so? The cost of living is rising, the middle classes and the fixed income groups are suffering and savings are being eroded, whether in the shape of fixed deposits or otherwise. Equity shareholders have lost one-fourth of their capital within one year but gold and silver prices are rising. Is it that the propensity of the Indian consumer is directed differently to what it is elsewhere? If so, then these text-book formulae are no indications to us. At the same time there is no effective demand for manufactured goods and industrial production is slackening. This is, as I said before, a little puzzling. Why is this so? There is no explanation for this. Everything has been glossed over. I ask these questions because, unless we are able to diagnose the malaise correctly, no effective remedy can be devised. At present, we are merely adopting *ad hoc* remedies and some succeed and others fail. It is too soon to take credit for these measures, as has been taken in this Economic Survey. It is necessary to probe further and find out the *causa causans*—to use a medical word—of this particular phenomenon.

I am happy to note the improvement in our balance of payment position. Para. 34 at page 15 of the Economic Survey says that we have secured Rs. 480 crores since the Second Plan began up to the 31st December 1957 and a further sum of Rs. 234 crores is expected from the U.S.A., Germany, Japan and France. We are grateful to all the countries who have come to our aid and in particular to the U.S.A. for its massive aid. There is nothing wrong in foreign aid. The U.S.A. itself progressed on such aid, and we have seen the example of West Germany and Japan. It is said that every generation must bear its own cross. As we are anxious to bear the Gross of two or three generations and as we have to function within a democratic set-up, we can do it only with the aid of friendly foreign countries. We have drawn

down our foreign exchange resources very considerably, so much so that at the end of January they have dwindled down to Rs. 285 crores. There is not much room to draw it further down. This further underlines our need of foreign aid and I have no doubt that now that our policy of non-alignment is understood and appreciated by the Great Powers concerned, foreign aid will flow in even larger measure. For this the nation is beholden to the Prime Minister for his unswerving and rock-like stand on the policy of non-alignment. We must also record our thanks to Shri T. T. Krishnama-chari and the Industrial Delegation for removing misapprehensions and clearing the deck for foreign aid. Here I would recommend that there should be a long-term foreign exchange budget, say, of ten or fifteen years, so that in future we are not caught napping as we were caught this time. Of course, such a long-term budget will have to be a co-ordinated one. That is to say, a consolidated one of the requirements of foreign exchange of all the Ministries at the Centre as well as those of the States.

In passing, I may mention here that from the tables given in the Economic Survey, I have calculated that of the total imports of roughly Rs. 2,450 crores in the last 2½ years, as much as Rs. 658·3 crores was on Government account, and in the private sector the machinery imports were worth only Rs. 146·34 crores. Therefore, the cry that the former Finance Minister, while he was Minister for Industry and Commerce, gave import licences-right and left and that that was responsible for all this trouble, is more or less not well-founded. The import licences were mostly for industrial ■ raw materials, which were necessary to run our industries.

There is another point with regard to the Budget. It is said that in order to achieve our objective of a socialistic pattern of society, there should not be too big a disparity between the rich and the poor, but we sometimes forget that the disparity between'

region and region is worse than the disparity between individual and individual. So far as the disparity between individual and individual is concerned, we have our taxation policy, our fiscal policy. For this purpose, we have the income-tax, supertax, estate duty, wealth tax, gift tax and so on and so forth. But what about the disparity between region and region? There are certain regions in India which are as industrialised as Germany or England, while there are States which are as backward as the blackest Africa. Take for instance the region of Bombay or the region of Calcutta. There are many other such regions, where there are industries. Yet, when we make allocations, it is these same regions again who get more, whereas the other regions which are backward are not getting so much. I give you the example of Uttar Pradesh, for instance. The Government of Uttar Pradesh has been appealing to the Government of India time and again for helping them because, being a large province with a very heavy population of 630 lakhs and with no industries worth the name except in one city—Kanpur—and with the poor eastern districts where the average holding is \\\ acres, it is finding itself steeped in poverty. Even in U.P. there are regions like our Kumaon Hills, which are probably like the hills in Asal Maharashtra which has volcanic hills, situated near about Poona,—these are the two regions which are the poorest in India because there is no land, there is no other means of livelihood, there is no industry and there is no facility. Therefore, I am putting in a strong appeal to the Government of India and luckily at this time the Finance Minister happens to be also the Prime Minister of India and Chairman of the Planning Commission. I strongly appeal that the disparity between the various regions should be removed and for that, necessary steps should be taken. For instance, when you import machinery the people who get it at the ports, of course, get it at -cheaper rates. In that case the rail-

way freight structure and the transport arrangements should be so coordinated on a pooled scale that every region can get the same stuff at the same rates. Something like that has been done for cement and steel and the same is needed for coal, petrol and diesel oil. These should be coordinated in a whole manner so that every region, whether it is north, south, east, west or the central region, get the same facility and opportunity of developing industries as these favoured areas that have a march of 100 years over others. I hope this will be taken into consideration. I hope that when you are distributing these licences, industrial licences or import licences, these points will be borne in mind so that the backward areas may not have a legitimate grievance about them.

There is one point to which I must now refer. I will now leave the question of economic policy and finance so far as this present Budget is concerned and go over to the question of army. Last year I ventured to suggest to the hon. Defence Minister that he should remove the grievances among the Officer Corps of the Indian Army where they have been labouring under great difficulties. The Indian Commissioned Officers Corps, as you know, is suffering from a block in promotion. Up to the grade of Major—the Second Lieutenant, Lieutenant, Captain and Major—the majority, say 95 per cent., of the officers come within that category, but for promotion from Lieutenant Colonel upwards, the posts are very few—hardly 500 out of an Officer Corps of nearly—I will not give the number—more than 10,000. We have got for promotion purposes hardly 500 posts. Naturally, there is a block and there is a special block because during war time certain large scale recruitment had to be done and commissions had to be given on a large scale because the army had to be officered. I suggested last year to the Defence Minister two solutions which have to be combined together, which have to be complementary to each other. One was that he should

[Shri J. S. Bisht.] upgrade certain posts, namely, every 'regiment is commanded today by a j Lieutenant Colonel and the second in command is an officer of the rank of Major. I suggested to him that the officer commanding a regiment should be upgraded to the full grade of Colonel and the second in command should be made Lieutenant Colonel. That is number one. Number two was, as happens in the British army and happened before the British left here, and thereafter, it was this that certain officers had the option. Supposing they reached the grade of Major and they reached 48 to 50, then they had the option of either remaining in the army or what is called "mustering out" of the army. But when they retired from the army, they were given the pension of the next higher grade, that is, they were entitled to Lieutenant Colonel's pension. That in a way, solved the problem by two ways. That is, officers who deserved a promotion, were upgraded and officers who could not be promoted, had the option either to remain in the grade in which they were or to get out of the army on higher pension.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Will it not be a further addition to the Defence expenditure?

SHRI J. S. BISHT: I am coming to that. The hon. Defence Minister came here to give a reply to that particular point. I regret to say that the reply has not satisfied me, because the problem is there. Unless you solve a problem, there can be no satisfaction. Whenever there is a grievance, it should be remedied. As long as that remains, it will come up for remedy. Therefore, I again appeal. I believe, I have a suspicion in my mind, that the hon. Defence Minister dealt with the matter in a routine way, taking it as one of the suggestions from a Member of Parliament who had to speak something on a certain subject about which he knew nothing. I hate to bring personal points and for the last six years that I have been in Parliament, I have never once men-

tioned this point but bemuse of that unsatisfactory reply and the suspicion, that I have that the suggestion is not receiving the proper consideration that it deserved, I apologise tortus House and to you, for bringing it in. I am a father who has two sons in the armed farces and both of them fought in the Kashmir campaign and I am proud of that. One of them has been in it for the last 15 years and another for 13 years. Besides these two sons, there are many other relations in other branches of the army and air force. It is through them for the last 15 years that I have been following the career of these young officers in the Indian Army—the Indian Commissioned Officers—and not only through them but I have visited the cantonments and officers' messes and have kept myself in contact with the minds of these young officers from Jammu in the North to Barrackpore in the East and Poona in the South. I have wandered through all these cantonments and officers' messes. Therefore, when I suggest this, I am merely voicing a grievance that is there on the part of these officers. Unfortunately, today the high level policy is laid down by civilian officers who are, of course, well-paid and who, therefore, are being so indifferent and are not able to appreciate the position of these young officers because they don't feel the pinch. Secondly, the higher military officers belong to what is called the King's Commission. They too are paid a higher scale just as the I.C.S. are paid higher than the I.A.S. The difficulty therefore is that the I.C.Os. have not yet attained that seniority to -reach the higher levels which are called brass hats, where policy is laid down. It becomes therefore necessary to ventilate these grievances and to bring them to the notice directly of the hon. Defence Minister. I rather suspect that we suffer from a hang-over of the British days. You know when the imperialists began to rule an empire over which the sun never set, the posts of officers, right up to 1940, before the Second World War began..

•were manned by and large by the younger cadets of the aristocracy and by plutocrats and people who were from Eton and Harrow. The pay scales, the privileges and allowances of the officer cadets were deliberately kept down because they did not want the middle classes to come up. They did not depend for their living on their salary. It was only a pocket money. They depended for their living on their own private sources. These problems we have inherited from them, these traditions we have inherited but it is forgotten that in England after the Second World War, the whole army became a people's army because this war had to be fought on a larger scale and the middle classes entered the army and the officer corps. The British people too had the same difficulties but the practical people that they are, the conservative Government itself, raised the salaries and allowances of the Officer corps and when the Labour Government came into power, they enhanced it on a very liberal scale. Because they said that these officers came from the middle classes and they depended on their salaries for their living and their families were also dependent on that just as the civilian officers and officers of the other departments of the State were depending for their living on their pay. Therefore, why should the army people not be given the necessary pay, pension, privileges etc.?

Now, this officer corps also suffers from another difficulty. In the civil side the retirement age is 55 and in certain States it has been raised to 58 which is the age recommended by the Central Pay Commission. I am all in favour of raising the age of retirement to 58, because that according to me is the right age. In England and in America the age of retirement is 60. Anyway, even 55 is a tolerable age, but in the Army, today the officers in this block, are asked to go away at the age of 48 and they are lucky if they are allowed to go up to even 50. Just imagine these people with wives and children, just at

the time they are likely to be encumbered with expenses, having to go away in this manner. These are the officers who risk their life and limb for the security of the State and on them are put all these mental stresses and strains. Their salary scale is very low. A Major can go up to only Rs. 1050 which even a Deputy Collector gets today without any of these troubles, without any of these risks. And this is as against Rs. 3000 on the civil side in the Indian Administrative Service. Therefore, I would appeal to the hon. Defence Minister to bring a sympathetic mind to bear on this problem and to remove these stresses and strains from the psychology of these officers and to solve these problems. I raised this problem of blocking of promotions in the Indian Army and I was told that that is the position in other armies of the world also, that an officer commanding a regiment was of the cadre of Lieutenant Colonel. But that is no reason why we should not do it otherwise. Our local problems will have to be solved by us according to the situations that we actually face in this country. If he is not going to do it on a permanent basis, I would appeal to him to do it at least on a temporary basis, so that this gap, of those who were taken on a large scale in 1942 and 1943 may be removed. I have given a concrete suggestion and if they have any alternative and better suggestion I will be only too glad to welcome it.

