

## NOTICE OF HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION

DR. R. B. GOUR (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, before that, I wish to draw the attention of the House to the following: I had given notice of half-an-hour discussion on

- (i) setting up of a Fertiliser Factory in Kothagudium in Andhra Pradesh
- (ii) claims of war service candidates in Central Excise Collectorates in Madras and Hyderabad.

But I learn that neither the Commerce and Industry Ministry nor the Finance Ministry have sent any reply so far to the Rajya Sabha Secretariat. The rules require a notice of 3 days and it is about a week now since I have given these notices.

I wish to draw the attention of the House to this lapse on the part of the Ministries concerned.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Yes, you have drawn its attention.

## THE APPROPRIATION (No. 4) BILL, 1957

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI): Mr. Chairman, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the service of the financial year 1957-58, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Sir, the Bill does not need much of an explanation. It provides for the drawal out of the Consolidated Fund of monies that have to be made available in order to meet the expenditure charged on that fund and those which have been voted by the Lok Sabha. The figures in the Bill follow the provisions shown in the Budget

documents and are inclusive of the sums voted on account and provided for in the Appropriation (Vote on Account) Act of 1957, for five months' supply, which this House has also approved of.

Hon. Members are already in possession of the Budget documents. There has been a general discussion on the Budget in this House during the last session. I do not therefore wish to take the time of the House further at this stage. My colleagues and I shall try to deal with such of the points as may arise during the debate during the next two or three days. Sir, I move.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Motion moved:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the service of the financial year 1957-58, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

SHRI J. V. K. VALLABHARAO (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, let me at the outset express my strong disapproval and also that of the people of Maharashtra and Gujarat of the attitude of the Home Ministry in not rectifying the wrong done to the people of Maharashtra and Gujarat. The Home Minister's reply in the Lok Sabha regarding the demands of these two great people smacks of obstinacy rather than of sagacity. The Home Minister in his reply said that the entire nation backed his solution of the problem. But he did not take into consideration the verdict of the people in unequivocal terms in Gujarat and Maharashtra where they have rejected *in toto* the proposal for a bilingual Bombay.

Whenever this question was raised either in the other House or here, the issue of Bombay was brought forward as a hurdle that stands in the way of solving the question of Samyukta Maharashtra and Maha-Gujarat. In the Lok Sabha the other day the chosen representatives of the people

[Shri J. V. K. Vallabharao.]  
of Maharashtra and Gujarat stated that they were prepared to discuss and arrive at an agreement on the question of Bombay but they wanted the Ministry to come out with a categorical statement that they will constitute Maharashtra and Gujarat into two separate States. If the Government want people's sanction further, it was also given in the recent elections to the Ahmedabad and Bombay Municipal Corporations. That is the one issue especially in Bombay and that one issue was put before the people of Bombay as to whether Samyukta Maharashtra should be formed or not. The people of Bombay by an overwhelming majority have recorded their votes in favour of Samyukta Maharashtra but how is it that the lovers of democracy refuse to accept this verdict and go on sticking to the age-old formula which has aroused so much of discontentment among the people of Maharashtra and Gujarat. I would therefore request the Government and the Home Ministry in particular not to be obstinate on this issue but to be more sagacious and rectify the wrong done to these two great nationalities.

Then I would like to make one comment regarding the Health Ministry. I am sorry that the Minister for Health is not here but I would like to know from the Ministry of Health whether they are serious in their recent appraisal of the Influenza position in the country. Throughout the country, and especially in my State, people feel that the Health Ministry has miserably failed because weeks ahead they knew that this epidemic is likely to spread and even today it is in epidemic form in cities like Hyderabad, Vizag and others. What the Health Ministry has done in the initial stages was to issue a communique saying that people should stock or the Government should keep sufficient stocks of penicillin. What has penicillin to do with it? Of course I am not a medical man but medical men would come and say

that penicillin is also a treatment but what has happened? Immediately after the statement of the Ministry and also a circular letter by the Directorate, penicillin went underground. It was not available to common man for other serious diseases and ultimately it was found that penicillin is useful only in cases where there was lung and some other serious complications. Now there is no serious attempt to control essential drugs. The Drug Control Order has not come into force and even to this day we find in many parts of our State drugs go to the blackmarket and there is adulteration of drugs. Recently there was a case—I don't want to go into the details—of Ganesh Medical Hall in Hyderabad. This great firm is notorious for selling adulterated medicines but all the same they are made Government Chemists and the Chemist of the Rajpramukh also. I would like to know from the Government why is it that they are hesitating to promulgate an Ordinance or to bring a Bill to control essential drugs and see that the drugs are available to the people or else the chemists will sell these essential commodities in the blackmarket.

Then I come to the activities of the Ministry of Labour which are far from satisfactory in spite of the many assurances that are given to us by the hon. Minister for Labour and Employment. The Minister admitted the other day in the Lok Sabha about the unhelpful attitude of employers in not implementing certain awards that are given by courts and also in not implementing the labour Acts. We sit here, debate and discuss all aspects and pass a legislation hoping that it will help the down-trodden workers but what actually happens? This legislation when it goes down to be implemented, gets scant respect even from the officers of the Ministry of Labour. I am charging the Ministry with this, not irresponsibly. I can quote several instances where the officers knowing full-well that certain Acts of Parliament, certain ameliorative Acts which

are helpful to the workers are not implemented by the management, have not cared even to question the management nor taken any action against them. There are several States and next to us is the State of Punjab where they don't even observe Factory Rules, the rules for safety. In Ferozepore there are factories which do not observe the minimum precautionary measures. Here, in the heart of Delhi, there is a motor transport company which refuses to implement the award of a Tribunal; they not only refuse to implement it, but tell the workers that nobody could make them implement it. I would like to ask the Ministry this. Is it the unhelpful attitude of employers or is it the revolting attitude of the employers? If a worker refuses to do a particular job, he will be dismissed, suspended and if he rises and puts forward a meagre demand and gives strike notice, then all the forces of law will be let loose on him to cow him down but what happens to these forces of law when it is a question of dealing with the employer? There is the case of thousands of workers engaged in manganese mines. I would ask the Ministry, to this day, how many workers in the manganese mines are given the minimum wages as prescribed by law? In my own State there are about a dozen companies where they refuse to pay the minimum wages. Not only that. They don't even maintain muster rolls or attendance registers. They don't implement any ameliorative measures. Added to that, the workers are denied drinking water at the work-spot. This is the sorry state of affairs. This was brought to the notice of the officials of the Labour Department by workers in writing several times that they are denied their proper wages, that wages are not paid regularly, that they are not given minimum wages and that many mediators play havoc in their payments. Yet the officers of the Labour Department would come, chat with the management and then go away. There are cases, and I can cite the case of one company which employs about 10,000 workers but only 2,000 workers find place on the

50 R.S.D.—6.

muster rolls when it is a question of paying leave wages or compensation. The Regional Commissioner of Labour and the Factory Inspector (Central) visit the place and say that they have checked their registers and only 2,000 people are there on the register, who are enlisted.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH (Bombay):  
What is the name of the Company?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Why do you want the name? Please avoid names.

SHRI J. V. K. VALLABHARAO: I have been avoiding the names but because he is very anxious, I would like to name the firm. It is the company known as Seth Durga Pershad Narsing Das Fateh Chand and Company of Tumsar, Madhya Pradesh, a company which is a virtual monopolist of manganese ore in my State. Yet in its record, to this day—and the entire Labour Department knows fully well that—this company never kept proper muster rolls. But all the same this company goes scot-free even without paying proper income-tax, if my information is correct. Whenever the workers there rise and report these things, all that they get is a visit from the Regional Commissioner or a visit from the Conciliation Officer, they hear the complaint and then they go. The management closes the mines and after a couple of months reopen them again with new labour force, at reduced wages and without compensation at any stage. This has happened twice during the past three years. I have brought this to the notice of the Government in separate memos; but all that I receive in reply is "The matter is under consideration" and the workers are unemployed and starving.

Sir, this is not an isolated case. When the motor workers' case was presented in Parliament, the Minister gave us many assurances, saying that the working conditions of the motor workers will be regularised and some relief given to them. These assurances were there, but all these six

[Shri J. V. K. Vallabharao.]  
 years, up to this day no steps have been taken to bring in a Bill or to at least frame some rules dealing with their working conditions. In the State of Andhra a tripartite committee was appointed consisting of employers, the Government and representatives of the workers, with a judge as chairman of the committee. This committee gave its recommendations, but the managements refused to implement them. And the Government simply looks on and says, "What can we do?" Is this a Welfare State? I would like to know. Is it a State that is going to achieve socialism when even these minimum rights of the workers are denied?

Sir, as you know, recently we passed the amendments to the Industrial Disputes Act, providing for compensation in cases of retrenchment. But even this little concession given to the workers is being denied in practice. And by whom? By no less an authority than the South Eastern Railway management. In Vishakhapatnam, the workers were engaged in laying out new tracks for the oil refiners. They worked for one and a half years and then they got retrenchment notices, without compensation. The workers said: "Either give us compensation or at least give us alternative employment. If you have no alternative employment, at least give us recommendations for similar jobs at Bhilai where there is ample scope for employment." But the Railway administration is silent and the Labour Department does not move. Meantime, the workers are unemployed and starving. For what? For laying a track, for doing a national job. All the same the worker is thrown to the winds.

Then there is the case of delay also. Whenever the workers have certain legitimate demands they give notice of their demands, but they have to wait for months together. The Labour Department or the management never move. Then the workers go on strike,

When they go on strike, some gentlemen will come out and say, the workers have misbehaved. And the Home Ministry will come out with an ordinance.

I will just now give an instance. The workers of the Hindustan Shipyard gave notice on 24th July 1957 enumerating certain grievances. It is already one month now. Neither the management nor the Government have replied them. They send us telegrams saying the only way left to them is to resort to strike. I would like to know whether it is not the silence of the Labour Department and the negligence of certain officers that will be responsible if the workers are obliged to resort to a strike? The workers have said "Either refer the matter to arbitration or an industrial tribunal, or let at least a conciliation officer know what we are asking for." But nobody comes. And this is the sorry state of affairs even in a state-managed industry.

Sir, to this I would like to add one more thing. The Minister of Labour, himself a veteran trade union leader, the other day said that something was wrong somewhere and we must check it up. I would humbly suggest to the Government that unless and until the Government makes up its mind to give working classes representatives also a share in the machinery of checking up, nothing will be solved. Factories will go on refusing to implement the law. Industries will go on denying the just demands of the workers. So there should be a permanent machinery, industry-wise if necessary, to make surprise visits and checks, to see whether the factories are properly adhering even to the safety rules that are provided for in the legislation. My hon. friend Shri Parikh may laugh it away, but I would like to tell him that though he wanted me to quote only one instance, I can at random tell him not one instance, but I can quote hundred mills, oil and rice mills, in Andhra, where they do not adhere to hours of work per day, where they do

not adhere to leave with wages, to weekly holidays with pay and so on. All the same, they go scot-free. The Labour Department officers just come and pay the usual visits. Not even that. I would like even to go to the extent of charging—if I am permitted—the Labour Department of working hand in glove with certain of the mill-owners and also the employers, in denying the workers their just rights. Here is an example. When I pointed out to the government, to the local Labour Department, that nearly 10,000 workers go to work in the mills and only 2,000 are being paid compensation, then hurriedly the Labour Department officer goes there and during the night time he checks the musters and puts his “dhobi mark” on the muster-roll of 2,000 and says, “What can I do? the muster only shows that much.” But day in and day out, he sees 10,000 workers and as I said, he certifies that the number is 2,000 only.

With these words, I would like to come to my home State. As one representing the State of Andhra, I must say frankly not only as a Member of the Communist Party but as one belonging to Andhra, that we are very much discontented and we strongly resent the way the Central Government is handling Andhra State. Andhra State is not shown any consideration in the matter of allotments under the second Five Year Plan. Laudable aims are proclaimed in the preamble of the Second Five Year Plan. It is said that this Plan is intended “to lay the foundation of industrial progress” and “secure to the greatest extent feasible, the balanced development of all parts of India.” Sir, I shall give you a few examples of how industrially Andhra is being developed by the Government of India. As everyone is aware, 9 per cent. of the population of the country is, in Andhra State and yet, when it is a question of allocating either industries or developing mines, or the location of higher technological institutes, the opening of fertiliser factories or medical colleges, or anything for that

matter, Andhra State is always neglected. I can give you facts and figures taken out of papers supplied by the Government. While the population of Andhra constitutes 8·8 per cent. of the total population of India, her share of the allotments is only 3·6 per cent.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

This is to stave off regional imbalances. It is not only that. During the second Five Year Plan period, the aim is to lay the foundations of industrial progress and Andhra gets 1·5 per cent of the allocations while her population constitutes 8·8 per cent. of the total. The vital thing for any nation to develop or for industries to prosper is the development of means of communications and transport. Here too, Andhra's share is 0·6 per cent. of the total allocations for the second Five Year Plan. I would like to know why this regional imbalance still continues and how long does the Government propose to continue it?