Another handicap from which this Officer Corps suffers today is the education of their children. You know they are transferred from one corner of the country to another. They may be in Jammu and Kashmir today, in Trivandrum tomorrow and the day after in NEFA, in Assam or in Bengal. They also have got wives and children. What is to happen to the education of their children? I asked the same question some two years back and then Dr. Katju said that a scheme was being worked out and there was some difficulty with regard to the

[Shri J. S. Bisht.] medium of instruction, this language affair. I would appeal to the Defence Minister not to have anything to do with this language affair. Let education be imparted in English on a uniform scale throughout India as is being done in most of the public schools, in the Doon School, for instance, so that these boys may get a uniform education, with uniform curriculum and uniform text-books, so that even when these officers are transferred, their children may be provided proper education. And let us not introduce this language controversy into the armed forces, because that will be our undoing and if this political controversy were to go there also, we do not know where we shall ultimately stand.

The third difficulty with regard to these officers is that of residential accommodation for their families. These officers are being put here, there and everywhere and there is no accommodation available. It is now 10 years and money is not found for this purpose. Another point which I raised once was how is it that even after ten years, along the whole of our western front you have not constructed cantonments and barracks? I can understand your waiting up till now for constructing barracks and cantonments in Jammu and Kashmir. But what about the area from Gurudaspur down to the Rann of Kutch? We lost all our cantonments and installations on the western front because all that part has gone to Pakistan. How is it that we are not constructing them now? This is very necessary. In fact, it is very important. I saw it myself on the Jammu and Kashmir front, the men living in tents. And I do not know what is the cost of these tents. That must be considerable, because the tents must require replacement now and then. What has been the total cost, I don't know. If you had put up some sort of even *kutchi* huts, as was done during the

war-time, they would have lasted some twenty years and that would have been something.

My hon. friend Shri Akbar AH Khan asked me just now, what about the money? I will only invite his attention to the fact that this Officer Corps is very important to the country and what I have suggested is not going to cost you much. If you look at the Defence Services estimates, on pages 8 and 22, you will find that the pay and allowances of the officers come to Rs. 12,33,000. I am deducting the pay and allowances of cadets because that does not come under this category. So the sum is only Rs. 12,33,000. And this has remained more or less static. The total defence expenditure of the Government of India was in the neighbourhood of Rs. 200 crores and today it is Rs. 278 crores. So we have been able to find that money. From where was that found? So where there is a will there is a way and where there is no will you can always find arguments and reasons for not doing a thing. Instead of Rs. 12,33,000 it may come to, say, Rs. 13,00,000, that is about Rs. 60,000 more. But this is very important. This Officer Corps forms the brain and the backbone of the army and they must be contented. We should not have only one-sided loyalty. They are loyal to the State. They will fight to the last for the State. The State also should be loyal to them and look into their grievances sympathetically and carefully. Therefore, I say, this matter of money is not of much importance in this context.

Sir, as I said before, we are grateful to the present Defence Minister for many things. He has done very well as Defence Minister. There were nearly 2,000 officers on a temporary basis and continuing for several years on a temporary basis with nobody to look into this question. Of course, the Pakistan Army also had the same problem, but the British Commander-in-Chief in the very beginning, in 1949-50 solved it by granting permanent commissions

to these men. After all, you want an army and you want officers. Where are they to come from? Here are well-trained men. Why throw them away and run after some fantastic scheme which may never be available? So the hon. Defence Minister deserves our congratulations and thanks. He promptly solved this problem by granting them permanent commissions, to a couple of thousand officers, and to that extent he deserves gratitude and for that I give him full marks.

He also deserves our thanks for the fact that he has equipped the army properly. It was almost naked. How can you expect the morale of the army to be up when a neighbouring country was being equipped with the most modern arms? Therefore, Mr. Krishna Menon took it up promptly and had the army trained well and equipped the army and so our boys can now face anyone fully confident that they have weapons in their hands with which they can face any enemy in the world. And for this also I give Mr. Krishna Menon full marks.

Therefore, I hope he will solve these problems also which I raised today. He alone can do it, because he has the courage and the capacity to do it, and if he does it, I will give him hundred per cent marks, as a very successful Defence Minister. I would, therefore, most earnestly appeal to him to look into this matter very sympathetically and very carefully and not as if it were a routine matter.

With these remarks, I support the Budget, subject to the various comments that I have made.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 2.30 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at half past two of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): Mr. Deputy Chairman, the start of the Second Five Year Plan and the assumption of office by the ex-Finance Minister, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, almost synchronised. It was clear that, ambitious as our Plan was, in order to make it a success, we had to find resources to a very great extent internally also. For this purpose, we consulted an economist of great repute, Professor Kaldor, who proposed a number of personal taxes and indicated other sources also. After the assumption of office by the ex-Finance Minister, in order to get internal resources, he brought before the House taxes time and again but the integrated proposals for taxation were brought before the Parliament in May last and in September last. The ex-Finance Minister stated that he would approach Parliament with fresh taxation proposals whenever the occasion so demanded and added that he could not be fettered by past conventions. Happily, subsequently he gave the assurance that the new shape which was to be given to the tax structure had been completed and that what would be done during the rest, of the Second Five Year Plan period would be no more than marginal adjustments. Our tax structure is, in the main, based on the recommendations of Professor Kaldor which, in his opinion, should provide the greater part of the requirements necessary to ensure the success of the Plan. His proposals for personal taxation fell under the following heads, wealth tax, annual tax on capital gains which was levied earlier, expenditure tax and general gifts tax. He also recommended that the maximum rate of tax on income should not exceed 45 per cent. Some of the new taxes are intended to be substitutes for the substantial lowering of the rate of income tax suggested by him. He made several suggestions with regard to the evasion of tax on business incomes. Professor Kaldor

[Shri Jaswant Singh.] also stated that the remainder of the additional funds would have to be raised from land revenue and excise duties. These were, in short, the main proposals of Professor Kaldor and our taxation structure has been more or less based on this. During the last year, these proposals were brought in in two instalments as I stated a little while earlier, that is, in May last and in September last and the ex-Finance Minister indicated that he would not hesitate to bring forward proposals levying further taxes if it was necessary. Now, the gift tax is the last tax with regard to personal taxation suggested by Professor Kaldor. I need not go into the details because last year when the taxation proposals were brought before the House, they were discussed threadbare. Now, Government have brought forth the last measure, the gift tax, and before long, the necessary Bill will come before the House when it will be thoroughly* discussed.

It is not known as to why the other recommendations of Professor Kaldor have not been implemented. The other source suggested by him was the doubling of the land revenue. Of course, this revenue will go to the States but that also will help the country because we give large amounts both under the recommendations of the Finance Commission as well as otherwise in the form of subsidies, loans and gifts from the Centre. Politically, I agree that it will not be expected of the States that they will enhance the land revenue because it is the land owning class which possesses a large amount of voting power. Similarly, with regard to excise duties, it would be fair that on articles of mass consumption, excise duties should be levied so that the taxation is spread over to cover all strata of society and all kinds of people. It is neither fair nor feasible for us to expect that all the money should come from the rich people and that the others in the country should not share the burden. At the same time, whenever we levy these taxes

on the people, whether rich or poor, it becomes the duty of the State to give them full protection. As I stated earlier, in this Budget the gift tax has been introduced and, along with this, the limit of estate duty has been reduced. The other reliefs given are in respect of super tax on excess dividends of section 23A companies, exemption of the wealth of foreigner, resident or ordinarily resident in India, and the withdrawal of irksome rules for exemption from income-tax or payments made to employees on account of leave passages, etc. Sir, these are very welcome features. We have been finding foreign capital shy to come to our country and, in order to give an impetus to foreign capital which will to a very large extent help us, it is necessary for us to give these reliefs. This was also expected. Moreover, we could say that the indication was already there in regard to these matters when the ex-Finance Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, was abroad a few months ago. It is a happy news, Sir, that the development rebate in respect of the shipping industry has been raised from 25 per cent, to 40 per cent. This is also a welcome news.

Sir, as far as this Budget is concerned, from the comments that have appeared in the press, it is evident that trade and industry have not welcomed the Budget, and similarly our friends who hold leftist ideas are not likely to welcome this Budget because they wanted some more taxation. As far as trade and industry are concerned, they had certain expectations, but those expectations have not been fulfilled. Professor Kaldor had not proposed the wealth tax on companies, but for some reason the Finance Ministry or the Finance Minister has put this tax in the statute book. Then there is the compulsory deposit of reserves, and the rate of excess dividend tax has not been reduced. Then the bonus tax has not been lowered and there is the omission of any reference to excise duties on cloth, textiles, etc. The trade and industry had expected that

all these things will find a place in the Budget proposals, and in not finding them they are naturally disappointed.

Now, Sir, to come, to the Budget proposals my first remarks would be that these taxation proposals are not likely to bring much revenue because, last year, the major part of the recommendations of Professor Kaldor were implemented and some of the classes like the industrialists and the princes have been roped in so that large amounts by way of taxation would be forthcoming from them. It is true that as a result of the agreement with the princes at the time of their accession to the Indian Union—the agreements and covenants that were entered into with them by the Government—the Government would give them privy purses free of income-tax. It was expected of the Congress Government that they will not go back on their words, and this is exactly what has happened—what was expected of them—that they stood by the agreements they had entered into with the former rulers as far as the privy purses were concerned in spite of vocal elements and some other interests who are anti-anything good-accruing to the country as a result of this agreement. In spite of that vocal element the Government stood by their promise. But very cleverly, by the introduction of these taxes, whatever the princes would get free of income-tax in regard to their privy purses will be taken back from them mostly in the form of wealth tax and expenditure tax. But that is a different story. It was very encouraging to hear this morning today's first speaker, Shrimati Savitri Nigam, referring sympathetically to the former princes, and asked the Government to bring forward certain proposals which will rehabilitate them because she felt the uncertainty hanging in regard to how long these privy purses will last. As I stated a little while ago, so far as the privy purses are concerned, more or less by the back-door they

have been taken away, and therefore this question is not of any substantial value.

Now, Sir, to come to other points I would submit that inflation is hitting, some sections of the society very hard. It is true that the labour class because of the development works, in which they are engaged, have benefited; every member of his family goes to work and earns, and therefore their standard has risen. But the middle class, I mean the service class has been very hard hit. We are a welfare State and we are a democracy also. We compare ourselves with foreign countries who are welfare States and who have adopted also the socialist pattern of society. But we make sometimes some mistakes in making such comparison. Now, Sir, a comparison with the position of the lower middle class in western countries, such as, United Kingdom and Sweden, is highly misleading. In the case of these countries the children of* the lower middle class get free education up to a very high standard, even up to the university standard in the case of more promising students. They get free medical attendance and treatment by specialists. Their housing is subsidised; there is provision for their maintenance during unemployment and there is provision for old-age pensions. There is in fact almost complete security from birth to death. Our middle class get none of these benefits. Now, food and clothing are the two main things in the necessities of life. The vast majority of population in this country is ill-fed and ill-clothed. The first impact of the inflationary pressure generated by the increased purchasing power is on food and clothing. Sir, in my part of the State, in spite of large development works going on in the country, the middle class have been so hard hit that whereas in olden times, even in the worst years of famine, foodgrains never sold at less than 8 to 10 seers a rupee, now wheat is available only to the extent of 2½ seers a rupee. The same is the case with cloth. So, a large popula-

[Shri Jaswant Singh.] tion will not benefit from the huge expenditure which we are incurring in the development of our country.

Then, Sir, I would further submit that it is very well that we should ■ develop in all directions. But, has not the time arrived for us to consider whether it is not possible to postpone schemes socially desirable so that we can have those funds made available to us in regard to items which will result in increased production during the Plan period? It is understood that the Ambar Charkha programme during the Plan period will cost about 200 crores of rupees. •On the question whether it is necessary I agree, and everybody would ; agree, that sociably this is a desirable thing. But there are many things ■which are desirable; still in view of -the fact that because of this large ■expenditure and deficit financing inflation has begun to raise its head, it will affect a large number of people adversely, and in the circumstances it will be desirable that such sociably desirable schemes should be postponed.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI B. R. BHAGAT): Will it •cost Rs. 200 crores?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: That is my impression. I do not know what are the actual figures, but that is my impression.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY (SHRI SATISH CHANDRA) : Rs. 200 crores are provided for all the small-scale cottage industries, village industries, handloom, etc.—for the small-scale sector. For Ambar Charkha alone at present that programme costs Rs. 5 crores a year.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Rs. 200 crores are allotted under the Plan. All these things which the hon. Deputy Minister has stated . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is for all the small-scale industries.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Sir, now I would come to the expenditure

which has been provided for in the Budget proposals. The estimates of expenditure on revenue and capital accounts reveal that the Budget has come under pressure in regard to four main heads. First is in regard to the award of the Second Finance Commission which will give to the States something like Rs. 40 crores. This will give an increase of Rs. 30.45 crores in the resources transferable to the States. Then, Sir, defence expenditure has also increased to a very great extent. Defence expenditure on revenue account in the current revised estimates is Rs. 266 crores. This is about Rs. 13 crores higher than the Budget estimates. For the coming financial year an addition of Rs. 12 crores has been made, and the total expenditure on defence comes to something like Rs. 278 crores. Looking into our revenue, it is indeed a very high expenditure. Sir, when our relations are so friendly with all the countries and when we publicly state that our army is a peace time army, and in view of our policy of non-alignment, we do not stand any danger whatsoever from anybody, and obviously it appears contradictory that we should go on increasing our expenditure to this extent which naturally will hamper our development programme, because most of the money has to be diverted to that programme, and we have to resort either to deficit financing or we will have to go to the foreign countries for help.

DR. W. S. BARLING AY: Would your State like reduction in defence expenditure?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I personally will not. But what I say is +his that it appears contradictory from the policy that the Government are following that they should believe in arming our forces to this extent, in view of the Congress ideology, Congress principles.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: What is your policy?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: If the hon. Member wants my policy, I come from a so-called martial race and I believe in the maxim that whichever country or nation is strong will rule, whatever may be the ideologies and principles which any country follows. I should say we should increase, but it appears contradictory from the principles that the governing party is following.

DR. W. S. BARLINGAY:

इदं ब्रह्ममरं क्षात्रं शापादपि शारादपि ।

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Sir, civil expenditure has also increased considerably, but it is relatively small. I would submit that the taxpayer is being pressed very hard, and on the other hand more and more money is being spent on unproductive administration. Here I would like to stress that from every corner of the country there is a clamour in regard to the wastefulness. If we look into our past Budgets, we will see that there is very little justification for such high taxation. Our country is one of the highest taxed countries in the world, and there is very little justification for that in this sense that crores of rupees would be found unutilised or surrendered at the end of the year. For this over-budgeting by the different Ministries and Departments, the taxpayer has to suffer, because the Finance Minister has to find the money to balance the Budget, and it is very necessary that the Budget proposals should be scrutinised very minutely and very carefully so that the burden imposed on the taxpayer is within his capacity to bear. It appears that if we go on at this rate, vast numbers of people will find it very hard to make both ends meet. They are hit all round in the first instance by high taxation, then by inflation, then by high prices of the necessary commodities.

Finally, Sir, we have decided that the size of the Plan will be of the order of Rs. 4,800 crores. The outlay

this year has been stepped up to Rs. 1,017 crores, both capital and revenue for the Centre and the States. This includes provision of Rs. 122 crores from revenue budget and Rs. 895 crores from capital budget. Compared to the current budget, the total expenditure on the Plan has been stepped up by Rs. 155 crores. The bulk of the increase is for the benefit of the Railways and industrial schemes at the Centre and agricultural programmes in the States. Sir, in regard to the necessity of economy in respect of industrialisation and agriculture, the two previous speakers, Shrimati Nigam and Shri Bisht, have already spoken and I need not take the time of the House by speaking further on the subject. I would eventually submit that these proposals of taxation are proving harder and harder to the general public. There are other sources of indirect taxation, and it is high time that the Government should tap them also. We hear from our Prime Minister time and again that we should not be static, it is sputnik age, we should not be hidebound to what was happening a few years ago, we must always be on the march, and if we make a mistake we should reverse the steps and correct that mistake. Here are two very necessary taxations which are not irksome, which will bring very big amounts; people will get real relief and we will get a large amount of internal resources to meet our Budget.

3 P.M.

Not being a member of this great Congress organisation, I cannot appreciate why they took this step a few years ago. Even now it is not possible for us to understand that. But some of the senior Congressmen even now have been giving vent to their views in this House and outside also with regard to the salt tax. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, who is not present here now; has been saying that if Gandhiji would have been alive today, he would have advocated the salt tax.

[Shri Jaswant Singh.] and if not the salt tax, then at least so far as this prohibition is concerned, he would have retraced his steps and thus large resources would have been placed at the disposal of the State. Sir, how far prohibition has been successful or not is not the moot point today, and I need not speak on it. But I may submit that prohibition has been tried in about half a dozen countries and it has failed, and it is bound to fail in this country also. Wherever it has been introduced in this country, well, it has more or less, in practice, failed, although we may agree with that view or not. Here is the State of Bombay which takes pride in the matter of prohibition. But from my personal experience I have seen and you can also see it that you can get liquor almost in every corner in spite of prohibition there. And the Government is losing lakhs and crores of rupees. Sir, take the case of England or the United Kingdom. There the duties in regard to beer and liquor amount to £ 400 millions which is equivalent to the total revenue of this country. In 1956-57 our total revenue did not amount to £ 400 millions, which in England is realised only from duties on liquor. Therefore, Sir, as stated by some of the eminent Congressmen that if Gandhiji had been alive today, he would have agreed to the levy of these taxes. I strongly recommend that the Government should consider their position and find the resources which we need so badly to see that our Plan succeeds, by resorting to these taxes.

DR. W. S. BARLINGAY: Why bring in Gandhiji now?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I am not bringing in Gandhiji now. I am merely quoting what Rajkumari Amrit Kaur has been saying in this House and outside. I do not know whether my hon. friend considers Rajkumari to be a Congress member or whether she can be called Gandhian ■ or whether she can be called a disciple of Gandhiji, but I am quoting

what she has been saying in this House. (*Interruption.*) I am only stating what the hon. Member had stated in this House. Sir, that is all that I have to say in regard to the Budget itself. But some of my predecessors who spoke before me have referred to some general points also and I will take to my seat after referring to only one point.

Sir, my friend, Mr. Bisht, referred to our policy of non-alignment, and he also stated that it has been accepted by all the countries and we have been receiving generous help from various countries, and the utmost help we receive is from the United States. Sir, there is one point which is not understood by me. I am glad that the Deputy Minister of External Affairs is here. I have been trying to understand this point for a long time, but for some reason or other no satisfactory reply is being given. I wanted this question to be cleared either at question time or in the course of some other discussions. But I thought if I raised this point at the time of the general discussion on the Budget, I might probably get a satisfactory reply. Sir, in spite of our policy of non-alignment, in spite of our claiming that we are friends of everybody and every nation is very friendly to us, there is one thing which cannot be understood by us. Our spokesman, Mr. Krishna Menon, on the floor of this House has been stating, and outside also, that New Delhi has become the capital of the world, which is a matter of pride to every one of us. In spite of the fact that we are the meeting place of all the ideologies in the world, whenever our national interests come into clash with any other power, whether our neighbours or some distant countries, none of the members belonging to different ideologies help us even when our case is very strong. I do not know whether our advocacy is defective. That also is not possible when these things are in the hands of an elderly and an experienced statesman of the stature of Mr. Krishna Menon. At one time, as I stated before, Pakistan held that

place of pride in regard to long speeches. Well, we have beaten that record. We state our case so lucidly and so clearly, and even then . . .

SHRI KISHEN CHAND (Andhra Pradesh): Everybody walks out.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: . . . our strong case goes by default or we lose the case. I do not want to refer to other matters which have been raised by me in this House several times. "But I would like to refer to only one point which is a new point because it strengthens my belief that instead of our making more friends we are making more enemies. That is the result of this policy of non-alignment. Well, that is my feeling, and I would like to be corrected by the explanation that I might get from the External Affairs Ministry.

Sir, here is the latest thing—the construction of Mangla dam by Pakistan. We know that Pakistan is an aggressor. But the United Nations do not agree that Pakistan is an aggressor. It is a pity. We say that one-third of the State of Jammu and Kashmir has by aggression been taken over by Pakistan, and it is our territory. We are spending a lot of money on Kashmir because it is a part of India and it goes to benefit the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and India as a whole. But here is the so-called part of Azad Kashmir where the aggressors are constructing this Mangla dam. They are unmindful of our strongest views. Pakistan has now entered into an agreement with two British and one American engineering firms for constructing the dam, which is expected to be the biggest of its kind in Asia. It will submerge 120 villages and uproot more than one lakh of people. Who are these people? The Indian nationals and the Indian villagers will "be submerged. The action of Pakistan violates Indian sovereignty. It is also a gross violation of the Security Council Resolution of January 17, 1948. It is also strange that the United Nations observers whose func-

tion it was to see that the conditions of the truce were not violated did not draw the attention of the Security Council to this fact. They could not have been ignorant of what was happening under their very nose. In contrast, what happens? Last year the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir wanted to pass their Constitution to synchronise with the 26th January. Pakistan made a protest to the Security Council, and the Security Council set a deadline and said that the matter will be decided before the 26th January. But here, our territory is being violated, our sovereignty is being violated, our nationals are being uprooted, 120 villages of ours are being submerged. Pakistan is making the dam a *fait accompli* and we make a protest. What happens? Nothing happens; no notice is being taken of our protest, and very proudly the Dy. Minister for External Affairs said in this House the other day that the Security Council had circulated to the Members of the Security Council our protest as a document. A mountain went into labour and has brought forth a mouse. And this is the result of our non-alignment policy, our friendship with, all nations. It is very difficult for a practical man, that I consider myself to be, to understand the implications of this policy of non-alignment and our protest, which probably Pakistan has thrown into the waste paper basket without even going through the contents of that protest. It appears so. It is a matter of, very great regret that in spite of the advocacy of a statesman of the stature of Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, this has been happening in the Security Council; in spite of the big stature that he has attained in the councils of international organisations, this has been happening. There is something in this, and I would be very happy to have some explanation in regard to this affair.

DR. W. S. BARLINGAY: What is your remedy for it?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Do not ask for my remedy. This Government has

[Shri Jaswant Singh.] not got the guts, the spine and the courage to accept that remedy. That is the long and short of it. If it comes to a question of giving counsel to President Nasser, we do; he is also following a policy of non-alignment, but when it came to a question of national interests, he gave an ultimatum to the Sudan, whereas at every step when we have to decide on our action, we think, "What will be the impact of this on the international world?" That is our fear. We want to know International public opinion before we take action.

SHRI J. S. BISHT: What action did we take in regard to Suez?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: What action did we take in regard to Hungary? That question we need not go into.