I have got a number of instances but let me come first to the case of the fertiliser factory. When the question of starting a fertiliser factory came up, the Government of India told us that we should decide ourselves between Vijayawada and Kothagudium. Accordingly, a decision was taken but then they have taken it down five hundred miles below to Neyveli. The Andhra Government, of course, gave the reply but unfortunately, the train has gone to Neyveli with the Fertiliser Factory that the people of Andhra were demanding for a long time. The Andhra Government said that with low grade coal and plenty of water supply available at Kothagudium and with rice producing areas all round, Kothagudium would be an ideal site. We asked for it and we also said, that long before the Neyveli project came into production—the power there will be available only in 1958 or 59 or even 60—Andhra State could have a factory and production could start which would be consumed by the Andhra

[Shri J. V. K. Vallabharao.]

peasantry. We urged for this place because this is in the middle of the rice bowl. Then the question of foreign exchange was raised. I would ask the Government frankly this question. Why not help us with the Nizam's Trust Funds? You may say that the Funds belong to three parties but then at least give us the Andhra quota. With that, we can run a fertiliser factory. Why not do it? The Andhra Government and all the parties in Andhra more than once represented about this matter and yet, to this day, the reply that we get is that the matter has already been decided and that we should wait and see. When the question of establishing a diesel engine factory at Visakhapatnam was raised, the Planning Commission agreed and five crores of rupees seem to have been allotted for it but no preliminary work has yet been undertaken and I am told by some quarters that the diesel engines are moving either in the eastern or in the western direction and are not going to remain in Visakhapatnam. What has happened to the Government of India? Do you want us to think or do you want to force us to think—though we do not agree with it and though we do not think there is any sense in it—of a Southern Region by your doing things in this way? I think you will make the people revolt against the very Constitution. There was the question of the Heavy Electrical Goods Manufacturing Plant and we were told that it will be located at Visakhapatnam but then, how is it that the claims of Visakhapatnam have been ignored and the Government moved far north and that too to Bhopal? They have, of course, got the usual and stock reply that the experts have decided it that way, that the considerations of foreign exchange come in, etc., etc. I will quote one more instance. The setting up of a low temperature carbonising plant at Kothagudium was also suggested by the Andhra Government which was agreed to by the Planning Commission. Why have not the Government done the preliminaries in this connec-

tion? The papers come down and go up from this department to that department but then nothing happens.

I now come to the question of education. We were told that a Higher Technological Institute has been allotted to the South. Now, in the Centre's mind, South means only Madras and nothing else, if I may be permitted to say so. A Committee was set up and the Andhra Government offered half a crore of rupees worth of buildings and materials. They offered the college building and four hundred acres of land. The Committee said that it was very good. The Andhra Government said that it wanted to start an Engineering College at Warangal for which it wanted some help. The Committee agreed that it was a very good suggestion, an excellent suggestion but then one fine morning we found that it had gone the Neyveli way. What is wrong? That is what we would like to know.

There is then the question of a Medical College for Andhra. Andhra has got only two. We have got a Medical College at Guntur and another at Kurnool. We asked for more. The Andhra Government have invested nearly two crores of rupees in the Kurnool Medical College and they only wanted an additional amount of thirty to forty lakhs of rupees. The Finance Minister while inaugurating said that it was a very good suggestion and that he would consider it but then nothing has been forthcoming so far. I would like to know from the Government as to whether in their plan and in their very laudable aims they include Andhra also or not. To crown it all, my friend, the Information Minister has been forgetting Andhra. He perhaps thinks that Andhra does not exist at all. We have this specific complaint. It is not only we of the Communist Party but also the Congress Party Members that have this feeling and they can give specific instances. We in Andhra today feel that you never care to develop Andhra, you never care to

help to foster industries in Andhra and you never care to help in expanding educational facilities there. To a question put in the Lok Sabha, the Minister for Education replied on the 16th May 1957, stating that out of a total grant of Rs. 3,50,00,000 for secondary education, Andhra is allotted only Rs. 3,31,000.

Assam gets Rs. 8.73 lakhs; Madhya Pradesh gets Rs. 26.78 lakhs; Madras which is backward gets only Rs. 10 lakhs which again is thrice as much as Andhra's; Punjab gets Rs. 64 lakhs and West Bengal gets Rs. 57 lakhs. I would like to know what is the wrong. Do you want us to remain backward? Don't you consider us as an integral part of India? Don't you think that the laudable aims claimed by you in the Second Five Year Plan should aim at balanced development of all parts of the country and also be applicable to Andhra? Should not the Second Five Year Plan be implemented with this end also in view? I hope that Government will be kind enough to consider all these criticisms and not consider them just for the purpose of replying to them and no further. They should seriously ponder over them so that they may not have adverse effects on the under-developed States.

With these remarks, Sir, I conclude.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH (Bombay): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I was surprised at what Mr. Vallabharao said just now. He said that in a mining factory 10,000 persons were working whereas only 2,000 were shown on the rolls. I think that the statement is absolutely wrong and I say it cannot be true. 'This position cannot exist. He further said that the company did not pay income-tax. 10,000 persons working and no income-tax! For how long can it last? I think, Sir, he simply gave exaggerated figures, but I will ask the hon. Minister to examine those figures. I should think, Sir, that when Members give some figures to the House they must have a sense of responsibility for what they say. How can any such company exist without paying income-tax, and how can only 2,000 men be

shown on the rolls when there are 10,000 persons working? Let me tell him, Sir, that the employers at present are at the mercy of the labour unions and let me tell him also that the unions have grown so powerful that the employers dare not disturb the labour force even where it was in excess. And what is the result, Sir? Less work and more pay. Also the employers are quite unable to enforce discipline among them. Discipline in the labour ranks is so much disturbed that there is loitering going on during work hours and a man works for four hours in place of eight hours. This is all due to the instigation of some persons who do it for their own political benefit and they do not aim at the country's more production at lesser cost. They want simply anarchy in the country or some sort of disorder in the country and so they are having their teachings preached among the labour population. If there is indiscipline and idleness among industrial workers the price of industrial goods is naturally bound to go higher and higher day by day. The hon. Member talks of labour amenities, but he forgets that the wages that are paid to industrial labour are higher than those paid in the country, for any other occupation, or they are not commensurate with the wages that are paid in other occupations, and I think, Sir, that has been the subject of their criticism all the while, but the employers are now out of the picture since they have left things to be judged by the country. Let the country judge what is the cause of the high prices prevailing, what is paid to industrial labour, what is paid to a teacher, what is to a professor and what is paid to an agricultural landless labourer. Let them examine these facts and they will find that the hand of some militant trade unions is behind all this, all this results in indiscipline and disorder. They want to disturb the smooth progress of the country towards development in every field and they want to lead the country to anarchy and chaos.

[Shri C. P. Parikh.]

Now, Sir, he said something about the bilingual State of Bombay. He speaks of Gujarat as if he has the charter to speak on behalf of those who live in Gujarat.

SHRI J. V. K. VALLABHARAO: Unfortunately people who do not belong to Gujarat decided the issue.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: Let him remember that in Gujarat 70 per cent. of the Assembly Members were elected on the Congress ticket. 70 per cent. of the Members in the Bombay Assembly were elected on the Congress ticket and they are the Congress Members in the bilingual Bombay State. Congress in Gujarat wanted three States formerly but in the interests of the country Gujarat Congress said that if the country wanted 'us' to try the bilingual State 'we' shall have it by all means and 'we' shall make sacrifices in that regard and will try to work to the best of 'our' ability. That is the stand of the Gujarat Congress and the people of Gujarat. It is no use picturing them in any other way. My friend and his party have gone to the city of Ahmedabad and have created troubles not only in other ranks but also in the student ranks. The intelligentsia and the middle classes who were misled by them have woken up, and they are now holding meetings to control the disorder and anarchy at the hands of violent elements that were allowed full sway. I think, Sir, sooner the exact position is realised, the better. It is no use mixing up political issues with the issues which each State and each district must have for its own benefit.

Now, Sir, with regard to the other points which he raised I was unable to understand what he said in a vehement tone. Such a tone I could not follow and I could not understand what he said. Therefore I will come to my own arguments.

First of all, Sir, we have got a big plan before us for an investment of

Rs. 4,800 crores in the public sector and Rs. 2,400 crores in private sector, totalling in all Rs. 7,200 crores, which is likely to go up with the increasing cost of living index and the increasing price of materials. Now, Sir, I want to point out that we have undertaken an ambitious programme, and when we have taken on an ambitious programme I want to draw the attention of the Education Ministry to it and to ask what they have done in the matter of having adequate manpower possessing the requisite qualifications, especially in the field of scientific and technical skill. I think, Sir, that all our plans and all our projects will suffer not for want of finance but for want of adequate skilled men, skilled in scientific and technical knowledge. Now, why is the United States of America rich? Why is Britain great? Why is Japan rich? They are smaller countries in the matter of population whereas our population is 37 crores. It is 13 crores in U.S.A., a smaller population in Japan and only 4 crores in England.

SHRI J. S. BISHT (Uttar Pradesh): It is about 8 crores in Japan.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: I did not recollect the exact figure. Now, Sir, what is the reason behind it? It is owing to the technical manpower in those countries, the scientific training provided there for exploiting the resources of the country. The resources of a country are soil, forests, the mines, the underground oil and other things, and these resources can be exploited only by skilled manpower, skill of an adequate technical nature. Here, Sir, let me tell you that the educational facilities that we have in the country are quite inadequate. The Prime Minister said the other day that there were 200 brilliant students who had academic degrees with distinction of the foreign universities and were serving outside. I see that the figure is more than 200. It is nearing 400. And what is the salary they are drawing in those countries? They are each drawing from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 15,000 in foreign countries. They have acquir-



ed skill and practical experience for a period of ten years after their university training. Are these people not patriots? Can they not serve India? Can we not create conditions in India in order that they can be recalled to this country to serve this country in its hour of need? I think, Sir, we are gathering statistics, but yet we want to refuse them adequate emoluments because some of us have ideas of ceiling on incomes.

They say that the highest salary in the country should be Rs. 2,000. I think that if we have such a conception, we shall not be able to build the country as fast as we desire because at the moment skill has to be paid for, has to be purchased, has to be tempted and I think we may have to surrender many notions. And just imagine what will be the saving effected? One technician may be able to increase the production by about 30 per cent. Technical skill is such an important factor that the cost of production is governed by it. We have taken in our hands great projects but the number of engineering colleges that exist in our country is only 18 and the number of post-graduate students that we are training is only 200. They may have gone up a little now, but let me tell you that it is not a matter of mere numbers. It is a matter of quality and I think that the training that is imparted is of a very inferior nature. Practical training is absent in our country in the case of post-graduate students. And what is the reason for that? Because as soon as people become graduates they immediately get some employment either in the private industry or in the service of the States or the Centre. So we have got to have a system by which the students will be tempted to be trained with guarantee of employment later on because training in science is not training of an administrative nature, that it can be finished in three or four years. Training in science means at least ten years and it must include both theoretical and practical training. But we have not got the facilities in this country

nor trained personnel even to teach the students. This is a very important aspect. The only scientific and engineering institutes we have are at Khargpur and Bangalore. Even there I find they are not having adequate trained staff to teach the subjects they have prescribed and some of the posts are lying vacant for want of trained personnel. When such is the case in the Khargpur Institute which is the pride of India, what is happening in other institutes we can very well imagine. Now, the requirements of our country are very great. We have not before us this second Five Year Plan alone; we have the third Five Year Plan before us. We are making such huge investments and we want to industrialise the country because our consuming capacity is still six times more. Our *per capita* consumption of many of the essential goods is one-sixth of the *per capita* consumption in other countries. So one can easily imagine up to what level our industrial production could go if we only increase the skill for converting the resources which Mother India has given us. But we have not been able to do that because in my opinion the training that is given to our students is not adequate and proper. Our students are brilliant and whatever training is given, only a few can afford; only students of upper middle class or the richer classes can afford to have that training. Other students whose family income is below Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 6,000 cannot afford to have this training and it is denied to them. If you want to develop the country both in the matter of agriculture and in the matter of industry, we shall have to give a good number of scholarships, not the nominal amount as is being given at present but quite a big amount. The brilliant students should be trained at the cost of the State for a period of, say, ten years with a condition that when he is fully trained he should work for the whole of his life on a certain prescribed salary with graded promotions under the orders of the State. We must also constitute an Indian Engineering Service as was recommended by the Engineering Personnel Committee.

[Shri C. P. Parikh.]

The Report of the Engineering Personnel Committee is an important document and I think that it is now under the consideration of the Government. Even though the Planning Commission has said that we would be wanting 50 per cent. more of technical persons at the end of the second Plan period, this Engineering Personnel Committee has said that is not adequate but that our requirements are far greater. If hon. Members would look into that Report they will see what our requirements of technical personnel are. We require both teachers as well as students because it is no use having students without teachers and the colleges will suffer and our colleges, I may say, are very poor at present in the matter of teachers having adequate knowledge of science and technology. The only two institutions that we have are at Khargpur and at Bangalore. A third also we have and that is the Bureau of Mines at Dhanbad. These are the three principal institutions and we are in such a predicament that even those institutions are not free. If we want to increase the wealth of the country from Rs. 10,000 crores to Rs. 40,000 crores, then we shall have to incur necessary expenses and provide for the necessary technical training. There is great demand for technical personnel and there are people patriotic enough who are available but we should train them and equip them for the job. Why are our students flocking to other countries? They are doing so because the training that is imparted in our country is very poor. As I said, there is no practical training here, no factory training given to our post-graduate students. Sir, the world is going far ahead at present in the matter of scientific and technological matters and I think the books written even two or three years back are getting old. Whatever may be the theoretical knowledge, without practical training in the field in which the student is doing research, it is of no use and therefore I want to impress upon this House that these institutions that

we have should be developed to the fullest degree possible. I am pointing this out because now we are short of finances and there is going to be cut here and there and the cut is also falling on the scientific and technical institutions also. I know the cut is also falling on them because I am connected with one of the institution. And I say that this cut on the development of technical and engineering skill should not be imposed. Our requirements in this matter should be carefully taken into account. No doubt, we are establishing three more engineering colleges at Bombay, Kanpur and Madras but we believe in quantity and not in quality. Sir, in science and technology quantity does not count; it is the quality alone that counts. One well-trained and well-qualified person in the field of technology will be far more effective than a hundred people without the requisite knowledge or training. There are scientists in our country but we must see that they are given full opportunity and full freedom and that they are not tied down administrative work.

Then, Sir, it is not merely enough to have engineers and technicians; we must have hostel accommodation throughout the country on a very big scale. We cannot have engineering colleges at all the places; we can have only 25 to 30 engineering colleges but I think certain subjects should be concentrated in certain colleges so that all the connected research on a particular subject is carried on in one particular college. There should be a proper atmosphere so that the students know what they have to do and what they are doing. There must be the proper environment so that they can prosecute their studies better, so that they can also become aware of the possibilities of knowledge because with little knowledge one tends to get puffed up. They should know that there is no limit to knowledge in science and technology. We are living in an atomic age and therefore we must understand that science and

want to eliminate poverty from this country, if we want to increase the country's wealth from 10,000 crores to 40,000 crores of rupees then only science and technical skill in the field of agriculture and industry can help. We have immense man power in the country but I think it is not being properly utilised. Now, we have huge resources of iron and steel but why have we not exploited them? Of course, we are now putting up three steel factories but I say that three factories will not be sufficient because our demand is so great. If other countries have so much steel production which is many times our present production, just imagine how much production we shall require to meet our requirements. As I said earlier, our production can go up to six times because our consumption capacity is very great. One economist who has visited this country has said that India will in the course of a period of ten years have such industrial expansion that other countries in the world will be surprised at its magnitude. And I think we must be prepared for that progress.

Now, I will come to the Labour question which my hon. friend has raised. He has always said that the employers are not giving the labour their due, that they give the lowest wages, not the living wage. I say that it is only the industrial labour that contributes to production at economic cost; it is the industrial labour that will help us in producing goods so that we can sell them in the international market at competitive prices. Our whole export market is governed by the cost of production in the country and the cost of production is governed by the sympathy shown and the attitude taken by the labour.

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Will You take more time?

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: Yes, Sir,

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Well, I have to inform the House that there are 40 speakers on the Congress side

and perhaps a good number on the Opposition side also. So I have to restrict time even from the beginning. No Congress Member will take more than 15 minutes, and hon. Members will have to be brief. You have already taken 15 minutes and you will please compress your speech after lunch.

So, shall we meet at 2 o'clock and go on till 5-30?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: So we will meet at 2 o'clock instead of at 2-30.

The House stands adjourned till 2-00 P.M.

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

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

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: Sir, I will try to be brief on the remaining points which I have to raise. As regards the Labour Ministry, I think it is necessary that in regard to industrial labour the wages should be based on productivity and not on time scale. At present industrial labour gets fixed time wages. I think it is very necessary now, owing to the industrial development we have, that wages are based on productivity. If the man gives more production, pay him more wages. But those who are loitering about are now getting the same wages, for 4½ hours work instead of 8 hours. That can easily be considered by the labour Ministry as early as possible, although my friend opposite has not advanced that point because he does not want discipline in labour.

The next point is standardization of musters. You will see that the factories of the same size have difference in labour complement to the extent of 20 to 50 per cent. and on that account many establishments have

[Shri C. P. Parikh.]

higher cost of production and suffer. There is a general rise in price on such account, because the last marginal unit of production determines the cost of production prevailing in the country. Therefore, there should be standardization of musters and if there is surplus labour, it can be retrenched provided alternative occupation is given to it. That can easily be legislated for and on that account decaualisation system is very necessary, because all surplus labour will be absorbed by the industry within the industry when absenteeism and casual vacancies occur. We do not want to throw any one on the street. We want to provide employment in full.

Now, I will come to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. With regard to that we see that owing to the proposed levy of indirect taxation prices of essential commodities have risen far out of proportion to the levy of the excises. And that is due to the middlemen and others manipulating the prices. I say just as we have opened fair price shops for foodgrains, it is also necessary that we should have fair price shops for essential commodities. We have opened 23,000 fair price shops. . . (An hon. Member: 30,000). That is very good. Now, I say, Sir, similarly, 5,000 fair price shops for essential articles for the common man's use should be opened. Why should charcoal be dear? Why should sugar be dear, more than the cost of production plus a reasonable distribution margin? So many other articles, if you see in the last six months, have gone up in price from 25 to 30 per cent. We should have a system of chain stores, within a city, manned by the same people who are at present distributing these goods and articles without creating unemployment. We will know where the deficit pockets exist and how to remedy that deficit, because the deficit may be on account of transport.

Now, Sir, I come to another point with regard to Finance, that is, the system of sales tax. The sales tax on

many important commodities is very, very different and very, very harassing to the trade at present and the rates are different in different States. That does not matter. What I say is we must consider India as one and the sales tax should be levied at source. At present on sales tax revenue we are losing, in my opinion, Rs. 10 crores throughout India; and if we consolidate the present sales tax with the excise, we can have that revenue and the difficulties of the trade will be minimised. And there will be no leakage. We can gain, in my opinion, Rs. 50 crores during the Second Plan period. Though the principle of that legislation has been accepted by the State Ministries, I do not know why there is delay in legislation. It was to come in July. It has not come in July; nor in September. I request the Finance Ministry that this legislation for consolidating the sales tax with the excise be brought in early—at least in the November session.

Now, with regard to the Food Ministry I say that in regard to food articles we want the production to rise. We cannot do it overnight, but it is very necessary that maximum and minimum prices of essential food articles should be fixed according to the outturn and the crop varieties. When there is a minimum price, the cultivator has inducement to produce more, because he has the guarantee of the price. When there is the maximum, at that price stocks can be requisitioned from any one who is hoarding that. When the maximum prices are there then naturally the man who is hoarding knows that his goods will be requisitioned at that price. So there will not be trading at a higher price to the extent that trading is taking place at present and there will be a lot of general improvement on that account.

Now, Sir, as regards food, it is very essential that we must build buffer stocks which are more than ten per cent. or five per cent. of the requirements of the country. And unless we have buffer stocks and rush to the deficit pockets, we shall not be able to

have the food prices under control to the extent that we desire.

And the last point is with regard to complaints in each Ministry. I say and I again repeat that there is a lot of resentment and discontent in the country on account of delay or evasive replies of the administration. I say a senior Secretary should be placed in charge of each Ministry to hear complaints of the public and dispose of them in the shortest time possible or within a reasonable time. And that Secretary may have an advisory council constituted of persons in whom the Minister has confidence. I think the greatest resentment in the country is that there is no response from the Ministry as regards the complaints and grievances of the public. This we have to remedy.

With these words, I support the Appropriation Bill.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, we are considering the Appropriation Bill which relates to the expenses of the various Ministries and I shall confine myself entirely to the expenditure of the various Ministries. Regarding revenues and taxes there will be other occasions especially when we consider the Finance Bill, the Wealth Tax Bill, etc. Just now I shall confine myself to expenditure, but before I begin I wholeheartedly support Mr. Vallabharao when he said that—apart from this consideration that I come from Andhra—Andhra has not been fairly treated in the matter of the Second Five Year Plan in the laying of expenditure—but there will be other occasions for it.

Now, I come to expenditure and I will begin with Posts and Telegraphs. We are going in for nationalisation. We are having large-scale industries and to group them in one general Budget and place them with various other considerations does not focus attention of hon. Members on these points. I refer to the Explanatory Memorandum where you will find that

the last 100 pages have been devoted to balance sheets and accounts of various industries which are owned by the Government. There are various other industries the balance sheets of which are placed on the Table of this House off and on and no consideration is given to them. It was all right some twenty years back to have one Budget consisting of all the departments of the Government, whether commercial undertakings or administrative departments or Defence Services. But, now when we are expanding, it is most essential that we have a separate Budget for all the commercial undertakings. You know, Sir, the railways have been separated. We have entirely a separate Budget for the Railways and it is high time that we have a separate Budget for the Posts and Telegraphs Department and the various other commercial undertakings of the Government of India. It is only then that we will be able to see whether those commercial undertakings are running at a profit or at a loss and whether the general revenues are not forced to contribute large sums of money for the running of these industries.

As I said, I will begin with the Post and Telegraph services. Here, if you will refer to the Demand for Grants of the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department—page 105—you will find that the postal service is running at a loss. The telegraph service is running at a loss. The radio telephone service is also running at a loss. The only department that is running at a profit is the telephone service. It makes a profit of about Rs. 5 crores. The other three services make a loss and even after meeting their losses, there is a net profit. I should like to know from the hon. Minister in charge of communications what efforts are being made to see that these various other services are also self-supporting, if not a paying proposition. It so happens that the telephone service is making a profit, because we are retaining a very high charge and this is making up the losses in the other services.

[Shri Kishen Chand.]

The Finance Minister has thought of raising the charge of post cards. But he has not thought of reducing the weight of the post card. It was all right when the postal services were moved through railway trains. At that time, weight might not have been a big consideration. But now that the postal services go by air, it is very essential that the weight is reduced. Do we realise that the weight of a post card is more than that of an inland air letter? Is it possible to reduce the weight of the post card without increasing the charge on it? If we have some sort of a thin paper folded up on two sides and reduce the weight and bring it down to nearly half the weight of an inland letter, possibly the loss that we are incurring on the postal services may be reduced.

It is essential that new post offices should be opened in undeveloped areas. I am very glad to note that the Communications Ministry has opened new post offices. But are they making any proper and suitable efforts for reducing the expenditure on them by taking up new lines? For instance, I would suggest the line of insurance. Insurance now is a nationalised industry. Very soon, group insurance, partial compulsory insurance, is going to come. And if side by side with the work that they are carrying on in the post offices, the officers in charge of the post offices take up this work, much of the cost of post offices in rural areas may be met out of the commission that may be earned by them, by securing all the postal. . .

SHRI H. D. RAJAH (Madras): To whom will the commission go?

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: To the Department.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: Not to the Department.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: Where there is a full-time employee, he must do any work. Since insurance business has been nationalised, there is no

incentive to the insurance agent and the insurance business has gone down. We hope that, within a year or two, it will be made better.

Similarly, in the matter of small savings also, a greater drive is necessary and if that work is entirely carried on by the post offices, that will also add to the revenues of the post offices. Every effort should be made to see that the various sections of communications become a paying proposition.

I do not want to draw your attention in detail to the heavy loss that we are incurring on the Indian Airlines Corporation. The loss is to the extent of about Rs. 2 crores and it is going on increasing from year to year. Is the Government taking any steps in this regard? Is there any programme to see that in the next two or three years, this department of communications becomes self-supporting? The hon. Minister has not given us any concrete programme by which he hopes to reduce the losses in future years. It is rumoured, Sir, that the new Viscounts which are coming have 44 seats and if you consider the low density of traffic that is being carried by air at present, it is likely that these Viscounts will not be fully booked and the loss will go on mounting. The hon. Minister does not think of making the service more popular by reducing the fares. If he retains the fares at their present level and does not increase the density of traffic, the result will be that efficiency will go down and the losses will increase. Therefore, I do wish that he will explain this in greater detail.

Then I come to the Defence Service Expenditure. Last time when we were discussing the Budget, almost every Member thought that we should go on spending more and more on defence. They think that the fear of a certain neighbouring country is a justification for incurring any amount of expenditure on defence. I hope the hon. Members will very carefully consider the break-up of the Defence expenditure. The Defence expenditure this year

amounts to about Rs. 252 crores, while last year it was about Rs. 203 crores. There is an increase of nearly Rs. 50 crores. Let us analyse how this increase has come. On the first page of the Government of India Defence Services Estimates 1957-58, is given a break-up of Rs. 252 crores. It consists of pay and allowances which account for Rs. 86 crores—barely one-third. This one-third is the amount spent on salaries and allowances. This shows that we are not increasing the personnel of the Army. Their strength is remaining stationary. Their salaries are not being increased. It is also stationary.

Then the next question arises where is this additional expenditure going. The next item is Transportation and Miscellaneous Charges. Rs. 16.65 crores. That is also more or less stationary. The next thing is Stores and Equipment: Rs. 124 crores. Maintenance of buildings and installations: Rs. 11 crores. Stationery Charges: Rs. 13 crores. So, out of these Rs. 252 crores, nearly Rs. 140 crores or Rs. 150 crores is being spent on the purchase of equipment and stores, maintenance of our ordnance factories, etc., and only Rs. 100 crores is spent on pay, allowances and pensions of military personnel. Therefore it becomes very essential that when we are discussing this Appropriation Bill, we should carefully examine whether we are getting the full benefit of that Rs. 150 crores which are spent on the purchase of stores, equipment, etc. partly from foreign countries and partly produced in our own country. I wish to draw the attention of the hon. the Finance Minister and the hon. the Defence Minister to the fact that we have been independent for the last ten years but no great effort has been made to start defence industries in our country on a scale commensurate with the requirements of our defence services. We still go on purchasing equipment, spare parts, etc. from foreign countries. We have purchased jet planes, but in our country we have no factory for producing them, and the result is that we

have only a few spare parts. I do not know what is the condition of the workshops for the maintenance of these jet planes. The result will be that—God forbid—if there is a war and these jet planes are required to do service in that war, they will very soon go out of order. If workshop facilities are not available, they will be merely show pieces and fit not for defence but probably for being kept in museums.