Then, I come to the question of our national interests in Burma. What has happened in regard to the plight of Indians in a friendly country like Burma? I will not refer to Ceylon or South Africa or Pakistan or Goa. What are the latest developments in regard to the Indians in Burma, which is very friendly to us? The foreign registration fee, the visa fee, the reentry fee have been considerably raised; they have been doubled. The immigration officials feel that the Burma Government would not be able to make any change in "these registration laws, etc. It is quite correct. When the Prime Minister recently went to Japan, he passed through Rangoon . . .

DR. W. S. BARLINGAY: Has Burma discriminated against India?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Not discriminated against India. My point is that these people have been made Stateless people. I am coming to that. What happened is when the Prime Minister passed through Rangoon, a deputation waited on him, and he naturally said, "I am very sorry I cannot do anything. You have to

abide by the laws of the country." In a country friendly to us, the fate of Indian nationals is jeopardised, but nothing can be done. What happens is they have no means of securing naturalisation certificates. The Indian Embassy has notified that those Indians who have applied for a naturalisation certificate have ceased to be Indians, while the Burma Government have announced that those who could produce naturalisation certificates would be accepted as Burmese nationals. The distinction is very clear. Burma says that unless they produce the certificates, they will not be called naturalised Burmese, while our Indian Embassy says that, if they have applied for such certificates, they will not be considered as Indian nationals. The result is that a number of Indians have become Stateless. This is the state of affairs in a friendly country who are—I would not say they are our followers—extremely friendly to us; every matter they refer to us, we help them in every possible way. I have come to the conclusion—time and again I have referred to this in the House—that to safeguard our national interests, our foreign policy has completely failed. But we are spending very large amounts on the External Affairs Ministry, on our Embassies and Legations and in the upkeep of our diplomats. Crores and crores of rupees are being spent on them, but I feel that it is not fair to the tax-payer and that there is no justification for the policy that is being followed, which has failed to safeguard our national interests. Thank you.

SHRI T. R. DEOGIRIKAR (Bombay): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I congratulate the 'pedestrian' Finance Minister for the Budget which he has presented to the Parliament, which has not imposed any additional taxation . . .

SHRI KISHENCHAND: New Finance Minister! Why does he say pedestrian-Finance Minister?

SHRI T. R. DEOGIRIKAR: He said that it was a pedestrian Budget, and so I said 'pedestrian' Finance Minister.

I congratulate him for not imposing any additional taxes. Ten years have passed since independent India began presenting Budgets to Parliament and to the State Legislatures. Ten years is quite a long period, and we can have quinquennial surveys, of the economic developments in the country. During this period we have had varied experiences, some pleasant and some not very pleasant. From these experiences we learnt something; but I may be allowed to say that we have not learnt enough. Anyway, though we are not yet out of the woods, yet I do not see any possibility of our being thrown again into the woods. The harbour is not yet in sight but there is no possibility of our rushing again into troublesome waters. Let us take a survey of the happenings, of the economic developments, during the last ten years, so that we can chalk out our future programmes accordingly. This past deserves consideration and a very serious consideration. What were the developments during the 10 years? First of all we got associated with the I.M.F.—the International Monetary Fund—as a member and then again we got associated with the I. B. R. D.—the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development. These were two very important events because we have got some prestige in the international world. That helped us to secure some loans, some subsidies, some grants etc. So, that was a very good thing. Then again in order to mobilise the internal resources we did three things. We nationalised the Reserve Bank, we nationalised the Imperial Bank, and the last thing that we did was to nationalise the Life Insurance Companies. These made sufficient money available for our developmental purposes.

Then we come to currency. In the field of currency, two very important things were done by India. The first

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was demonetisation of currencies of high denomination. The total currency of high denomination under circulation was Rs. 143 crores out of which Rs. 134 crores were accounted for and Rs. 9 crores could not be traced. So, it was more or less an exchange of currency—currency note* of small denominations in place of currencies of higher denomination. We cannot say that all the black-market money which we contemplated as hidden, has been brought to the surface. That was one thing and the second thing was devaluation of the rupee. India was wedded to sterling and as soon as England devalued its Pound, we also devaluated our rupee. Our export got a fillip but I cannot say how far our policy of devaluation has succeeded. There are two opinions among the economists about it, but by and large, we should admit that the step which was taken by us has greatly helped us in exports. So, these were the two things which we did with regard to currency.

Then we come to trade agreements with various countries in the world and in spite of what my friend, the previous speaker, spoke, we have established good trade relations with various countries in the world and it has ultimately benefited us to a very great extent.

As regards loans, India is getting quite a big lot or quite a big amount, but I don't know how far India will be able to bear the burden of these loans. Today we are investing these loans for developmental purposes but a time will come when these loans will have to be repaid and when the interest which will be accumulating day by day will have to be paid. So, in the field of loans, India cannot say that the world did not treat her with sympathy. There was all the sympathy for a backward country like India and we are grateful to the world for giving us whatever monetary help it could.

Then we come to the food problem. It is a very tragic tale. When we

[Shri T. R. Deogirikar.] started this Government, there was control and rationing. After a few days we went to decontrol. After a few months we resorted to recontrol. Then there was decontrol again and at present there is partial or zonal control. So control, decontrol, re-control, decontrol and partial control were the 5 or 6 phases through which this food problem has passed. We did appoint various Committees to solve this problem and at every time I may tell you that we were not deprived of the expert opinion. I mention the 5 or 6 Committees which we appointed for solving this problem. The first was the Commodity Prices Board. The second was the Foodgrains Policy Committee. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas was the Chairman. The third was the G. M. F. Enquiry Committee presided over by Shri V. T. Krishna-machari. The fourth was the Rural Credit Survey Committee and the fifth was the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee of the last year. In all we appointed 5 Committees for the solution of the problem and I may say that we have not yet succeeded in solving that problem in spite of these committees. During these 10 years various important things have happened in this country to which a passing reference must be made. I may mention the problem of princely States, the Kashmir issue, the refugee problem and the Hyderabad problem.

Then again, we framed the Constitution, we launched two Plans, the First Five Year Plan and the Second Plan. The Colombo Plan was already there. So, planning was not new to India. We had various plans even before we launched the First Five Year Plan. The next thing which we did—I am not stating this in chronological order—was the solution of the sterling balance problem. It was feared then that England may not agree to the full payment of our sterling balances but persuasion and good offices on our part brought about a settlement and the sterling balance problem was solved to the

satisfaction of India. That was the fifth thing which we did.

During this period we started several industrial concerns. They are about 67 in number. We have undertaken State trading; there is the small scale industrial development committee and so on and so forth. So, the greatest thing which we did during this period was the starting of various industrial concerns, sponsored by Government and partially controlled by Government. This was one of the greatest achievements of this country. Again, we established three corporations. The Industrial Finance Corporation was one, the State Financial Corporations, and the Agricultural Finance Corporation were others. These three Finance Corporations were established by us and we also participated in the International Finance Corporation. In general we sought refuge under various Corporations that were in existence or that were brought into being by us. That is with regard to **finance**.

The last thing which we did was a political thing—it was the States Reorganisation, that is, the regrouping or reforming of the various States in this country. I am not going to refer to it because it has got a tragic history and therefore I said in the beginning there were certain pleasant things during this period and certain things which were not so pleasant. In all, that is the record of our 10 years, but I may tell you that if as an objective observer I begin to look at the past history of ten years, I can say that there are jerks and jolts to our economy, there are ups and downs. We cannot say with any certainty that our food problem is solved in spite of the additional food we are producing every year. That problem remains still unsolved. And experts say that unless you solve the food problem, your planning will not be successful. Let the Government take a note of this, that if we want to make our Plan successful, we must concentrate on the food problem to the best of your ability.

The second problem is that of prices. Prices are not yet stabilised. They are hovering between 300 to 400 per cent, and no one can with any amount of certainty say that whatever money he gets will be sufficient for maintaining his family or for meeting his expenses. So, non-stabilisation of prices is one of the shortcomings of this economy. The food problem is another.

The third is the export and import problem. No body can say when our exports will be accelerated and when our imports will be diminished I may presently refer to the export figures. But there is uncertainty in the international field. We want imports, no doubt, but we want the balance of payment to be restored to normalcy. That we have not yet been able to do. So the export-import problem is another very intricate problem remaining unsolved.

Then there is the question of deficit financing. As we know, we started this deficit financing in 1953. Fortunately, our country has not suffered from it, as some anticipated that it would. But we have to see and determine to what extent and up to what period this deficit financing is to go. We must cry "halt" at some time and at some amount. So, deficit financing is one of the insoluble problems which has faced us and which is facing us for the last five years.

And, lastly, there is the question of inflation. Let me tell you that the problem of inflation will not be solved by any amount of manipulation that you may do in the money market. It can only be solved by having more production. If you do not have more production, then you will have to come every time before the House and say there is inflation. There have been inflationary trends and deflationary trends and all sorts of trends which we had to face during the last ten years. Nobody can with certainty say that we have got over the problem of inflation.

So these are the four or five problems which we will have to face in the coming years. During the last ten years, the most important problem that touched our lives was the problem of planning. The whole country and even the outside world appreciated the planning which we have undertaken. But unfortunately, it has not appealed to the psychology of the people of this country. Not that I am against planning or against the progress which we have made in this field, but I must tell you with all humility, and let Government also realise it, that we have not yet been able to touch the hearts of the people. I see everywhere opposition, opposition amongst us, or rather dissatisfaction amongst us, dissatisfaction in every rank, dissatisfaction amongst those who are making the best out of the planning, dissatisfaction amongst those who are getting nothing out of the planning. So, at both the extremes there is dissatisfaction which cannot be ignored.

Then we must look to our strength. We have undertaken two Plans and the time has come for introspection. We will have to see whether our strength is commensurate with the undertakings, the various undertakings in the Plan. May I say that there is not that amount of confidence among the people about their future? It may be due to our fault. Perhaps, we have not yet endeavoured to get their confidence or rather to invoke their confidence. But the fact is there. Why should it be so? I cannot understand. Anyone who mixes with the people will find that there is a lack of confidence among the people, not in our capacity, but in the implementation of the Plans. That factor will have to be taken into consideration. Ultimately, they ask us the question, "For whom are you planning?" It is a difficult question to be replied. We say that we want to raise the standard of living. We say that we want to have more production and we say that we want to remove unemployment. Then the man in return asks, "What about me?" He thinks the people are not

[Shri T. R. Dcogirikar.] benefited by the Plan. Psychologically, they have not yet appreciated that all this planning is for them and must be made successful. Thus, the psychological change, which we anticipated would come, has not come yet. It may be due to ideological aspects. We may not have an ideology. All ideology does mean some sacrifice and some morals. But it is not something that Government can do. It is for others to look up to. Thus this planning has its positive aspects and its negative aspects as well. Let me say that if we fail in this planning, any party that comes into power, at whatever stage, by the farthest stretch of imagination will not be able to undertake any planning at all. That is the position. So, India must remember that we live either by this Plan or we do not live. That is the hardest lesson that we have to learn from the experience that we have had during the last ten years.

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh in his Dada-bhoy Navroji Lectures of last year said, and correctly said, that in India planning depends upon "*Panchjan*". Just as we have *Panchsheel*, similarly Mr. Deshmukh has coined the word "*Panchjan*". Who are they? The politician is one, the administrator is another, the technician third, the statistician fourth, and the economist the fifth. These are the five categories of people on whom the future planning depends. May I ask with all humility whether there is co-operation *inter-se*, whether the administrator co-operates with the technician, whether the technician co-operates with the economist and so on and so forth? Ultimately, it comes to this, that if you are going to say that all your planning depends upon these sets of people, then can we say that the planning is sponsored by the Government and can we say that the planning is being implemented by the Government? By Government, I mean the democratic Government of the present day. Still I know how things happen and how decisions are taken. Therefore, if people criticise you that

your planning is ridden too much with officialdom, I cannot blame the people. The Government will have to take note of it. You must associate more and more people with this planning so that they may feel that this is their planning. I do not know whether Mr. Deshmukh restricted himself to these five—the *Panchjan*—or whether he wants many more. If people feel our planning is entirely Government planning, it will be difficult. We will have to remove that misunderstanding and make it really the planning of the people.

Then another thing which I see as a result of this planning is that the private and public sectors, which we expected will co-operate with each other, are day by day, becoming hostile. That is the most dangerous thing which we can think about. The private and public sectors must co-operate with each other. That cooperation is necessary one, but the present policy of the Government is to tax the private sector as much as possible, to pass labour laws, etc. I have not taken the brief of the private sector at all but the thing is there and my friends opposite, sitting there, have neither sympathy for the public sector nor for the private sector. I do not know for whom they have sympathy.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): For him.

SHRI T. R. DEOGIRIKAR: For me? I do not belong to any sector.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: For the Mundhras?

SHRI J. V. K. VALLABHARAO (Andhra Pradesh): For the common man.

SHRI T. R. DEOGIRIKAR: They have sympathies for the common man! A serious note should be taken of the hostility between the private sector and the public sector. These two sectors must be reconciled and they

roust bo two wings or two sides of the same coin. That is my humble request

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I think there was an illicit marriage between the two.

SHRI T. R. DEOGIRIKAR: Between the private sector and the public sector? Do you approve of it?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No, no, I do not. It is you who . . .

SHRI T. R. DEOGIRIKAR: I come to another aspect. We are spending crores and crores of rupees for the community development projects. It is all the more welcome but I might say that we are not able to prevent wastage. There is a colossal wastage and, as I said just now that there is hostility between the public and the private sectors, similarly these community projects are creating parties in the villages. I am not referring to corruption, to nepotism, to bribery and all that. You are doing community works with the best of intentions. I do not blame all the community projects but blame only some which I have seen or known. I think a time has come when we will have to prevent wastage. If there is wastage, instead of doing good to the people, we alienate them from us. That is another hurdle in the way.

As regards the Budget, it is a good Budget as it has not evoked much opposition from the people . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: After all that you have said?

SHRI T. R. DEOGIRIKAR: I would request the Government to have stability for the coming three years.

DR. R. B. GOUR (Andhra Pradesh): In the Finance Ministry.

SHRI T. R. DEOGIRIKAR: And the Finance Ministry is a limb of the Government. I would request the Government not to make any radical

changes in the taxation or in our programme. For three years at least, let us continue the present standards of taxation and the present returns. If we do that, I think there will be some consolation and the people will understand where they stand; otherwise, there will be a flux in everything and we do not know what thing will be taxed next year. So, let there be a respite, if I am allowed to say, for a period of three years.

The present Budget has left a gap of Rs. 27 crores. No taxation measures should be undertaken in the coming year to cover up this deficit. Let that gap remain as it is and I am absolutely certain, at the time of the accounting, you will find that not only the gap is filled but there will remain a little surplus in your revenue. I pray to Government not to undertake any taxation proposals to cover up the gap of Rs. 27 crores. I am glad that as a result of the recommendations of the Finance Commission, the States are coming out of their difficulties. You will hardly find a State that will have a deficit budget because, we are going to give about Rs. 34 crores . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: It is forty crores of rupees.

SHRI T. R. DEOGIRIKAR: It is Rs. 43 crores to be exact. We are going to give quite a big amount to the States to cover up their losses, but it must not be forgotten that in the planning itself you are expecting something from the States as revenue surplus. If you are not going to get that, then, of course, the States will be landing themselves in difficulties and we may also be getting into difficulties. Therefore, the States must bless the Finance Commission for the big amounts that are allotted to them. I do not know how far people have appreciated or understood or even cared to look at the fact that there is a fresh taxation on railway fares and a sum of nine crores of rupees is expected out of this. I must plead my ignorance.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: It was la,-i year.

Sum T. St. DEOGIRIKAR: It was in September last that a tax on railway fares which will come to nine crores of rupees was imposed. It is a good thing which has come to the aid of the States as a result of the recommendation of the Finance Commission, but it would have been better if Government had postponed the taxation to the Budget Session. Things have happened and let us not look into them. I am afraid that the principle which is followed by the Finance Commission in having a tax on railway fares will be equally applicable to the Posts and Telegraphs because, the States not only deal in Railways but also with postal and telegraphic undertakings. I am really aghast when I see in the Budget proposals that a sum of Rs., 19 crores is to be realised from the telephones. I think that is the heaviest tax for the users of telephones. In the modern age, the telephone is not a luxury but it is a necessity. I do not think Government will revise its decision and this sum will in no way be cut.

Then I come to another item. I find that the revenue from the excise duty on betel nut has decreased by three crores of rupees. I am interested in arecanut as I am a member of that Committee. I found to my surprise that only about three crores will be realised from the customs duty on this commodity. Last year, it was Rs. 6' 80 crores. I do not know what has happened during this year. Whether people are eating less of betel nuts or whether internal production has improved or whether the foreign countries have ceased to send betel nuts to this country is a problem which I cannot understand.

DR. R. B. GOUR: Smuggling has increased.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: Smuggling from Pakistan.

SHRI T. R. DEOGIRIKAR: You] know it better than myself. I would ,

request the Deputy Finance Minister to satisfy us on this point as to why the revenue on betel nut has decreased by three crores of rupees this year.

As regards estate duty, I have a complaint to make, not that I am a big estate holder but, at the time when this measure was put before this House by Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, the proposed taxable limit was Rs. 75,000 and, as a result of the discussions in this House, it was raised to one lakh. After two or three years, not only has this limit gone below Rs. 75,000 but has now been placed at Rs. 50,000. I cannot understand the reason.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Becaus* big people are not dying.

SHRI T. R. DEOGIRIKAR: After all, the Central Government is not going to get it. it is only the State Governments; and if you had not done it, it would have been better. I want to make another suggestion to Government. Estate duty is all right. At the same time, you want small savings also and these small savings are free from income-tax. That you have done and that too with a good purpose. Similarly, I would say, if you want bigger amounts to be deposited in small savings, you must exempt the small savings from the wealth tax and the estate duty as well—it will not be a big amount. But if you want to attract more money by way of loans from the people then it will be proper for us to exempt small savings from estate duty and wealth tax.

Then again I have to make a complaint, a very serious complaint, because I am a publisher and connected with some press, that this year and last year, during the two years, the excise duty imposed on paper is Rs. 5 crores and customs duty is Rs. 3 crores. So, now the tax burden on paper consumed by India is Rs. 8 crores per year. I may tell you that it is not only harsh but it is cruel to tax paper to that extent. My friend Mr. Deokinandan made that

complaint in his speech last time, and I repeat it. If you have not understood the problem, and not understood the sufferings of the people, appoint a committee. He said that knowledge was being taxed. I repeat the same argument. You are taxing paper unnecessarily heavily and making it difficult for people to get books at cheaper prices. Government can afford to print books using very nice paper and distribute them free, but those undertakings which are dealing with paper and books, for them it is very difficult to bear such a high taxation, or taxation to that extent. At least do this; paper consumed for school books should not be taxed. If you give this much relief, I think the people will be much obliged to you.

Then come State-owned or State-controlled industries. We have 67 trading industries, as I said just now, for industrial development schemes. I calculated the number and the capital invested in them. I might not have calculated it properly, but the capital invested in those undertakings is Rs. 477 crores. And what is the return? I would request the Government to give a clear picture to the Parliament as regards what is happening in those undertakings. It is no use presenting us balance-sheets, we want a clear picture, a full picture of what is happening in those undertakings. Out of curiosity I looked at a balance-sheet. I referred to an industry at a place near my home at Pimpri, the Hindustan Antibiotics Private Limited, Pimpri. There you will find these figures: Profit— Rs. 57,607; Sales— Rs. 57,80,000 and Rejects—Rs. 3,52,393. I do not understand what is meant by "Rejects", and if the manufactured articles were rejected. Government must have taken steps against the officers who were responsible for producing such a stuff as was necessary to be rejected. So, I should like to be satisfied on this point and on the general point as well. I find under assets an item involving fixed capital expenditure. It is a very big item and they are the library books in possession of Hindustan Antibiotics, Pimpri. Their total cost is shown as

Rs. 1,38,540. That is quite a big amount and the library must be very good. Perhaps, these books have been presented by some world organisation, perhaps the World Health Organisation. Otherwise, India cannot afford to spend so much on a library at a place so distant from the Centre. But I should like to know whether those books for that library were purchased by Government, or whether they are a gift from some other organisation.

In the end I say that we have done much in an under-developed country like India under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. But we have yet to do more. The chief thing which we must acquire is the confidence of the people. I do not know how that confidence can be acquired. But we are lacking in something, and that is the reason why we are not receiving adequate response from the people. I want only to refer to that thing, and I would also request the Government that before undertaking further plans they will have to make a critical, survey of whatever has happened during the last ten years. I do not go to the extent of saying: Let us not have a third Plan at all. I do not say that. Some people say that instead of having periodic plans of five years each let us have a continuous plan from year to year, and why unnecessarily take upon ourselves the burden of fulfilling the financial requirements of a Five Year Plan. That is a plea advanced by some people, but I am not of that view.

Lastly, I make a request to the Government that just as you are having a separate independent Defence Budget, an independent Railway Budget, an independent Postal Budget, similarly . . .

Dn. R. B. GOUR: There is no independent Postal Budget.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: No independent budget; it is part of the General Budget.

SHRI T. R. DEOGIRIKAR: Well, it is part of the General Budget. Similarly, let planning be a part of the , General Budget. Let there be separate planning item before us for study. That will give us a correct idea as to how far we have progressed in planning and what more distance we have to cover to reach the targets.

Sir, I have done.

DR. R. B. GOUR: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am sorry that we have only the Deputy Ministers here, all of them, and not a single Minister of Cabinet rank is here. After all the Deputy Ministers, Sir, are only a ginger group between the Members of Parliament and the Cabinet. Nevertheless, Sir, in that spirit we have got to take it for granted that members of the Cabinet are present here and it is to that extent that they take this House seriously.

Sir, we and the country in general expected that when the Prime Minister himself took over the portfolio of Finance, he would come out with a Budget speech characteristic of Nehruite clarity and vividness, but we do not know- to what extent the Nehru touch is there because the outgoing Finance Minister told us that it is the touch of the Secretariat that counts to a great extent in the Ministerial utterances in this House. We do not know what percentage of the Budget speech is the secretariat touch and what percentage of it is the Nehru touch. Nevertheless, as somebody has remarked it is T. T. K.'s wine in Nehru's bottle, and it looks so because, after all, the Finance Minister told us before resigning that he had done everything for the Budget and that the *aw.* Finance Minister had only to read out the speech.