I have got the figures and I find that the greatest amount of expenditure on equipment is in the case of the Air Force. As I was saying, if this equipment is not very modern, if the speed of our jet planes and the speed of our fighter planes is not great enough, they will be quite useless in case of need. Similarly in our Navy, the expenditure on establishment and salaries is only Rs. 6½ crores but on the purchase of equipment it is Rs. 9½ crores, while in the case of the Air Force the salaries and pensions are only Rs. 11 crores, and equipment is Rs. 58 crores. All this will show that we are spending large sums of money on the purchase of second-hand, outmoded equipment. It is most essential that the Defence Minister should pay his full attention to this and quickly build up our defence industries. Otherwise, this large expenditure at the cost of the Second Five Year Plan, at the cost of the heavy burden that is being laid on the common man in the shape of excise duties and other duties, will go waste.

Then, I come to the question of civil administration. In the matter of civil administration the expenditure is going up by leaps and bounds. In the accounts of 1955-56 it was only Rs. 94 crores, but in the Budget Estimates of 1957-58 it is Rs. 191 crores. I know that some part of this expenditure on civil administration relates to grants given to education, health services etc. After due allowances are made for these, even then there is a phenomenal and continuous increase in the cost of civil administration in the country. If it goes on

[Shri Kishen Chand.]

increasing at the rate at which it has been increasing during the last ten years, no amount of taxation will be able to catch up with the growing expenditure on civil administration. I do not want to go into details of civil administration but it is a well-known fact that the number of Secretaries and their other help-mates has increased nearly four-fold or five-fold in many cases during the last seven or eight years. So, the Finance Minister must very carefully examine the civil administration and as suggested by several hon. Members, he should appoint a Committee which should within a few months fix the targets for expenditure on civil administration and bring down the cost of civil administration.

Then, I come to the assistance to the States. Education is a State subject, but the States have not been able to fulfil the directive laid down in the Constitution that free and compulsory primary education should be introduced within ten years in our country. The Centre gives grants-in-aid to the States for university education. It is very important that they should encourage university education but how can we have university education, if there is no lower education—primary and secondary education? The States themselves are unable to finance free and compulsory primary and secondary education. May I suggest to the hon. the Finance Minister that, if only a fixed grant is to be given to the States for the development of education, a large part of it should go for primary and secondary education? It is most essential that primary education on a compulsory basis should be introduced in our country. Sir, a delegation went to Russia and studied the educational conditions in that country, and you have seen the summary of that report in the newspapers. You would be very glad to learn that that country spends a very large amount of money on education. The number of technicians that they are producing will be about a lakh per year in the very

near future, while even in America, which is industrially an advanced country, the number of technicians that are being produced is only 38,000. Even if you allow for the larger population of Soviet Russia, even then they are far ahead of any other country in the world in the matter of training of technicians. In our country we are, as has been pointed out just now, producing only 200 technicians per year, against one lakh in the other country.

I now come to the question of our expenditure on displaced persons. It is fair and right that these displaced persons should be provided with the means for rehabilitation.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Are you not putting up any other member from your party?

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: I have taken only 20 minutes. I began at 2-10.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken 25 minutes. You began at 2-7.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: I shall finish just now. I was saying that these people have come from Pakistan. They have left their property in Pakistan. We are not making any efforts to see that there is a settlement with Pakistan about the property of the displaced persons. At least in the case of West Pakistan, there is a possibility of settlement. But in the matter of East Pakistan the displaced persons, the refugees, are coming leaving their property in that country. The result is that there is a great drain on the finances of our country. I do wish the Finance Minister to make a representation and try to settle the dues from Pakistan at an early date.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar): Mr. Deputy Chairman, we are appropriating astronomical figures, astronomical when viewed in the context of this country. There is scope for pruning in many directions but I feel



that we are spending a proper amount on the Defence budget. Voices have been raised in this House on earlier occasions and outside this House in the country, against budgeting at such scale for Defence. We are told that we are wedded to a policy of peace and that we have adopted the philosophy of non-violence and in the light of these, we are advised to reduce our expenditure. We are wedded to a policy of non-violence and we believe in non-violence but these are virtues which have to be practised on an international scale. It would be dangerous for one State to act on these principles when other States are acting on principles which are contrary to these. We have made efforts to introduce sanity in international relations. We have been making efforts for peace. It has been our effort to see that armaments are reduced progressively in all the nations of the world. But it is no argument for getting out of step with other nations of the world and as a precept to other nations, reducing our Defence Budget. That in my opinion, would be nothing short of a criminal folly. Mr. Deputy Chairman, if we look to this Appropriation Bill and the past Appropriation Bills, we shall find that in this Bill we are spending nearly 20 per cent. of our Budget on Defence. The percentage or proportion in the earlier budgets was far larger. To that extent proportionately we have reduced our defence expenditure. We are living in a world which is full of tensions, in a world where one crisis supersedes another. There are nations which do not mean us very well and they are being armed to the teeth. There are reports that, a neighbouring nation which was conceived in hatred and which exists on hatred has been arming itself to the teeth. They are arming, are being armed rather, by more powerful nations of this world. In the circumstances this Budget, this Appropriation, appears to me to be not of a very high order and there can possibly be no case for clashing this Appropriation down. Mr. Deputy Chairman, this is an age of atomic

warfare. We know that other neighbouring nations are being armed with atomic weapons. There is a sense of disquiet in the country that we are lacking in those armaments. It is time that we devoted more attention now to weapons which are not conventional but which come in the category of modern weapons. Warfare has always been a matter of land army. Though the science of war has progressed very far, even now land armies play the most important part in any warfare and it is proper that we are spending a substantial portion of our Budget on the land army. Our expenditure on the Navy as compared to the Army, is not very high and rightly so. For, we have a vast coastline and it is not possible for us, with our resources, to have an effective Navy which would effectively guard our exposed long coast-line. But in the modern, age, for the land army to be effectively there must be effective Air Force and we are rightly spending a good amount on our Air Force. I feel however that we should learn from the experience or example of Great Britain. In Great Britain recently they have decided on a new scheme of reorganisation of the Army, Navy and Air Force. While the personnel in these is being reduced, the armaments of a more effective and modern type are being handed over to that reduced personnel. It is time that we also thought, in the light of our resources, of some scheme of reorganisation which would make our army more effective than what it is, comparatively, today. We cannot have an army as powerful or as effective as other powerful nations of the world; but it is possible for us to reorganise our army as much as possible and to arm our men with the latest possible armaments so that they become more effective. I agree with the previous speaker that we should concentrate and pay more attention to the establishing of defence industries in this country. The Finance Minister has emphasised so many times that the hard core of the Plan shall, at any cost be executed. The hard core of

[Shri B. K. P. Sinha.]

the Plan consist precisely of those industries which would form the foundation and the basis of the armament industries of the future. We should, therefore, be up and doing and we should try to produce steel and other materials of the highest quality so that after the Second Five Year Plan we would be in a position to establish armament industries or military industries here.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, we have been following a policy of non-alignment in international politics. But there are certain consequences that flow from this policy. Non-alignment means that we do not lean heavily either on one side or the other. We place ourselves in such a position that we are in a position to maintain our neutrality at any time of crisis. A few days back, when a question was put to the Defence Minister about a certain team that had gone outside India for defence training, the reply was given that they had gone to countries which belong mainly to one bloc. This team did not go to countries of the Soviet bloc or to the U.S.S.R. Why was it so? The Minister replied that our armaments are of a certain pattern and therefore, it is no use sending our experts to a country where the armaments are of a different pattern. The previous speaker rightly pointed out that even now for all our arms and for all our equipment we rely to a very great extent, on foreign countries and those foreign countries fall in one particular bloc. If at any time or crisis we fall foul of that bloc, there is the danger of the supply of armaments stopping. Our adversaries, our opponents, our enemies would all the time be supplied adequately with the right type of armaments. Therefore, if our policy of non-alignment is to be effective, then that policy has to be pursued even in the matter of purchase of army equipments from abroad. Therefore, I would urge upon the Defence Minister that we should get more and more armaments from the

other bloc also so that if in any future contingency, one bloc fails us, the other bloc will come to our aid. Military training now has become an extremely specialised and long-drawn affair. It is not a matter of taking up lathis or swords and wielding them. Men can be trained in the use of swords in a matter of days. But in the use of the latest types of military equipment, one has to be trained for months and sometimes for years. Therefore, if our policy of non-alignment is to be effective, in this sphere also, it is time that we got more and more of our armaments from both; rather that we divided our arms imports in equal proportion from the two blocs. Otherwise, in any future contingency, we shall not be able to maintain our neutrality; and if we do, we shall do it at our own risk.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, next I come to a matter nearer home. The question of the privy purses of the princes has become the object of controversy. We possess a socialist conscience and we have set for our ideal a socialist goal. We are told that in conformity with that socialist goal, we should slash down or altogether abolish the privy purses of the princes. I would like this House, the hon. Members of this House, to project themselves to the year 1947, and then see how far this demand is justified. In 1947, the Englishman left India. They waived the doctrine of paramountcy. There was no paramount power left and the six hundred and odd native States of India became sovereign in every sense. They had every right to remain independent or to accede to the dominion or the other. It was on the basis of this exercise of the right of sovereignty that Kashmir acceded to us and that is the basis on which we claim that Kashmir is ours. These six hundred and odd States were in that position. It was open to them to declare their independence. A great statesman from the South openly said about a certain State that that particular State belonged to a particular deity and so there was no reason why

that State should not remain independent without acceding to the Indian Union. I had been to Rajasthan for several months some time back. I learnt there that some of the princes—not wise ones though—had been negotiating with another dominion which had assured them that their authority, their privileges and their rights would all be protected and kept intact if only they acceded to that Union. But then there were wiser and patriotic princes and they rejected that offer. A sense of patriotism actuated the princes and they acceded to India in the full knowledge that they would have to part with many of their privileges, many of their rights. Their States were sovereign States. Their system was autocratic. The income that accrued to the State was almost the personal income of the ruler. But because of the sense of patriotism and because they wanted to participate in the building up of this great country, they gave up many of their privileges. They gave up their sovereignty and they gave up a huge and substantial part of their incomes.

(Time bell rings.)

How many more minutes are left, Sir?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Fifteen minutes are over.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: If you so desire, I shall stop here.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Just wind up and finish.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: Sir, if the States had exhibited a different attitude we do not know what would have been the fate of this country. One Hyderabad gave us so much trouble. If there were six hundred and odd Hyderabads, I feel sure that at least for 25 years to come, India would have been in a state of turmoil. It was in view of these factors that that great statesman—Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel—conceded certain things

to the princes and the princes conceded much more, for the unity and prosperity of this great country. And so a solemn agreement was drawn up and agreed to. But now before the ink had dried on that agreement, the cry is raised, "Let us abolish the privy purses." It may be an exhibition of socialist conscience, but it is bad statesmanship, in my opinion. I say this because if people lost faith in the plighted word of the State, the plighted word of the Government, then that State, that Government is bound to suffer and loss in the long run.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, I have finished.

श्री पी० एन० रामभोज : उप सभापति जी, मैंने कल ही भाषण किया था मगर समय न होने के कारण मैं बहुत सी बातें सदन के सम्मुख प्रस्तुत नहीं कर सका। उस विषय पर तो मैं कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ लेकिन हमारे देश में कलकत्ता, बम्बई, दिल्ली और मद्रास जैसे बड़े बड़े शहर हैं, जहाँ पर गन्दी बस्तियाँ हैं, उन्हें दूर करने के सम्बन्ध में, मैं आपके सामने कुछ बातें रखना चाहता हूँ।

इन गन्दी बस्तियों के बारे में हमारे प्रधान मन्त्री जी ने कई बार कहा कि इतका देश में होना एक कलंक की बात है। अतः इस विषय के सम्बन्ध में हमारी सरकार की तरफ से, हाउस की तरफ से, कुछ न कुछ कार्यवाही होनी चाहिये जिससे कि इन गन्दी बस्तियों का देश में नाम न रह जाय, यही मेरी आप से प्रार्थना है।

बाहर का कोई आदमी जब हार्डिंग ब्रिज होकर दिल्ली आता है, तो उसे बड़ी बड़ी इमारतें, पार्लियामेंट हाउस, किला, और दूसरी चीजें दिखाई देती हैं। मगर जब हम गन्दी बस्तियों को देखते हैं तो हमारा सिर शर्म के मारे झुक जाता है। सब लोग कहते हैं कि ये गन्दी बस्तियाँ खत्म होनी चाहियें, मगर उस पर अमल नहीं होता है। हमारे प्रधान

[श्री पी० एन० रामभोज]

मंत्री, बड़े बड़े मन्त्री और राजनीतिक कहते हैं कि इन गन्दी बस्तियों को जल्द से जल्द खत्म किया जाना चाहिये, मगर आज तक ये ज्यू की त्यू बनी हुई है।

मेरे पाम समाज कल्याण का अखबार है, उसमें भी गन्दी बस्तियों के बारे में पंडितजी ने कुछ लिखा है जो मैं सदन के सामने पढ़कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ : "गन्दी बस्तियों का मसला सबसे पहले और बुनियादी रूप में एक इन्सानो मसला है।" किसी भी गन्दी बस्ती का दौरा मेरे लिए सबसे ज्यादा दर्दनाक तजुर्बा रहा है और एक तरीके से इन बस्तियों के नजारे मुझे मेरी रोजमर्रा की जिन्दगी में बाहर खींच कर डाल देते हैं।"

उप सभापति जी, इसमें आगे यह कहा गया है : "बहुत अरसा हुआ, एक बार कानपुर में, मैंने गन्दी बस्तियों का दौरा किया और एक लम्बे समय तक मेरे दिमाग में वही दौरा घूमता रहा। बम्बई और दिल्ली में मैंने कुछ गन्दी बस्तियाँ देखी और मुझे वैसा ही धक्का लगा। हमें महसूस करना चाहिए कि ये गन्दी बस्तियाँ हम सबके लिए दाग हैं, हम सब पर एक शर्मनाक दाग है।" ये शब्द हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहे। मैं यह प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि पंचवर्षीय योजना में कई तरह की योजनाएँ हैं लेकिन इन गन्दी बस्तियों को नष्ट करने के लिए अभी तक कुछ नहीं हुआ है। दलितवर्ग, बैकवर्ड क्लास, शिड्यूलड कास्ट और दूसरी अछूत जाति के लोगों के उद्धार के लिए हमें ज्यादा से ज्यादा कार्य करना चाहिये। दूसरी जाति के लोग गांव के बाहर नहीं रहते हैं। गांव के बाहर रहने वाले सबसे ज्यादा आदिवासी और दलितवर्ग के भाई हैं। हमको यह सवाल राष्ट्र का सवाल समझना चाहिये। इस सवाल के बारे में मैं हर वक़्त कहता हूँ। मेरी प्रार्थना है कि जितनी गन्दी बस्तियाँ हैं उनको हटाने के लिये जल्दी से जल्दी कोई योजना बनाइये। पंचवर्षीय योजना में कई

करोड़ रुपये खर्च करने के कई प्रकार के प्रोपोजल्स हाउस के सामने पेश हैं और मेरी यह प्रार्थना है कि इसके बारे में जल्दी से जल्दी कार्य होगा चाहिये।

समाज कल्याण बोर्ड है और उसने भी कई प्रकार की योजनाये बताई हैं लेकिन यह हमारा दुर्भाग्य है कि अधिकतर वे योजनाये मध्यवर्ग के लोगों के लिये होती हैं, हम लोगों के लिये नहीं होती हैं। उनकी कमेटियों में भी पैसे वाले और श्रीमन्त लोग भरे हुए हैं और उन बेचारों को मालूम ही नहीं है कि समाज-सेवा किस प्रकार करना है।

श्री एम० गोविन्द रेड्डी (मैसूर) : सीख रहे हैं।

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज : वे जब चमारों की बस्तियों में, भंगियों की बस्तियों में, आदिवासियों की बस्तियों में जाते हैं तो कहते हैं कि हा हा, हम सब कुछ करेंगे। तुम लोग प्रोपोजल भेज दो, एक एस्टीमेट बना दो, यह कर दो, वह कर दो। समझ में नहीं आता है कि वे लोग क्या करें, उनको पता नहीं है कि एस्टीमेट कब लाना है, किस तरह लाना है, कैसे प्रोपोजल करना है। तो इस तरह से समाज सेवा की योजना होती है। इसीलिये मैं कहता हूँ कि एक समाज कल्याण विभाग बनाया जाय और एक समाज सुधारक मिनिस्ट्री बने ताकि इस तरह के सब प्रकार के प्राब्लम्स दूर हो जायें।

पंचवर्षीय योजना में भी हमारे दलित वर्ग के भाइयों के लिये ६१ करोड़ रुपये की योजना रखी गई है। मुझे पता नहीं है कि यह जो रुपया योजना में रखा गया है उससे लोगों का क्या उद्धार होगा और क्या नहीं होगा, लेकिन मेरे खयाल से यह बहुत कम पैसा है। इसमें आदिवासी भी आते हैं, गिरिजन भी आते हैं, हरिजन भी आते हैं, यानी गिरिजन हरिजन और बैकवर्ड सब प्रकार के लोग उसमें आते हैं। तो यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आ रहा है कि जो यह ६१ करोड़ रुपये की

योजना है उसमें यह सब कैसे हो सकता है। हमारे लेउवा साहब ने कल कहा था कि एक मिनिस्ट्री बननी चाहिये लेकिन लोग कहते हैं कि उसके लिये पैसा नहीं है। दुनिया भर के लिये पैसा मिलता है लेकिन हम लोगों के लिये एक मिनिस्ट्री बनाने के लिये पैसा नहीं है। जैसे कि आपने एक रेफ्यूजीज के लिये मिनिस्ट्री बनाई।

आप हंसते क्यों हैं आपकी हिन्दी बढ़िया होगी। हिन्दी मेरी मातृभाषा नहीं है लेकिन फिर भी उसमें बोलता हूँ और बोलने की कोशिश करता हूँ। श्री देवकीनन्दन जी कभी कभी इस वजह से मेरा मजाक उड़ाते हैं।

तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि एक ऐसा मंत्रालय बनाया जाय जो कि हम लोगों की सब प्रकार की तकलीफ और तरद्द को खत्म करे। जैसे कि आपने रिहैबिलिटेशन मिनिस्ट्री बनाई और जो यह शरणार्थी पंजाब से और बंगाल से आये, जो कि एक बहुत ही बड़ा प्राब्लम था, उसको हमारी सरकार ने रिहैबिलिटेशन मिनिस्ट्री बना कर हल किया। तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि जो गरीब और दलित लोग हैं, जो कि दबे हुए हैं और गिरे हुए हैं उनको ऊपर उठाया जाय। इन लोगों की बस्ती अच्छी होनी चाहिये, इन लोगों को मकान मिलना चाहिये और जमीन मिलनी चाहिये।

आप देखिये कि हमारे देश में कितने लैंडलेस लेबर्स हैं। लाखों लोग लैंडलेस लेबरर्स हैं और उनके लिये हम योजना बनाते हैं कि यह होना चाहिये, लेकिन आप देखिये कि उनकी मजदूरी के बारे में जो एक्ट बनाया है उस एक्ट का अमल कहां तक होता है। मद्रास में जाइये तो यह हालत मिलती है, बम्बई में जाइये तो यही हालत मिलती है और राजस्थान में तो अलग ही हालत है। राजस्थान में तो बहुत ही खराबी है। वहां राजे-रजवाड़े और पैसे वाले एक तरफ बैठे हैं और दूसरी तरफ गरीब लोग हैं। यू० पी०

में भी बहुत से गरीब हैं और बहुत सी समस्याएँ हैं। तो गरीबों के लिये जो कि मेहनत करते हैं और श्रम करते हैं, उनके लिये कुछ न कुछ होना चाहिये। मिनिमम वेजेज एक्ट बन गया है और दूसरे भी कई प्रकार के एक्ट हैं, उन सब को अमल में लाना चाहिये। मेरी हाउस के सामने यह प्रार्थना है कि जो दरिद्रनारायण का सवाल है उसको देखना चाहिये। महात्मा गांधी कहते थे कि जब तक गरीबों की, दलितों की, सेवा और उद्धार नहीं होता है तब तक देश को पूरी आजादी मिली है ऐसा मैं नहीं समझता हूँ। जब आजादी मिल गई है और हम आजाद हैं, तो हम यही चाहते हैं कि सब का उद्धार होना चाहिये। जो पैसे वाले हैं वे तो सब प्रकार का टैंक्स दे सकते हैं और सब कुछ कर सकते हैं लेकिन इन गरीबों की उन्नति के लिये आपको ही सब कुछ करना है। तो मेरा कहना है कि गन्दी बस्तियां नहीं होनी चाहिये। दिल्ली में ही आप देखिये, दिल्ली में फारेन कन्ट्रीज के लोग आते हैं और वे देखते हैं कि यहां की बस्ती कितनी गन्दी है। मेरा कहना है कि कम मे कम रहने के लिये मकान, पहिने के लिये कपड़ा और पेट भरने के लिये खाना तो होना ही चाहिये।

हमारी दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना बनी है। दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना की अवधि में पिछड़े हुए वर्गों के कल्याण के लिए ६१ करोड़ रुपये की व्यवस्था की गई है। इसके मुकाबले में पहली योजना में केवल ३६ करोड़ रुपये रखे गये थे। इस रकम में से अनुसूचित आदि जातियों की कल्याण योजनाओं पर ४७ करोड़ रुपये, अनुसूचित जातियों पर २७ करोड़ ५० लाख रुपये, दूसरे पिछड़े हुए वर्गों पर ६ करोड़ ७० लाख रुपये और भूतपूर्व जरायम पेशा जातियों पर ३ करोड़ ६० लाख रुपये खर्च किये जाते हैं। यह ठीक है कि उसमें आपने बटवारा भी किया है लेकिन मेरा कहना है कि यह रुपया बहुत कम है। पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना में आपने अस्पृश्यता निवारण के लिये २ करोड़ रुपया रखा था लेकिन अब हम लोगों का कहना है कि कम

[श्री पी० एन० राजभोज]

से कम सरकार इसके लिये २० करोड़ रुपया खर्च करे।

भारत दलित सेवक संघ ने १८ से २५ दिसम्बर, १९५५ में एक सेमिनार बुलाया था और उसमें हम लोगों ने आर्थिक प्रश्नों के बारे में कुछ सुझाव रखे थे। गवर्नमेंट की यह रिपोर्ट प्रिंट हो कर आ गई है लेकिन मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि वे सुझाव ये हैं कि शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज के लोगों को कसी हुई जमीन, बैल और कृषि के साधन मुफ्त मिलना चाहिये और जहां आवश्यक हो वहां तकाबी लोन वगैरह या थोड़े इंटरेस्ट पर कर्जा उन्हें मिलना चाहिये। इन लोगों की स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्री बढ़ाने के लिये कोऑपरेटिव संस्थायें देनाओं में खोली जावे। शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज के लोगों की कोऑपरेटिव संस्थाओं का माल बेचने के लिये अच्छी सुविधाओं का निर्माण किया जावे। दूसरी बात यह है कि जल्दी से जल्दी सरकार इस बात के लिये कदम उठावे कि जिससे मिनिमम वेजेज कानून कृषि में और अन्य धंधों में, जिनमें कि शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज के लोग लगे हुये हैं, उनमें अमल में आवे। सरकार इस बात पर भी ध्यान दे कि आदिवासियों और अन्य जातियों के लोगों को म्युनिसिपैलिटीज और डिस्ट्रिक्ट बोर्ड्स आदि बराबर मजदूरी और अन्य सुविधायें दें जो कि दूसरे लोगों को मिलती हैं। उन लोगों के लिये मकान का मुभीता होना बहुत ही जरूरी है। मैं आपसे यह प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि आज म्युनिसिपैलिटीज और लोकल बोर्ड्स ठीक तरह से काम नहीं करते हैं। उनके पास अभी इतनी पुरानी और गंदी बस्तियां हैं लेकिन उसके लिये वे कुछ नहीं करते हैं। दिल्ली में भी बहुत सी पुरानी और गंदी बस्तियां हैं और म्युनिसिपैलिटीज का भी थोड़ा बहुत फर्ज है कि उनको ठीक करे। वहां हमारे गजदूर भाई और

मेहतर भाई रहते हैं। कल हमारे देवकीनन्दन जी ने मेहतर भाइयों के बारे में बहुत अच्छा कहा कि उनके सिर की टोकरी हटानी चाहिये। ठीक है, उसको हटाने के लिये हम भी चलें और वे भी चलें। मैं तो इतने वर्षों से उन लोगों के बीच में काम कर रहा हूँ। तो आप भी सिर पर टोकरी ले कर चलें और मैं भी ले कर चलूँ। शान्ति और प्रेम से दुनिया को ऐसा रास्ता दिखाइये। लेकिन क्या वह टोकरी उठाने के लिये तैयार है? खाली टोकरी के बारे में बोलने से कुछ नहीं होगा। मैं उनकी कोई आलोचना नहीं करता हूँ। मैं तो प्रेम से बोलता हूँ कि ऐसा होना चाहिये। मेहतरों के लिये, भंगी भाईयों के लिये मकान बनाना चाहिये लेकिन वह बनता नहीं है।

श्री उप सभापति : राजभोज जी, म्युनिसिपैलिटीज और डिस्ट्रिक्ट बोर्ड्स यह सब स्टेट सब्जेक्ट हैं।

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज : स्टेट सब्जेक्ट है, लेकिन फिर भी .....

श्री उपसभापति : और यह डिबेट शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट के बारे में नहीं है। यह सेंट्रल बजट के बारे में है।

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज : महोदय, आपने ठीक ही बता दिया है। मैं जानता हूँ कि यह जो दिल्ली है वह हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार की है, यह सेंट्रल सब्जेक्ट है। इस पर जरा आप विचार करिये। मुझे ३, ४ मिनट और मिल जाय तो मैं खत्म कर दूँ।

तो मेरा कहना है कि इन लोगों को रहने के लिये मकान देना चाहिये और इन लोगों के लिये बस्तियां बनानी चाहिये। हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाई भी उनके लिये कहते हैं कि मेहतरों की आर्थिक परिस्थिति सुधारनी चाहिये। ठीक है, लेकिन ये भाई कहाँ

रहते हैं ? ये तो बड़े बड़े महलों में बिडसर लेस में रहते हैं। यहां जो बैठे हुये हैं वे बड़े बड़े बंगलों में रहते हैं। मैं चाहता हूं कि ये लोग इनकी बस्तियों में जायें। हम तो इनकी बस्तियों में हर वक्त रहते हैं लेकिन उनके उद्धार के लिये आप लोगों के पास क्या प्रोग्राम है ?