(*Interruption.*)

Well, the whole thing is Indian; the whole Cabinet is Indian. Even the outgoing Finance Minister is Indian to that extent; however much he may be assisting the foreigners, he was also an Indian outgoing Finance Minister. Nevertheless, Sir, the fact remains that

in the beginning of the third year of the Second Five Year Plan, when we have already discussed, when the whole country is aware of, when the Parliament is aware of, the difficulties that the Plan is facing, the economic distresses and the financial difficulties, the problem of resources for our planning, the Budget speech should have taken the country and the Parliament into confidence and all these difficulties and stresses should have been faced four-square. But it is unfortunate that even while dealing with the situation of prices the Prime Minister has spoken with, I should say, the typical Nehruite complacency. For instance, Sir, he says in his speech— paragraph 7, page 2, Part A of his speech—"Wholesale prices were comparatively stable in the early months . of the year, but there was a sharp rise between May and August when the index went up from 107 to 112. After August, prices have tended to fall." Then again he goes on, to give reasons for the fall in prices, and he says on pages 2 and 3, "The improvement has been due to the various measures taken to hold the price level, including controls at particular points and restraints on bank credit; it is also a reflection of the improved supplies position. This latter is, however, due to large imports which the country can hardly afford."

Now, Sir, he has dealt with the price position. I should say, in a rather lopsided manner. He has taken into consideration the wholesale price index. Now, let us see what the Explanatory Memorandum tells us. It is at page 188. The wholesale price index in the country, true, has fallen. As I told you the Explanatory Memorandum gives you a table of the wholesale price indices. Now, it is true that from 112 in August the wholesale price index number for "all commodities" has fallen to 107 in December. That is an 4 P.M. average. But what is this average made up of? Let us see the break-up of figures. They say that the food prices index has fallen. Here trully comes the factor of imports, where the country has

spent a large amount of foreign exchange, and the food prices have fallen at a very high cost that the country as a whole has paid. Then the price index of industrial raw materials has fallen too, from 120 to 115. But the prices of manufactured goods have not fallen. What is the price index of manufactured goods between August and December? 108*6 in August and 107*5 in December. There is a fall in the price index of industrial raw materials. There is a fall in the price of food articles because of the large amount of food imports. But there is no fall in the wholesale price index of manufactured goods. So, there you see the economy of our country in its true colours. On one side you see a fall in the prices of industrial raw materials, but at the same time you do not see a commensurate fall in the prices of manufactured goods. That is the "scissors" effect of a typical backward economy. It is to be taken serious note of. It is this that has to be seen, and not the fall in the prices of foodgrains because of imports, and not the fall in the prices of industrial raw materials only. Now, Sir, this is important, and I hope any spokesman of the Government, whether of the Planning Ministry or of the Finance Ministry, will be able to tell us about this particular situation obtaining in the price structure in the country.

Then, Sir, there seems to be some gloating over the fact that the prices during the last two or three months have come down to some extent, and there is also a comparison made with the prices obtaining in the same period during the last year. That in our opinion is the most complacent approach towards the price structure that is obtaining in our country. It is not a question of a slight one point or two point fall or one point or two point deficiency in the average index number of prices. What we have to see is the general tendency of prices in our economy, in our country. Any marginal fall of two or three points because of seasonal variations or because of large imports is surely not

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a sign of a healthy economy, is surely not a sign of stabilisation of prices, is surely not a sign of success of Government policy concerning the prices. It is this side of it that has to be very seriously seen and examined by Parliament, and it is on this score that Government needs a very serious examination of its own policies concerning the stabilisation of prices at a low level. I do not have the figures before me, and I am sorry I do not have the Interim Report of the Pay Commission—I have asked for it. I may get it any moment, and the moment I get it I shall be able to give precise detail—there they have shown how the working class consumer price index has consistently risen, and on that account only they have said that a certain amount of interim relief is absolutely necessary; that is why they also recommended Rs. 5 as interim relief. I will come to it later. But this is a fact that when you say certain wholesale prices have come down, even there the fall is not the same both in the case of manufactured goods and in the case of industrial raw materials, and any fall is not due to any policy of Government, except imports. When its effect on working class consumer price index is seen, you will hardly note any fall. In fact a rise is there—continuous. The Explanatory Memorandum supplied to us tells us on page 190 about the all India average working class consumer price index. Here you see it was 112 in July; 113 in August; in September and October 114; again in November 113; in December 114—November and December figures are provisional. So, there is no fall. In fact 112 or 114 is the working class consumer price index for the same period where you claim that the wholesale prices have come down and that there is a certain amount of healthy effect seen of certain Government policies of certain controls at certain points, and such sort of things. So, you see the so-called success of the Government policy that because of certain Government policies, as the Prime Minister

[Dr. **R. B. GourJ** says, of control at certain points, of bank credits, and so on, the prices have come down after August. But the working class cost of living index ought to have come down. If the food prices have come down, because food goes to form 60 per cent, or 70 per cent of the workers' consumption, if that is the position, it should reflect in the index number of working class consumer prices. But that is not so. There you find the index number not falling but remaining the same¹ at 114. Therefore, it is absolutely wrong to contend that Government has secured any advance in certain policies in relation to bringing down the prices for stabilising the price level. You can say that all that has been done successfully is a certain jugglery of figures—taking of certain all-India wholesale prices average and then telling us that here is a fall, here is a lessening of prices. Therefore, Sir, from this angle the new Finance Minister's speech misleads the Parliament and misleads the country and tries to cloud the vigilance of the country in respect of the very difficult situation that is arising, that is created because of these rising prices and fluctuating prices. **When** you see that the margin of fluctuation, the margin of fall is so small, so insignificant, that cannot be claimed as a success of any particular economic policy.

Sir, I need not say that the Prime Minister has been very kind to the country by not bringing many more taxation proposals as it was usual for our Finance Minister to do. I need not stress that point because we know that during the last session so many taxation proposals have come which were not really welcome. I do not agree with my friend Mr. Deogirikar when he says that the sum of Rs. 9 crores that comes from railway passenger fares tax goes to the States and therefore it is a help to the States. It comes from the ordinary people. The passengers in third class are not the people who can afford any fresh taxation. Therefore, so soon

after that, if there is no taxation proposal, it is not because the Government probably did not want any taxation but because they were afraid of coming with any proposal. That does not mean that on that score also there is a healthy change in the outlook or approach of the Finance Minister because the Prime Minister himself has taken over the portfolio. Already taxation during the last session has been so heavy that the whole matter has really to be gone into to see as to what could be done to afford relief.

Sir, the Finance Minister's speech does not take into account the other distressing feature in our economy. The most important side of it, Sir, is the large number of closures of textile mills. Now, this is very important and we have to take a very serious note of it. A number of textile factories, in particular are being closed down. There are many reasons for that closure. I can give a number of instances of these closures. In State after State we find this phenomenon. Take for example, in Pondicherry the Bharatiya Textile Mill, the Raza Textile Mill of Ramcur the Kishen-garh Textile Mill in Kanpur. Well, I can give a number of instances. They are all closed down. Why? There are a number of reasons. And what are those reasons that the industrialists themselves are coming forward with? The reasons that they give are that they have got ample stocks, there is accumulation of stocks. They say that they are not able to continue production and therefore they have to go in for closure of these mills. The hon. Minister for Commerce and Industry has told us in this House in reply to questions that 3 or 4 months' stock is generally the normal stock for textile mills. But if there is more stock than that in particular units, and if they are not able to dispose of that stock, and if then they are closing down their factories and harassing their labour, well, that is a matter which we shall have to go into. Who will go into it? The

Government should go into that matter and find out whether it is a fact that their distribution of export quotas is defective, or that larger units are going away with larger quotas of exports and certain smaller units who cannot seek favours from them are suffering from lack of any quotas being given to them for exports. You have to examine this question. Is it a fact that wagons are not supplied to them in time, or is there any defect in the quality of the cloth that the offtake is not there as it ought to be? Then, Sir, some of these units and managements are coming forward and saying that they want certain financial aid. Well, I would even go to the extent of asking you to enquire whether the machinery in those particular units is up to the mark, or whether the war-time exploitation of the machinery has been so heavy that the entire machinery requires to be renovated and that renovation is not taking place. Then they say that they want financial aid, assistance and loans, and the Government, whether it is the State Government or the Central Government, is not coming forward with the necessary aid. They say that excise duty is rather too heavy and they are unable to pay it. Well, Government has to find out how much of it is genuine and how much of it is not genuine. The whole matter needs investigation and the whole matter needs urgent attention. Then, Sir, in this textile industry, in particular, you find the tendency towards monopoly and at the same time there are uneconomic units. Now, here a probe is required. You have to go into it. There are cases of utter mismanagement and ruination of the units because of mismanagement and swindling. And finally the industrialists come forward and say that there are difficulties and the Government is not giving loans and assistance is not forthcoming, and therefore they are closing their mills and the workers will naturally be thrown out on the streets. We have therefore to see how much of it is fraud and

, how much of it is genuine on the part of the managements. We just cannot keep quiet about it. We just cannot sleep over this question of large-scale closures. Well, Sir, let us not go into any theorisation. The matter is quite serious and we have to go into it and make a thorough enquiry into it. Where there are cases of fraud and where there are cases of deception, we shall have to come forward with a heavy hand on the managements concerned. The workers have got to be protected. Any amount of your legislation with regard to industrial disputes or retrenchment and lay off compensation will not afford any substantial protection. It is true that it is some kind of protection. But we also see such cases where the workers' claims are given a good-bye. So, this question of closure of mills has to be gone into and seriously examined. (*Interruption.*) And you can examine whether they really need any relief in the excise duties or they are playing only a fraud on us. If they need any relief in excise, give it by all means, because after all the national industry has got to be protected, and the worker also has got to be protected.

Then, Sir, I want to dwell on the labour policy of the Government, and I crave a little indulgence on your part and on the part of the House because this particular aspect in regard to the labour policies of our Government has to be gone into, because this is a victim of negligence. Firstly, Sir, I am afraid whether the Government of India have any labour policy at all. If at all there is a labour policy, then it is one of no co-ordination, no check-up and no control, only some laws, and that too very halting. Now, Sir, there was recently a meeting held of major trade union organisations in the country, for example, the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, the All India Trade Union Congress, the All India Railwaymen's Federation, the All India Defence Employees Federation: the

[Dr. R. B. Gour.] Confederation of Central Government Employees, the All India Port and Dock Workers Federation, the All India Sugar Workers Federation, the National Federation of Posts and Telegraph Employees and the All India Bank Employees' Association. These are the organisations whose representatives came together recently to discuss the urgent problems arising out of the Government's labour policy and the acute problems that the workers and employees are facing. Now, in their discussion the life experiences of the workers and employees in this country were summed up in the following words:—

"The mounting dissatisfaction among the working classes as a result of the general policy of the Government resulting from—

(i) absence of any co-ordinated labour policy on the part of the Government to secure better wages, better living conditions and social security."

I would say that the point arising out of a lack of any policy on the part of the Government is that there is no co-ordinated policy in relation to securing fair wages, better living conditions or Social security and so on. Parliament passed more than a year ago an amendment to the Industrial Disputes Act. There, while the management was given the right to discharge a worker even when the case was pending before a court, the amendment provided that a protected workman, if he is an officer of any union, could not be dismissed like that. The protected workman was given protection when the Act was amended, but it said that so far as the Act applied to the States, to the industries in States, the State Governments shall have to frame their own rules, defining protected workman. The Andhra Pradesh Government has not framed the rules as yet, many months after the amendment was

passed. Who is to do it? When it comes to a question of any protection, they say that without the framing of the rules, the relevant Sub-section of the Act could not be brought into force.

You have amended the Industrial Disputes Act for retrenchment compensation after the Supreme Court judgment in the Barsi Light Railway case, but the benefit of the amendment could not be given to the employees of the Barsi Light Railway. You were forced to amend the Act because of the Supreme Court judgment in the Barsi Light Railway employees case, but the benefit of the amendment does not go to them. Recently, they said that they had decided that the seniority of the Barsi Light Railway people would be accepted, but what about the loss of pay that they have incurred? What about the loss of increments that they have incurred since the taking over of the Barsi Light Railway by the Railway Board in 1954?

I can give you a number of instances.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SAVITRY DEVI NIGAM) in the Chair.]

You say that minimum wages must be fixed. You amended the Minimum Wages Act by saying that by 1962 minimum wages shall be fixed for sweated labour. The old Hyderabad Government was not appointing a minimum wages committee for municipal and local body workers saying that the life of the Minimum Wages Act had expired, but after the life of the Act was extended up to 1962, the present Andhra Pradesh Government is not appointing a minimum wages committee for local body employees of the ex. Hyderabad State. They are not doing anything for the implementation of the Act. Nor are they appointing one to revise those of the Local Body Labour in ex-Andhra areas.

Here in your Tripartite Labour Conference, you have said that minimum wages shall be fixed on a certain basis, that minimum wages must be need-based. It is a welcome decision. So far as the fixation of the minimum wages is concerned, it was being sabotaged under the pretext of the paying capacity of the concern, but now they have come out very clearly that minimum wages must be need-based, must be based on the minimum needs of the worker—minimum food requirements, minimum clothing, minimum everything. In their resolution they say that this is a sort of directive to the tribunals, that this is the policy laid down for all Boards fixing minimum wages—whether they are wage boards, tribunals, or wage committees. But is this being implemented? Has this approach been accepted by the State Governments? Is this being insisted upon by the tribunals and committees?

You gave the benefit of lay-off, that, when a worker is laid off, he should be paid 15 days' salary, that he should be paid for half the period of the lay-off. But what is it that is happening? If after the lay-off a worker is retrenched, then notice pay is deducted from the lay-off compensation that had been paid. After the lay-off, if a worker is retrenched, then he must not only get the layoff compensation but he should also get retrenchment compensation and notice pay for a month. That is the spirit of the Act. What is actually happening is that after a period of lay-off for 40 days, if a worker is retrenched, then notice pay is deducted from the lay-off compensation that he has already secured. Is that the way that an Act passed here should be implemented by the people below?

I will give you a number of examples of how the Acts passed here, the policy declared by the Tripartite Conference, the fine sentiments expressed in Parliament by the representatives of the Treasury

Benches, are not implemented at all. There is no co-ordination at all. The general body of the Employees State Insurance Corporation decided that for a particular number of insured employees, there should be hospitals, there should be annexes to existing hospitals. This decision was taken long ago, but has this been implemented by any State? No. In Kanpur land has been purchased but no hospital has come into existence. In Bombay land was purchased, but no hospital has come into existence. In Calcutta, the Chief Minister himself is opposed to the construction of a hospital there. They say that the Andhra Pradesh Government has decided to construct a hospital or an annexe, but nothing is forthcoming. I would like to know this: When the general body of the Employees State Insurance Corporation has taken a decision that hospitals should be constructed for a given number of insured employees, why is it that the State Governments are not implementing it? The Employees' State Insurance is your subject. It is part of the Central Labour Ministry. Now, the funds of this Insurance you are using all right for investment in Government securities, but you are not seeing that the benefit that that particular Corporation has to provide to the employees, even according to its own decisions, are not given to the employees because the State Government are sabotaging them. What are you doing? That is why we are saying that the policy in relation to labour laid down by the Central Government, either in the speeches of the Ministers or in the Resolutions of the Tripartite Labour Conferences is not being implemented. You yourselves in the same Tripartite Labour Conference decided on the question of rationalisation and increased workload also that the industrialists or the factory owners have to fulfil certain tests. They are: (1) that it should be proved that rationalisation is absolutely necessary in the interests of the unit itself in the interest of the national economy (2) the effect of rationalisation must not

[Dr. R. B. Gour.] result in retrenchment, (3) the workload should be examined by a party that should be agreed to by the both the employers and the employees, (4) that the benefit of rationalisation in the form of increased income for factory must be shared by the workers also. These were the four conditions laid down. The need of rationalisation must be proved in the interest of national economy and country, no worker should be retrenched, any increase in workload should be first examined by a party that should be acceptable both to the employers and the employees, the benefits of rationalisation must be shared by the employees also. Now this Tripartite Labour Conference is not just a conference between the labour and the Government. Even representatives of employers, practically all the major industrial houses were represented or their organisations were represented in it. But what happens? Rationalisation goes on in violation of this agreement, in violation of this unanimous decision of the Tripartite Conference held in Delhi itself last year. So, what is happening to your labour policy then?

When we criticised the Government of India saying that you are standing for a wage-freeze, then the Labour Minister got a little wild and said, "No, we want an increase. We are not against wage increase." He said, "We are not against wage increase." Then what happens? You are not against wage increase, you in fact want a wage increase. Every trade union organisation in the country says: "When the Five Year Plan has increased production, you must also increase the share of the workers and the wages must be increased." When that is the case, then we have to take what the Government of India says with a pinch of salt. We have to ask you, if your policy is not one of wage-freeze, if your policy is one of wage increase in specific cases. If your policy is one of giving the worker his equitable share in the

industrial income that he has produced, then tell us what you have done in this field.

Now, here it is, the net income from factory and industries. These are the figures given to us in the various publications of the Government of India themselves. It says that in 1950 the total income from factory—that is the net income—was Rs. 550 crores whereas that in 1954 was Rs. 760 crores. There was a rise of Rs. 210 crores in net income. Let us see how this was distributed between the employers and the employees. The total wage and salaries inclusive was Rs. 232 crores in 1950 and it was Rs. 249 crores only in 1954—a rise by Rs. 17 crores only whereas the profits rose from Rs. 318 crores in 1950 to Rs. 511 crores in 1954. I think the Government of India has decided about socialism by 1954 and yet this is the result of the policy and this is the workers' share in the income of the factories. Therefore, we are not demanding charity. We say here that we have worked hard to increase the national income and the income of the industries and factories. You can see that the output has increased but there is not commensurate rise in the total employment. That means the output per worker has increased even if a general figure is taken. The rise in productivity has been of the order of 43 per cent, in the space of 5 years from 1950 to 1954—an average annual rate of 8·6 per cent, while the rise in earnings has been only 14 per cent, or an annual rate of 2·8 per cent. This is what the Labour Gazette says. The workers have given you more output, and you have been saying: "Increase your production and you will get wages." Here the production has increased but what about wages? Here we have given you more output and more income. When we turn round and ask for share in the income and ask for the increase in wages, what do you say? I want a straight answer from the Government that on the

question of wages, they will have to take a very very clear stand in this respect. You cannot again and again tell us that first increase the output and then ask for wages. Here is the increased productivity, here is the increased income and there are the increased prices. You can't ask us, "Go and suffer the high prices also and give us more work." It will be unfair. Therefore, on this question of wages I say, the Labour Ministry has failed to protect the rights of the labour. I am sorry that such is the situation. I am glad that the hon. Prime Minister is here. Once, addressing some outsiders, foreign experts in this country, he had remarked that the Communists are indulging in a sort of cold war against the Government in the industrial field. I am afraid that the boot is on the other leg. It is the Government which is conducting a hot war against the labour in certain respects.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Question.

DR. R. B. GOUR: You can question but you can see it in the life experience of the worker. I would like to ask: who is fair on this question of workers' share in the national output? You cannot just say that we are conducting a cold war in the industrial field. In fact, most reasonable stand on the part of the labour is provoking a most hostile attitude on the part of the Government. You can see how a whole section of the Central Government employees had to go all out and to what extent. You had appointed the first Pay Commission. It was the recommendation of the first Pay Commission that the rise in the cost of living must also reflect in the rise in D.A. but you did not implement it. The employees told you, "You will have to give us the increased D.A. and you will have to give us a new Pay Commission." For this simple demand they had to go all the way and give notice of a strike. Then you come round and say, "Well, gentleman, you are not patriotic. Here is an order against

you, to massacre you if you go on strike." Well, this is the attitude of a Government which claims to build socialism in the country. On whose shoulders would you like to build socialism? Certainly not on the shoulders of these employees who are the real builders of socialism in the country, and it is against them you say that here is an order or Ordinance. You say: "Here is an amendment of the Conduct Rules that even if you demonstrate, you will be removed. If your union is not recognised within six months that union has to be dissolved." What is all this? You want to prevent the organisation of the labour, you want to prevent the unity of the workers and for this small thing, for a most reasonable demand of a Second Pay Commission, which you ultimately accepted, the workers had to go all the way and actually they were on the verge of strike. It was at the eleventh hour that you accepted it. This is how the worker is being denied his just, very genuine, and very very reasonable, demands. This is how the workers have to sacrifice their utmost. And even after that, what has happened? After the Pay Commission had accepted a rise in the prices, finally, what happened? Only an additional Rs. 5 is offered as if it is a charity and even that only for some employees.

We would like to know whether this really is the labour policy of the Government that claims to build socialism in this country. What is their attitude towards the recognition of unions? Why don't you straightaway come forward and say that that union may be recognised which claims the majority through secret ballot? You want democracy in the country, but you don't seem to want it in industry. You claim that you have a Constitution and according to that, the party that has the majority in Parliament can form the government. But when it comes to giving the same right to workers, to choose their men by secret ballot, when they say, "Let there be secret ballot and let the union

[Dr. R. B. Gour.] which claims the majority, be recognised," you don't agree. Why this difference? You want to bolster up rival trade unions in this country. The policy which the British followed in relation to the entire nation, you now as rulers follow in relation to the workers, the policy of divide and rule. Surely, a working class divided, cannot bring in socialism in this country. A united, organised working class is the foundation for any step to be taken for building socialism and to break down vested interests.

(Interruption.)

Do not speak to me about A.I.T.U.C. or I.N.T.U.C. but speak of the rights for the workers. What do we want? Let there be absolute democracy in trade unions. But do not play one union against another union, one set of workers against another set of workers, one section against another section. It is said that this is a democratic government that believes in socialism, but even a conservative government hostile to socialism would not do like this.

SHRI J. S. BISHT: Does the hon. Member mean to suggest that if the voters recognised the Congress Party, then the other parties should be wiped out?

DR. R. B. GOUR: That certainly is not my point. So far as we are concerned, we agree that if on the basis of secret ballot the various unions claim a certain proportion, let there be a common union, with proportionate representation of all the parties in the same union. If you want our policy, then I say we stand by this. After all, a trade union is not Government. Government may be by one party. But why not have more than one party in trade unions? After all, the decision is taken by the majority. So far as we are concerned, we are for one union with proportionate representatives of all sections, whatever the political or other differences may be. So far as we are concerned, we stand by that. But in fact, what we get from Government are not rays of hope, but rays of darkness so far as

this particular thing is concerned. They really encourage this sort of thing.

Let us take the Government's attitude towards labour in their own industries. Well, everybody knows about it and I do not think since the resignation of Shri V. V. Giri, any change has taken place. His contention was that the Labour Ministry—I am speaking in my own words—was, after all, an adventitious Ministry and nobody goes near it. The Railway Ministry says it would not touch it with a pair of tongs. The Communication Ministry says it would not allow the Labour Ministry to go anywhere near their workers. The Transport Ministry says it. So the Labour Ministry is charged with labour which is outside the State sector. But the private employer comes round and says, "Well, gentleman, Mr. Labour Minister, kindly look into your own affairs first." I can mention the Employees' State Insurance Corporation's Report, you yourself will find many State sector industries have not paid their share of the subscription or their contribution to the Employees' State Insurance Corporation. Some private employers have been prosecuted but who is to be prosecuted in the State sector when some State Departments are themselves involved in it? This is how things are happening.