ये लोग गरीब लोगों में लाभ उठा कर कहते हैं कि हम स्ट्राइक करेंगे, रेलवे में स्ट्राइक करेंगे, पोस्ट एंड टेलीग्राफ में स्ट्राइक करेंगे। इस प्रकार स्ट्राइक वगैरा कराने की धमकियां और स्टंट देते हैं। लेकिन हम लोग इन चीजों में कभी विश्वास नहीं करते। हम तो सरकार का हाथ इतना मजबूत बनाने को तैयार हैं और कर्मचारियों के हितों के लिये इतना इम्प्रूवमेंट करने को तैयार हैं कि जिससे स्ट्राइक कभी दोबारा नहीं होने देंगे। हम हर तरह से सबको मदद देने को तैयार हैं जहां तक पबलिक का साथ देने का सवाल है, मैं तो कहता हूं कि मैं जिस समाज से आता हूं, मैं कह सकता हूं कि बार्न कम्यूनिस्ट हूं। लेकिन मैं जानता हूं, तुम कम्यूनिस्ट लोग महज पबलिक को भड़काना जानते हो, उनकी सेवा नहीं कर सकते। श्रमिकों को, सरकारी नौकरों को, रेलवे कर्मचारियों को बहकाते हो कि स्ट्राइक करो, स्ट्राइक करो, तुम्हारी मांगें पूरी होंगी। गुंडागर्दी करना, आग लगाना, मारना, गाली देना, और फिर यह कहना कि हम गरीबों के नेता हैं यह मुह में राम, बगल में छुरी नहीं तो क्या है। तो मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा था कि हमारी सरकार ने इस दस वर्षों में जो कुछ किया है हमारे वर्ग के लोगों के लिये, मजदूरों के लिये और श्रमिकों के लिये, उसको हम सब लोग जानते हैं और उसकी मराहता करते हैं। प्रेम के साथ आप हमसे जो कुछ भी करने को कहेंगे हम उसको देश-हित में करेंगे। लेकिन झगड़ा करने से किसी का काम नहीं बनेगा। समाज में एकता लाकर हम देश की एकता को बनाना

चाहते हैं। मैं जानता हूं कि हमारे पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी के राज्य में जिस प्रकार क. डिमोक्रेसी का स्वरूप हम देखते हैं, वैसी डिमोक्रेसी आपको दुनिया के किसी और मुल्क में देखने को नहीं मिलेगी। मैं १६ देशों में घूमा हुआ हूं लेकिन मैंने इतनी विचारों की स्वतन्त्रता कहीं नहीं पायी जितनी कि यहां। हमारे भाई भूपेश गुप्ता जी यहां बोलते वक्त इतना शोर मचाते हैं, इतनी आवाज करते हैं कि सुन कर मैं घबड़ा जाता हूं। हमारे चेयरमैन साहब भी भूपेश गुप्त को डाइजेस्ट कर लेते हैं। मैं जानता हूं कि थोड़ा सा बोलने का भी एक तरीका होता है, जरा शांति से बोलो, प्रेम से बोलो। लेकिन नहीं, जरा कुछ बात हो गई, कहते हैं हम वाक आऊट कर जायेंगे। मेरे भाई, मेरी प्रार्थना है कि यह देश ऊंचा उठने जा रहा है, इसको ऊंचा उठाने के लिये पंचवर्षीय योजना बनाई जा रही है, उसको सफल बनाने के लिये कार्य करो। हम लोग दस वर्ष से कार्य कर रहे हैं। मैं पूछता हूं हम ४०० ६० तनख्वाह लेते हैं, और कितना काम करते हैं, पंचवर्षीय योजना को सफल बनाने के लिये। जहां तक मेरे वर्ग के लोगों का सवाल है, हम तो हर वक्त दबे हुये हैं, हमारा खाना अलग है, रहना अलग है। इसी वास्ते मैं कहता हूं कि हमारे देश की पंचवर्षीय योजना में हमारे दलित वर्ग के लिये जगह होनी चाहिये।

(समय की घंटी बजती है)

मुझे दो मिनट और चाहिये।

श्री उप सभापति : आपने १५ मिनट ले लिये हैं।

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज : इस एप्रो-प्रियेशन बिल के ऊपर मुझको बहुत से मुझाव देने थे, कई एक फिगर्स मैं देना चाहता था, लेकिन यहां मेरे पास फिगर्स देने के लिये ही वक्त नहीं है और इतने थोड़े समय में उनके बारे में कहना भी बहुत मुश्किल है। इस वास्ते मैं कहूंगा कि मैंने जो मुझाव

[श्री पी० एन० राजभोज]

बताये है गंदी बस्तियों के बारे में, हरिजन सुधार के बारे में, उनको मकान और जमीन दिलाने के सम्बन्ध में, मैं आशा करता हूँ उन पर अवश्य ध्यान दिया जायगा। उनका आर्थिक प्रश्न सबसे महत्वपूर्ण है। पंच-वर्षीय योजना के मिनिस्टर साहब यहां बैठे हैं, उनसे मेरा निवेदन है कि प्लान में इन सब बातों को जरूर रखें ताकि ये हमारे जो कम्यूनिस्ट भाई शोर मचाते हैं, इनका मुंह बन्द हो जाय। यदि हम थोड़ा मासेज में जायें, गरीबों के हृदय में प्रवेश करें और योजना को सफल बनाने में उनका सहयोग प्राप्त करें तो ये जो स्ट्राइक बगैरा होती हैं पी० एंड० टी० में या रेलवे में, ये नहीं होंगी। आपने जो पे कमीशन में हमारा प्रतिनिधि, श्रीमती चन्द्रशेखर को रखा है, वे बहुत अच्छी महिला हैं और उनसे मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि वे बहुत अच्छा काम करेंगी और बड़ी सहायता करेंगी। हम जितने भी शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट हैं या आदिवासी हैं, हम अपने को किसी से अलग नहीं मानते हैं। हम सब एक मां के बच्चे बन कर काम करना चाहते हैं। कल मैंने कहा था कि भंगी के सिर से मैले की टोकरी दूर कराना हमारा फर्ज है। खैर, यह दूसरा मामला है, हम अपना भला बुरा जो कुछ भी करेंगे, दोस्ती से करेंगे। पंच-वर्षीय योजना को सफल बनाने में और अपने देश को ऊंचा उठाने के लिये हम लोगों को सब प्रकार की आपसी मदद, दोस्ती और प्रेम से काम करने की आवश्यकता है, यह मेरी प्रार्थना है।

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: Sir, this Appropriation Bill has to be taken into account in relation to our present set up. And what is the objective of the Government as it is announced today? The objective is the implementation of a Five Year Plan, which we have taken into account, but then our ambitions are skyrocketing and our resources are diminishing. That is the crisis we are facing today. It is the crisis in our

foreign affairs; it is the crisis in financial affairs; it is the crisis in our economic affairs; it is the crisis in our intellectual affairs and it is the crisis in our domestic affairs. Now in order to overcome all these crises solution must be found, and the superior wisdom of the Parliament is there to find out a solution.

Now, Sir, what is the basic concept of society? In this concept we have to put in effort and labour to produce wealth. The two hundred years of foreign exploitation with the additional exploitation that is continuing even today are things we have to face. It is not a question of money value; it is not a question of currency value, but it is a value of work, labour and effort. In relation to that your rupee comes in. Now you put money into the hands of the public and then try to pinch it out of them as much as possible. That is what is called taxation. With the present taxation structure how far is it feasible to accommodate and finance the Five Year Plan is a matter for us to think. When Mr. Deshmukh was the Finance Minister of this Government he said, "Our resources are less to the extent of about Rs. 2,500 crores out of which Rs. 900 crores must be sought of in the form of deficit financing and the balance by foreign aid." Now disowned by certain countries and dis-inherited by some other countries we have to depend upon our natural and inherent resources to support the Plan. How can you do it? You cannot say, as the Finance Minister said in the other House, that we have to get foreign resources. No doubt, if you want to implement a Five Year Plan, foreign resources must be available to you. But who are going to give you unless you toe their line or you say that to some extent you are prepared to accommodate them? Otherwise no foreign resources will be available to you.

Then we will come to the next point of deficit financing. In the matter of deficit financing it only means that our currency notes will be printed more in the Nasik Press



and distributed to the people.. Now we all accept the position that if you distribute it to the people the purchasing capacity of every rupee is diminished to the extent you add to the circulation of notes. Then comes the howling of the average man. The average men have to get their where-withals, their fundamentals of existence and their needs. If you want to satisfy them, then you have to have recourse more deficit financing. It is all a vicious circle and that circle will continue so long as the price levels are not stabilised, and you cannot stabilise the price levels so long as deficit financing is there. So I think, as a realist, the Finance Minister to-day has come not to the Plan but to the core of the Plan. That is the diminishing retreat. I welcome it because, if you cannot have resources to match your ambition you must spend according to your capacity and what you have in your pocket. You cannot pinch the other man's pocket and try to spend it for yourself. Therefore the realistic problem which faces us to-day is the problem of pruning the Plan and bringing it down to your own resources. I can tell you how you can increase your resources, but the difficulty is that your economy is still a subsidised economy, an economy in which you subsidise others and not others you. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru: made a pilgrimage to London to attend the Commonwealth Conference. He tried to sound the financiers of Britain to come to our aid, and I know it has been a failure for his attempt. And why? The failure is there because we have not felt our capacity to stand on our own legs. If other should come and give you aid they must have either interest or they must have something else. You deny both. If you cannot do that, then there are other methods in our own country by which you can plug certain leakages from our country in the form of foreign remittances. I simply say to those foreigners who are still in our country sapping our vitality and sucking our blood to please stop it

for a period of five years. Let us block their profits from being sent out of this country. I know for instance—I do not want to take much time of the House in giving many facts and figures—that on an average a hundred crores of rupees are exported from this country every year to foreign lands, especially to Britain. My friends may doubt me, but I can give them facts and figures. I say that this hundred crores of rupees may be blocked. I do not say, "Expropriate them." I do not say, "Take away all their money and ask them to go naked." I say, "Please for a period of five years, in order to develop our national democracy in the form of economic betterment of our life, you make this sacrifice for our country. Do not send out of this country for a period of five years your profits or your personal incomes which you get on a large scale." If this is first of all admitted and negotiation is conducted in this respect, we reserve that much foreign exchange and that will be helpful to us. Now, all of a sudden we are faced with this foreign exchange difficulty. In the last three years we did not hear about it. Even last year we were all complacent. A forethinking administration must forestall events and when they forestall events they get ideas and they develop them. But here it was all in a hurry. There is no question of forestalling events and we did as we liked and gave liberal permits. Let them import as much as they can and now we have our foreign exchange depleted completely. I say, where is the need for a reserve for the foreign exchange? No independent country keeps a reserve for its own currency in some other country. No independent country has a value for its currency on the basis of somebody else's currency. All these monstrous iniquities we see only in our country. If you do not want to stabilise your currency on the basis of your own strength, it is only then that it must be attached to a foreign currency. And that is monstrous. We have to think *de novo* about this problem. It

[Shri H. D. Rajah.]

is our main malaise. If we want to get rid of the present economic crisis in our country we have to think fundamentally about how we are doing and what is the economic condition of our country. The fundamental fault lies with our currency problem. It has to be solved in a way where a nation thinking on its own merits must solve. I ask, why should we go on bended knees to foreign countries and ask for aid from them? It has no meaning at all. If you cannot develop on our own strength, then others cannot come to your help and develop your country. Others are only trying to exploit our resources and our situation as much as they can because I have not come across a single nation so far which is unselfish and which lifts up another nation just for the sake of simply lifting it up.

Now, I come to the taxation proposals. You want to make up the deficit by taxation and the hon. the Finance Minister has proposed two taxes lately; one is a tax on wealth and another is a tax on expenditure. Both these proposition are out of court if they would only think calmly and sensibly for a few days. This Wealth Tax is not going to add to their fortunes. If you look into the Reports of the Public Accounts Committee you will find the colossal waste that the Government is incurring and even that much you will not get out of your Wealth Tax. If you prune your administration, if you do things in such a way that unnecessary expenditure is not incurred, the proceeds of the Wealth Tax can be equated to those amounts mentioned in the Public Accounts Committee Reports. Now, I come to the Expenditure Tax. Unfortunately, Prof. Kaldor thinks that India is a guineapig to him. He has made so many recommendations and one of them is this expenditure tax. Can you tell me of any State in the world which has imposed this Expenditure Tax and which has made large fortunes on that basis in order to finance a Five Year Plan? This will affect only the fringe of the popu-

lation. Not even one per cent. of the population of this country is having more than a lakh of rupees income in a year and you can imagine how many people will be liable to pay this Expenditure Tax. You can count them easily. Now, both these Taxes are harassing and highly irksome. All the women of this country will be held to ransom by this tax on wealth because it has laid down the amount of wealth to be possessed. Every assessee whether he gets Rs. 3,000/- or Rs. 3 lakhs has to submit a return regarding the possession of jewellery in his hand. As Rajaji has rightly said, it will pry into the secrets of the sacred family life of the Hindus. I have been telling that jewellery is the only thing which is used by the women of this country in times of emergency. When their husbands have no job or when they find themselves, in a soup, the little trinket that the women wears will be pledged with some moneylender or other and they take some money temporarily and their stability in life is maintained that way and when the husband or she earns some money afterwards, that trinket is redeemed and it is worn again.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: We are not discussing Wealth Tax and Expenditure Tax now.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He won't be here; at that time he will be in Madras.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: It is therefore necessary that this proposal must be abandoned. Now, why do you want taxation? By taxation you can advance the economic level and you can finance the Five Year Plan but I will give him ideas which will bring him Rs. 100 crores per year for our State, provided these irksome tax proposals are abandoned.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He will be very thankful to you.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: That is all right. Without affecting a single man from the lowest to the highest, money can be had but before you tax the people you have to explain to them how you propose to spend your money. You should not irritate them. Please do not think for a minute that I am an apologist for the capitalist; I am not. Suppose you were to expropriate all the wealth of those who are supposed to have large fortunes and you distribute it to all, it will not give even one anna more to the population of this country. Then what should be our effort? Our effort should be to produce more and in order to produce more there must be incentives. And if there is no incentive, then go the Communist way. The Bureaucracy will be the slave drivers and the rest of the humanity of the country will be slaves. Whether it is good democracy or bad democracy or no democracy at all, that is the only other course.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN They also believe in incentives.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: Now, Sir, there are proposals and proposals. Now I would like the Government to tell us what has been the capital formation during the last three years. The companies, the private companies which are existing today, have got a total capital of Rs. 1,000 crores and these taxation proposals have diminished that to the extent of about Rs. 800 crores; thereby the shareholders will be losing roughly about Rs. 200 crores in the course of this year. Today for the purpose of implementing the Plan, for increasing the production targets the Government is going to the aid of these people in the private sector. And there is no private capital coming forward. An institution is applying for Rs. 3 crores in order to develop their cement industry and the shareholders have not come forward to pay that amount but the company has come to the Government seeking their help. So this so-called private sector

is a myth. And then we have the position of the middle class being wiped out on account of the excise duties and other taxes being levied upon them and there is their growing demand for increase in salary. You have seen the latest trend in respect of this P. & T. strike. The middle class has virtually become an annihilated class in our country. There is that supreme hatred for an economy in which the multi-millionaires can thrive and in which there is the lowest rung of the ladder, that is, the workers and the middle class. Many of you can understand the problems of the life of these people who are finding it very difficult to have two meals a day and to eke out a living. You have reduced them to that extent.