Take for example a peculiar instance—The Hindustan Aircraft Limited. There the unskilled and the skilled workers get less than what the unskilled and the skilled workers get in any Government factory. But the officers in the H.A.L. get more than those in any Government factory. Why is that? When the workers say, "Give us Central Government factory scales, the answer is: "Yours is not a Central Government factory. It is a corporation, an autonomous corporation and when it is an autonomous corporation we cannot decide and you cannot get our wages." Then what about wage increase? What about bonus? When they ask for bonus they say Government factories do not give any bonus because they are on a no-

profit no-loss basis. The Hindustan Aircraft Ltd. is also on a no-profit no-loss basis and therefore they can have no bonus. Because the no-profit no-loss basis is there, therefore, there is to be no bonus. When it is a question of wages, then they say it is a corporation and so they cannot have the same scale as in Government factories. So you see this double standard. Either you treat them as Government factory workers or not. You cannot have both, on the question of bonus the Government factory standard and on the question of wages, the private standard. And you know what is happening? Two workers have been killed in Bangalore. In the State sector where the workers must get their interests protected better, this is the position, their interests are protected worst. They have not the right to organise, no right to demonstrate, no right to choose the union of their own choice, nothing. This is how you are conducting your affairs in the State sector. Obviously, what is the result? When there is nepotism, when there is corruption, when there is wastage and pilferage, there is not that organised labour there which can check all these abuses. You are not taking the co-operation of labour, the organised intelligent cooperation of labour. You are not allowing the workers to organise themselves, you are not allowing them to unite, you are not allowing them to democratically demonstrate, to struggle and agitate. The result is that there is frustration and obviously the whole chain of events follow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SAVITRY DEVI NIGAM): Mr. Gour, you have already taken fifty-five minutes.

DR. R. B. GOUR: That is true but I was not told in the beginning that there is a time limit. Several speakers have preceded.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SAVITRY DEVI NIGAM): All right, conclude in two minutes.

DR. R. B. GOUR: I am sorry. It is very difficult and there were speakers

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before me, in the morning too and there was no time limit.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SAVITRY DEVI NIGAM): Try to sum up.

DR. R. B. GOUR: You spoke of workers' participation in the management. There was a seminar about it and the Andhra Pradesh Government was the one Government that had not participated there but then, is this being implemented anywhere? You yourselves had to revise your policy and you now speak of workers' cooperation in management, instead of workers sharing and participating in the management. Ultimately, what it means is that you will not get relevant material, the sales and purchase policy of the concern will not be examined by the so-called committee or the board where the representatives of the workers will be included. There will be absolutely no powers and they will not get even the necessary and relevant papers to go through and so, the policy remains in the hands of the management as in the old days. What is it that you want the workers to cooperate in? What is it that you want the workers to participate in? How is it that this is being implemented in your own State'sector? You have not taken into account your own promises given one or two years ago. You said that you would have joint consultation machinery in the Railways at every level so that efficiency was increased. You have not done it. That being so, why do you come round and say that you want the workers to participate in the industry, that you want the worker to be a leading partner in this co-operative endeavour of building socialism and all that? Your whole attitude towards labour is still basically hostile.

Then, Madam, I must say a few words about the social security measures. You are still hesitant in applying the provident fund to all the industries without any exemption. The provident fund amounts are with the Central Government and you can utilise those amounts for national development and you can take loans

[Dr. R. B. Gour.] from these amounts. Now, here is an important question concerning the resources, huge amounts are in this provident fund. Why should there be any exemption? Let there be no exemption for the private or the public sector. Not only that you have exempted some industries from the application of the provident fund but you have also allowed private provident funds to exist in this country. For example, you have the Birla Industries Provident Fund. Why should the Government allow the Birla Industries to maintain a separate provident fund when there is an Act for the creation of a provident fund for the whole of the country? We cannot understand as to why they should be allowed. If other industries could come in, why not the Birlas? Why this particular exemption? The entire provident fund must be taken over and the provident fund provisions must be applied to everybody and every industry. Therefore, I wish to say that the treatment meted out to labour is still step-motherly; it is surely not a treatment that labour should expect from a Government pledged to socialism.

Madam, I have now got the Pay Commission's Report that I was referring to. They say that in January, 1957, the all-India working class consumer prices index was 381; in August it was 402. You see there is a continuous rise with fluctuations of three or four or five points, just like 399 or so. Therefore, to say that any price reduction has taken place because of Government policies is untrue. The Price Minister's claim that the control over the bank credit has gone a long way in checking this price is also not wholly correct. I quite agree that the food imports have affected the supply position but surely a very bold step is required for bringing down the prices and for stabilising the prices at a lower level. This is a very obnoxious weapon in the hands of the monopolists especially to rob the people of their entire earnings. They raise the prices and we lose our wages. That is the most obnoxious weapon in the

hands of the monopolists and the consumer classes, the producer classes, suffer. On this score also, what is required is a very serious and a bold step to reduce the prices and then pursue a policy that will keep the prices steady.

I would like to take only five or six minutes. I do not want to take much time of the House. I will finish by five. After all, nobody else is coming up.

Now, I want to give you just one example of, what I should say, the colonies of the Central Government, the Union Territories. This morning you spoke about Delhi because of your intimate connections with Delhi. I would like to speak something about Himachal Pradesh. I do not know what they are doing. They said that after some time Himachal Pradesh could be merged in Punjab but I am afraid steps are being taken to merge it with Uttar Pradesh. I am sorry, Madam, I have to speak in that vein.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Part of a bigger State?

DR. R. B. GOUR: U. P. will be big and Himachal Pradesh will also be bigger.

SHRI J. S. BISHT: You need not worry on that score.

DR. R. B. GOUR: I must worry because, as a representative of certain interests in the country, I must say that I am worried about it. One single point I would like to say is this. They say that the Government of India loans to H. P. have increased substantially, to two crores from 47 or 60 lakhs of rupees but, where has this increased amount gone? The original figure was something like sixty or seventy lakhs; I have to brush up my memory a bit but, where has this increased amount gone? It has gone to increase and inflate the cost of the administration and certainly not the standard of living of the people there. Let us see how things are going on. Madam, it is tragic to see that there

are only two colleges in the whole of Himachal Pradesh, one Degree College at Mandi and another Intermediate College at Bilaspur and for these two wonderful colleges in that wonderful State of Himachal Pradesh, you have one Director of Education, one Deputy Director of Education and another Assistant Director of Education. This is how education is advanced in Himachal Pradesh with the assistance of the hon. Deputy Home Minister here. Let us see how the Health Department is expanding in Himachal Pradesh. There is to be an Additional Principal Medical Officer for the Territorial Council; another Principal Engineering Officer for the P.W.D. and sixteen subdivisional officers more. How many Secretariats are there? Lt.-Governor's Secretariat, the Territorial Council Secretariat, the Chief Secretary's Secretariat, three Secretariats for one Union Territory. There is complete socialism in Himachal Pradesh. This is how we are building up Himachal Pradesh, that backward territory. Wheat is selling at Rs. 40 per maund in certain villages in Himachal Pradesh. What about the development of Himachal Pradesh? Most of the irrigation projects are as a stand-still. Kohl is sunk, silt is deposited in the Kohl. The entire figures that they have given in regard to irrigation are incorrect and if we look into it, we will find that irrigation is not up to the mark as they have claimed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SAVITRY DEVI NIGAM): Dr. Gour, it is about five. Would you like to conclude just now?

DR. R. B. GOUR: H.P. is such a big topic that I want five minutes more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SAVITRY DEVI NIGAM) : Would the House like to sit for five minutes more?

Wo hon. Member dissented.)

Yes, the hon. Member will continue. Yes, you can speak.

5 P.M.

DR. R. B. GOUR: Now, Madam, look at the employees, the school teachers, the various employees of the health department and other employees. Now, you know what they have done? They are no more Government employees. They are employees of the Territorial Council. Now, what is this Territorial Council? It is not a Government body. They say it is a corporate body. Now, because it is a corporate body, their continuity of service goes; their seniority goes. When it is merged, what will happen to their service? If and when you decide that they merge with Punjab, what will happen to them? Now, the whole approach to this Himachal Pradesh Territory is as though it is a territory that has been acquired by somebody. There is a feeling that the administration there is being stuffed with persons of a different region and that they are not taken in. In any backward territory you must encourage local personnel to take up the administrative posts, whereby they can govern their own affairs, in which case only they can instil confidence in the people there, but as you go on importing officials into Himachal Pradesh, the people say that Himachal Pradesh is becoming a colony of U.P., because all the officials are coming from U.P. and are dumped in Himachal Pradesh. Whatever it is, the question is when you do that, that administration becomes useless from the point of view of administration of the people whom they are expected to administer.

SHRI ABHIMANYU RATH (Orissa): Will not the officers there be useful during polling?

DR. R. B. GOUR: The point is that the whole thing is going to be a very serious problem for those people.

Madam, I must not take much of your time. But what about this? Recently, to cite an example, I received this wire, and I think many other hon. Members must have received this

[Dr. R. B. Gour.] wire. It is this, "Registrar Co-operative Himachal Pradesh who is the Chairman of the State Federation being inexperienced has mishandled and mismanaged its affairs which has resulted closure of Himachal Co-operative Development Federation printing press on Twenty-eighth February and throwing out of employment entire labourers especially for no fault of theirs. Matter serious. Your immediate intervention solicited."

Now, this telegram must have gone to the Home Ministry also. Now, you appoint some gentleman as Registrar of Co-operatives. The same gentleman is the President of the Cooperative Federation and the Federation runs all these. The press has been closed. Now, the whole thing has been mismanaged. Now the workers have nothing to fall back upon. Where are they to go? There is no labour department; there is no labour administration; even the registration of trade unions takes months. Now, that is how Himachal Pradesh's economy is being developed by the Union Ministry of Home Affairs.

Then one thing Madam. I will give one or two examples and you will be happy to hear them because this morning you were all praise for the Social Welfare Board, and this is what those ladies of the Social Welfare Board have done there. Now the Chairman of the Social Welfare Board in Himachal Pradesh is Shrimati Rani Girija Devi, and she happens to be the wife of Shri ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SAVITRY DEVI NIGAM): DO not make personal references.

DR. R. B. GOUR: It is in the Himachal Pradesh gazette; It is no private

business. I am quoting from the gazette of December 28, 1957. Now, she is the wife of the Lieutenant-Governor himself. Now, she has acquired huge lands in Himachal Pradesh. The whole details are given here. They own lands in U.P.; they are big landlords in U.P. Now, what happens? Similarly, the Vice-Chairman of the Social Welfare Board has acquired land. Now, this is a published fact. Now, if you want ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SAVITRY DEVI NIGAM) : It is time to conclude, Dr. Gour.

DR. R. B. GOUR: Is this the correct way of looking at things in that Territory which is backward, looking to the interests of the *pahari* people there who are suffering from many things— low production, backward production, poverty and so on? This is how they are being uplifted. Others are developed at their cost, and they are suffering. So, Madam, this is the condition of Himachal Pradesh by representing whose grievances I think I have done some justice to Himachal Pradesh. I am afraid I cannot dilate on this any further because there is very little time at the disposal of the House, and I am sorry only with these remarks I have to conclude. I will only say this that many things have to be done in relation to improving the administration in Himachal Pradesh and cleaning it up.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SAVITRY DEVI NIGAM): The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow, March 4, 1958.

The House adjourned at five minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 4th March 1958.