Now, you had this Life Insurance Corporation Bill and I said that this was a hasty measure; this should not be taken up and there will be serious reverses in the business. People will not do work according to the capacity demanded of them. And what did you see? During the last one year the business has gone down by Rs. 69 crores. Now, it is not a small thing; it was built up little by little by people who were interested to plug the foreign invasion of insurance in this country. Insurance was an alien idea to us; the Britishers imported it into our country and they did all the business. It was considered to be a matter of pride by the civilians and others who were getting insured only in the Royal Insurance Co. or the Prudential Insurance Co. These companies built up the business and made a huge fortune at our cost. Then the great patriots of our country, Dr. Ansari, Lala Lajpat Rai, Srinivasa Iyengar, Subash Chandra Bose, all these people got involved in the business and built it up. And today you took over only to destroy it. Now, we have to find out other methods of economy in order to implement our scheme. What is it that we have to do? As I have said, taxation is not the only problem. A return which can be given even by

[Shri H. D. Rajah.]  
the State enterprise to private people should be an idea which they must develop. They can take for investment purposes, but not for appropriating purposes.

Now, Sir, I come to the disparity in our development. The country must develop and when there is the country I do not mean it is only U.P. or Bengal. I mean the country as a whole. And what is it that we have today?

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR:  
(Uttar Pradesh): Give us now Rs. 100 crores a year.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: Shri Vallabharao complained about Andhra. I make a similar complaint about the entire South. The Kerala communist would have written to you volumes when they got into power about the niggardly way in which Kerala is being developed. If you want to develop, develop regionally, properly, so that the per capita income of an Indian in every part of this country will be the same. I do not want the per capita income of a Bombay man being Rs. 500, a Bengali being Rs. 250, and a Madrasi being Rs. 150. That is what we are visualising in your grand Five Year Plan. If we have to see things which will enable us to find out a method, then the planners must go back to the original idea and see that no disparity is made. And not only that, I say under the British regime we have suffered enough in the South. There was no question of developing it. You must not only develop on a regional and proper basis but you must good the loss we sustained under the British. You cannot follow the same pattern. We think we are one and when we think we are one we have got the need and desirability of developing as one. It is a family in which you cannot starve two children and feed three others. That is impracticable and the other children will rise up and revolt. And gun is not the reply; musket is not the reply. Therefore, what we have to do with

regard to the position that we have taken up is that on an overall development the pruning of the Plan is necessary. Development on a regional basis is necessary. You cannot depend upon foreign resources by which you can barter away your freedom and you must get out of this Commonwealth and create a separate value for your Rupee, which gives you enough prestige, enough value. And by the sweat and labour ourselves alone we can develop this country.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, in speaking on this Appropriation Bill, I would like to refer to items 47, 48, 49 and 50 relating to the Health Ministry. It is very strange that, while the details of other items are given, under miscellaneous items, an amount of one crore has been mentioned. And it is with reference to this that would like to point out some of the things which lead to wastage in this Ministry and to draw the attention of the Finance Minister who finds it difficult to give money for the functioning of a separate women's medical college. To begin with I would like to say that the All India Institute of Medical Sciences in the position in which it finds itself today is not functioning properly even after two or three years. It should have been, as was pointed out by many, either in Calcutta or in Bombay where the hospitals required are there. But it was pointed out by an ex-Health Minister that it was to be an exceptional institution, with exceptional staff and with exceptional students. But what has happened? This institution was started in a hurry too. Why? Because the New Zealand Government gave something like a crore of rupees and if it was not used quickly the whole thing would be scrapped. And as a result we had to spend more than Rs. 6 crores for an institute which is not there. Let us think of the exceptional staff. Today the appointments made are not by reference to the Public Service Commission in spite of

repeated demands on the floor of the House. Democracy does not matter to that Ministry. And as a result what has happened to the staff? The State Governments from their colleges are not prepared to release their staff, to forward the applications of their best staff because they do not know the future of this institute which is yet in a nebulous state and has not given much proof of its efficiency or ability to manage. Same is the case with the students. The institute refuses to be affiliated to any University, because it is going to be something very unique and grand. The result is that today we heard that only ten first class students applied, whereas there should have been one and all first class—and they should have admitted only first class students and none else—36 second class and two third class students. And that is going to be the nucleus for starting a separate college when 40 new students, who may be one and all first class could be admitted. Now, you find all over the country the medical colleges prepared, the State Governments prepared to accommodate extra students by taking to second shifts even. But this grand Institute of Medical Sciences which has become a white elephant in this Hastinapur could not afford to do that. Why, because they think their grand record would be perhaps spoiled.

Now, Sir, let us see how there has been wastage on this superfluous staff and this inefficient staff too. If an enquiry committee were to be appointed to enquire into the way in which the staff has been appointed, I am sure practically all of them will have to be sent away. There was a question today which could not be reached. I would like to point out here that on the staff is a member who when he was first appointed, was taken by this Ministry—because that Ministry is full of a record of nepotism, favouritism and in the institute it has conducted affairs with intrigue. As a result, this gentleman, in the time of a male principal of a

women's college here, was brought to the women's college, when he was officiating, not being pucca, when he was drawing Rs. 250 or Rs. 400, maybe in a Punjab State college; he was brought in the grade in the Lady Hardinge College, no reference to the Public Service Commission—all *ad hoc* committees—on a salary of Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,200. He was sent for some sort of training abroad and then he was brought back and taken back in his post. There was a woman doctor who was equally qualified, if not with better qualifications. She was not taken in that post in that college. And from there at once he was shifted in a high jump to Rs. 1,200—1,800 grade. That is the way money is being wasted. That is not all. I would like also to point out that the post for biochemistry, the post for anatomy, the post for radiology, the post for orthopaedics—the college is only in its first year—are all being filled there on salaries above Rs. 1,200, higher salaries than anywhere in the country because of the supposed very high standard of education in the Institute. Whom they are to educate whether the walls or the chairs, it is not known and still all these posts are filled and money is being thrown to the winds. And yet they are not able to accommodate 40 students in that college when the country is wanting to save money by not starting another college. That is not all. Every professor has been more or less given a stenographer in the grade of Rs. 250—300. Why they could not manage with a typist, as if they were going to dictate whole time, not having any other work to do. Similarly, Rs. 6 crores have been spent by that Institute in this wonderful planning done there by the officer-in-charge who did not have more than ordinary L.M. degree—not even M.B.B.S.—no higher degree, no experience of conducting any institution. He has been in charge of planning in this grand institute. He has planned for quarters, houses for every professor and every member of the staff costing Rs. 6 crores. And today the position is such that unless

[Dr. Shrimati Seeta Parmanand.] the country pours in Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 crores, we will not be able to see that institute functioning. I do not know why this institute should have been allowed to be a sort of statutory body, so that nobody would be able to go into that. And who is the Chairman of this Institute—a non-medical person. If the ex-Health Minister had been there as the *ex-officio* Chairman, one could have understood it. But it is not very convenient or desirable for the Minister to be the Chairman of a statutory body. Why should there be a person without a degree—medical degree or any degree—as the head of this institution, is a question that we should not fight shy of asking.

Sir, I would also like to point out that, when the Selection Committee was appointed, in spite of there being women in our country, who have been on Medical Inspection Committees of other colleges and who are very much superior to more than half the number of persons that were on that Committee, no woman was appointed on the Selection Committee. Not a single woman was thought suitable to be appointed in the Institute of Medical Sciences.

We all know the past history—and I do not want to go into that—how in spite of various requests practically from every Member of the House, neither Ayurveda nor Unani was thought fit enough to rub shoulder with this Allopathic system. Yet what do we find? In that famous Jamnagar Institute for Ayurveda where people are to be treated according to the Ayurveda, lest they should have some diffidence in the treatment, there is a complete department of allopathy. Why there should be this superiority complex in our country in the case of allopathy, I should like to know. There are quite a number of people who have faith in these two systems. Even our President has an Ayurveda physician accompanying him very often. People have full

faith in the Ayurveda system. It is an ancient system. Unfortunately, it has not yet had a chance of being tried according to the test of modern medicine.

Sir, with all these, it was called the Institute of Medical Sciences. The word 'Sciences' is in plural. The desire of the Ministry was not to give these two 'sciences' what they perhaps thought was the highest status of modern science.

Sir, I will leave this Medical Institute at that and would like to point out here that, in spite of there being a shortage of woman doctors, no attempt is made to give money to one women's medical college in this country. Sir, the college was a gift to the women of the nation—just as a Raksha Bandhan gift. It is pointed out by the ex-Health Minister that there is no medical college exclusively for women in U.K. or China. America is considered the most leading country in the world. Why not follow the example of America where there is a medical college for women? It is absolutely wrong to say that the standard of teaching in a college goes down because there are women. It is an absolute travesty of truth, if I may say so, and if I do not want to call it falsehood, to say that the standard went down because there were women there. The standard went down because of the administration that was brought about since the college went under the control of the Health Ministry and so much intrigue, nepotism and wastage introduced. Sir, when the Medical Council went on recommending or insisting on certain equipment being purchased in the Surgical and Clinical Departments of the College, a sum of Rs. 1 lakh and a half or so was spent on useless things like furniture, almirahs and covers, things which could have been postponed. When it was found that the Chairman of the British Medical Council who had visited India in 1955 recognised the degrees of this college for preliminary F.R.C.S. and the English M.R.C.P. and

when it was known that the students of this college, even last year and the year before, had at first shot passed the M.R.C.P. and F.R.C.S. in England, care should have been taken to give first priority to things that required first attention and not allow the college to go the way it went by intrigue, by appointments and by favouritism. If there were to be an impartial enquiry, the Health Ministry will get the greatest censure that could be imagined.

Take one instance, Sir. This morning or yesterday, there was an advertisement in papers for a woman principal for the college, age to be below 55. I may ask the ex-Health Minister—she is sitting here—why should this age of 55 be put down there by the Ministry when that gentleman from the Army who was superannuated was appointed and was allowed to continue for two years. When Dr. Swift who is a relation of the ex-Health Minister was given two years in that college with one year extension, where is the need, when merit alone counts and when only women are to be recruited, to put down the limit of 55 when there is teaching experience and everything else? There are so many women—seven or eight of them—who have had high qualifications and held high posts. But because of the circumstances brought about—and I am using the word 'brought about' with a special significance—they were made to resign and go away. Sir, I fail to understand what has happened to this college and the new Institute which is a statutory body financed by the Health Ministry. It is high time that these education institutions should be taken away from that Ministry and put under the Education Ministry. The Engineering College, Technical College and all other colleges are under the Education Ministry. If people with no college administrative experience and with no appropriate educational qualifications are to run these institutions, it would not be good.

I take one example just to show how they look after things in the Health Ministry. A gentleman was made the Director of the Patel Chest Institute. The hon. Minister was good enough to say this morning that it has been an honorary post for the last four years. He is now given a salary of Rs. 2,300, and for what? For looking after about 14 or 15 students in a year. There is no hospital attached to it. The Finance Minister should look into these things.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He told you that it was the University which appointed him. It is a statutory body.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND: What is he going to direct there? What research? I should like to know what research he has done in his life? None at all to be there directing research.

Similarly, Sir, superannuated people after superannuated people have been given jobs in the Health Ministry. But when it comes to women being appointed, even when they are underaged at the time of appointment and with higher qualifications than everyone appointed by the Health Ministry, it is said in reply that the particular candidate was much too old. This was said by the ex-Health Minister.

Sir, we are not going to tolerate this kind of discrimination in a democratic set-up. Because women have nobody to speak on their behalf, they are made to suffer in this way. We have equality only on paper and we have every kind of discrimination in practice. The medical profession is the most organised one which is most suitable for women because they can follow this even if they are married. If women are treated with such discrimination, I should like to know whether women can make any marked improvement. I should like to know how women with teaching experience and qualifications would be able to get any job, if they are

[Dr. Shrimati Seeta Parmanand.]  
not taken into the only college for women. If this college is not preserved as the only college for women, where will they be given a chance? This Lady Hardinge College was started with the Articles of Association saying, "in order to create a cadre of women to man the administrative and teaching services of women in growing proportions". Today, we find that, where there were 95 per cent. or even 98 per cent. women on the staff, gradually, within the last four years, 12 or 16 men have been appointed. These are very funny things. Even recently three or four appointments have been made by an *ad hoc* body without having the courage to consult the Public Service Commission previously. The names are not announced immediately; they are gradually announced. Sir, I would like to point out various other things, but I am sorry that my time is up, about the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting require an immediate change in their policy towards the censorship of films, both imported and produced in the country, of film scripts, etc. As such, I would request the hon. the Finance Minister to give this Ministry money specifically which would be required to improve censorship of films. Otherwise, the havoc that is being caused in the life of the younger generation cannot be arrested. Here films are the cheapest and the only entertainment that people can have with their limited means. If proper censorship is not there, it would be difficult to repair the damage and it would be no use wondering why certain things are happening, when we are allowing our younger generation to go the way the film-makers want them to go, by giving only sensational entertainment. They do not want and stop to think what effect their films will have on the younger generation of children. They should at least stop to think what effect these films would have on their own children. Neither the teachers take any interest nor the

parents, who are educated and are capable of looking after the upbringing of the younger generation.

One word about housing by the Labour Ministry. The Labour Ministry is doing all it can to expedite the housing schemes for labour but because of certain legal difficulties which do not allow the employers to be forced to come forward with their share of the responsibility, some new measures are being brought forward. I would like to make an appeal here to the Works, Housing and Supply Ministry to see that they do not stick to certain stereotyped patterns of housing for the low income groups, for industrial labour and for rural houses, where different patterns can be followed. The houses need not be of cement and iron and steel; they may be of wood, good earth work or lime and stone. It is only because of the stumbling block of certain fixed ideas of the engineering staff and red tape, the houses which should have been built some four years ago are yet to be built, and is not known when they will be built. Something should be done to fix a time limit within which—say two years—they should be built or all facilities should be given to the different categories of labour to build them. Thank you.

श्रीमती कृष्णा कुमारी (मध्य प्रदेश) :

उप सभापति जी, जो विनियोग विधेयक हमारे सामने है, उसके संबंध में भाषण करने के लिए मैं खड़ी हुई हूं। सबसे पहले मैं यह कहना चाहती हूं कि जैसे आदमी के लिए जल, वायु और खाना होना जरूरी होता है, उसी तरह में स्वास्थ्य के लिए भी दवाइयों का होना आवश्यक है। सरकार की तरफ से हेल्थमिनिस्ट्री को जितना रुखा दिया जाता है, वह पूर्णतः उपयोग नहीं होता है। यह बड़े दुःख की बात है कि हमारे भारतवर्ष में इतनी गरीब जनता पड़ी हुई है फिर भी यह रुपया क्यों नहीं उनकी भलाई के लिए उपयोग



किया जाता है ? जो रुपया गरीब जनता के लिए दिया जाता है वह साल के अन्त में लैप्स हो जाता है और उसका इस्तेमाल नहीं किया जाता है। यह मितव्ययता क्यों दिखाई जाती है, जिससे जनता का नुकसान हो।

सन् १८५७ ई० में जो जन-संहार हुआ था उस समय राज्य की बागडोर अंग्रेजों के हाथ में थी लेकिन आज वही बागडोर हम लोगों के हाथ में आ गई है। उसी तरह का जन-संहार आज हमारे भारतवर्ष में दूसरे रूप में हो रहा है और हुआ। अगर गणना की जाय तो मामूली हेरफेर उसके अन्दर आता है। सन् १८५७ ई० के शुरू होते ही हमारे सारे भारतवर्ष में 'फ्लू' की ऐसी हवा बही, इस तरह से बही कि इस देश का जन-जन घबरा उठा, उसके दिल और दिमाग में ऐसा असर पड़ा कि जो बीमार नहीं था वह भी बीमार हो गया। भारतवर्ष में कोई आदमी ऐसा नहीं बचा जिसको 'फ्लू' न हुआ हो। श्रीमन्, मैं आपका ध्यान इस बात की ओर आकर्षित करना चाहती हूँ कि हमारे नगरों में तो बड़े बड़े अस्पताल और भवन खड़े हुए हैं लेकिन हमारे गावों में इस तरह का कोई इंतजाम नहीं किया गया है। इन अस्पतालों में भी हालत यह है कि लोग शीशिया लेकर लाइनो में खड़े रहते हैं और फिर भी उनको दवा नहीं मिलती है। जून और जुलाई के महीने में जबकि गर्मी का मौसम होता है, दवा की बात तो जाने दीजिये, छोटे छोटे बच्चों को पानी और खाना नहीं मिलता है और वे तड़पते रहते हैं। यह दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि मैं भी मोटर एक्सीडेंट की वजह से अस्पताल में पहुँच गई। वहाँ के वातावरण को मैंने आँखों से देखा। बच्चे चिल्ला चिल्ला कर कह रहे थे—“मा पानी पीऊंगा, टट्टी जाऊंगा।” दवा की बात तो दूर रही वहाँ अस्पतालों में पानी का भी इंतजाम नहीं था, यह कितने दुःख की बात है। हम लोग जनता द्वारा चुने जाकर यहाँ पर आते हैं और

उनके प्रतिनिधि कहलाते हैं। कई बार सुझाव दिया गया है कि ग्रामीण जनता को भलाई के लिए कुछ ठोस काम किया जाय मगर इस बारे में उचित ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है। आज जितना भी पैसा सरकार को मिलता है वह ग्रामीण जनता द्वारा ही मिलता है फिर भी उनके लिए नगर के मुकाबले में बहुत कम कार्य किया जाता है। श्रीमन्, इस ओर तनिक भी ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है कि जिस ग्रामीण जनता की मुसीबत से नगर वाले मजबूत होते हैं, उनके लिए भी कुछ सुविधा की जाय। मैंने इस सम्बन्ध में कई सुझाव दिये थे मगर उन पर अभी तक अमल नहीं किया गया।

ग्रामीण जनता अगर नगर में जाती है तो दो चार दिन रहने के लिए उसे मजदूरी करनी पड़नी है क्योंकि इस पेट की ज्वाला की शान्ति के लिए कुछ न कुछ करना पड़ता है और जिसे कोई आरोग्य आदमी बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकता है। गरीब ग्रामीण जनता के पास कोई साधन नहीं है, जिसे उनके भाग्य के ऊपर छोड़ दिया गया है जबकि उनकी गाड़ी कमाई से बहुत सा रुपया टैक्स के रूप में सरकार के पास आता है। आज गावों में यह दशा है कि वहाँ पर दवा वितरण करने के लिए कोई भी साधन नहीं है। अस्पतालों की हालत यह है कि वहाँ पर अगर आप जाइये तो आपको जवाब मिलेगा कि अभी दवा नहीं आई है, साहब दवा नहीं है दवा की कीमत भी बढ़ गई। जो चार पैसे की थी वह दो आने और दस पैसे कीमत वाली दवा भी आपको वहाँ नहीं मिलेगी। इस तरह से अस्पतालों में दवा वितरण करने की व्यवस्था है। अब आप ही बताइये कि किस तरह से आप गाव वालों की सिम्पैथी हासिल कर सकते हैं। इस तरह से काम नहीं चल सकता है और अगर उनकी सिम्पैथी के हम कायम नहीं रह सकते हैं। नगर के लोगों को कोई न कोई उद्यम मिलता रहता है, रोजगार मिलता रहता है लेकिन गाव वालों के लिए इस तरह क

[श्रीमती कृष्णा कुमारी]

कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। वैसे कहने के लिए तो हमारे यहां अनेक साधन हैं, कई तरह की स्कोमें चलाई जा रही हैं, मगर ग्रामीण जनता का भला इन चीजों से नहीं हो रहा है। सरकार की ओर से सोशल वेलफेयर को बहुत रुपया दिया जाता है, शिक्षा विभाग को दिया जाता है और ग्रामीणों की भलाई के लिए भी रुपया दिया जाता है। लेकिन जिस तरह से इस रुपये का दुरुपयोग किया जाता है वह मैं आपके सामने बतलाती हूं। साल के अन्त में यह बतलाया जाता है कि फलों मंद में इतना रुपया बच गया है जिसमें वह लैप्स हो जाता है। इस तरह से रुपया बचाकर अधिकारी लोग यह दिखाते हैं कि हमने इतना रुपया बचा लिया जबकि हालत यह है कि गांवों के लिए बहुत सा रुपया जो जनता की भलाई के लिए दिया जाता है पानी की तरह बहा दिया जाता है।

श्रीमन्, मेरा यह कहना है कि सन् १८५७ में जो जन-संहार हुआ था वह विदेशी हुकूमत की वजह से हुआ था किन्तु आज हमारे देश में स्थिति दूसरी है। आज राज्य की बागडोर जनता के हाथ में है, हम लोग आज़ाद और एक प्रजातंत्र राष्ट्र हैं। उसमें गरीबों को, ग्रामीणों को, रोगियों को उनके अपने भाग्य पर छोड़ दिया गया है। श्रीमन्, आज हालत यह है कि जब कोई आदमी अस्पताल में जाता है तो उसको ठीक तरह से दवाई उपलब्ध नहीं होती है। हमारी एक बहिन अपने लड़के को लेकर अस्पताल जाती है। उस लड़के की हालत इतनी नाजुक है कि उसे अस्पताल में जाकर दवा भी नहीं मिलती है। लड़के की मां को एक पर्चा लिख कर दे दिया जाता है कि दवा ले आये। वह औरत क्लपती हुई जाती है मगर उसके पास पैसा नहीं हाता है। वह अपने हाथ की जंजीर को गिरवी रखकर पैसा लाती है। इस बीच वह अपने बच्चे को किसी के पास छोड़ जाती है और जब वह वापस आती है तो उसका रुपया कहीं गिर जाता है। जब वह वहां

आई तो उसके पास रुपया नहीं था। तो ये परिस्थितियां दवा की कमी से फिर आयेंगी। मैं इस ओर आपका ध्यान दिला रही हूं और हम लोगों को इस ओर ठोस कदम उठाना चाहिये। हमारी हेल्थ मिनिस्ट्री को इसके ऊपर विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिये। दवा का पूरा प्रबन्ध होना आवश्यक है।

अपने मन को तसल्ली देने के लिये हम लोग कहते हैं कि हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना पूर्ण हुई है। उस सम्बन्ध में भी कई बार कहा गया, कई बार सुझाव दिया गया कि और कुछ नहीं तो कम से कम तीन तीन गांवों के अन्दर, चार चार गांवों के अन्दर एक औषधालय तो खोल दीजिये, कम से कम वहां एक प्रसूतिगृह तो खोल दीजिये। मैं कहती हूं कि कौन पुरुष या स्त्री है जो कि यह नहीं जानती कि बच्चा पैदा होने वाली अवस्था कितनी संकटापन्न होती है और ऐसे समय में जहां दाइयां न हों और जहां कोई दवा का साधन न हो तो कितना खतरा रहता है। इस वजह से कितनी जानें जा रही हैं, कितनी हमारी बहनें मर रही हैं, कितने नवजात शिशु मर रहे हैं और कोई देखने वाला नहीं है, तब भी हम लोग संतोष करते हैं कि समारी सब योजनायें पूरी हुईं।

मैं कहती हूं कि सिंचाई की योजना तो बना दी है—हमारे सिंचाई मंत्री तो बैठे हुए हैं—लेकिन खेतों को सिंचना तो बहुत बड़ी बात है अस्पतालों में आदमी का गला सिंचने के लिये भी पानी नहीं है। तो यह भी कोई योजना है? मैं कहती हूं कि जब तक गरीब जनता के दिल की आह नहीं जायगी तब तक हम लोगों को यह नहीं समझना चाहिये कि हम लोगों ने पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त कर ली है। उन लोगों के दिलों में हमेशा आह भरी रहती है। हर प्रकार के टैक्स उन्हें देने पड़ते हैं। हर प्रकार के टैक्स वे देते हैं पर यह नहीं सोचा जाता है कि उनके साथ हम लोग क्या कर रहे हैं। आज ऐसे महासंकट के,

महासंहार के, वक्त में उन्हें देखने वाला कोई नहीं है। कहां तक कहूं। आप सब को मालूम है कि डी० डी० टी० के लिये ४ वर्ष से कितना रुपया दिया गया है परन्तु गांवों में तो लोग जानते ही नहीं कि यह कौन सी चीज है। मैं तो शहरों के अस्पतालों की हालत कहती हूं कि वहां मक्खिया आदमियों को उठा ले जायें, अगर वे उनसे उठाये जा सकें। इतनी मक्खिया मैंने कहीं नहीं देखी जितनी कि अस्पतालों में देखती हूं। यह तो हमारे यहाँ अस्पताल की सफाई है और सफाई के लिये कितना अधिक रुपया खर्च किया गया है? यहां हम लोगों के अस्पताल की सफाई देखने के लिये हमारे यहाँ यूरोपियन महिलायें रखी जाती हैं। हम हिन्दुस्तानी क्या इतनी सफाई भी नहीं कर सकते। अरे, अपना घर तो हम गोबर से लीप पोत कर चिकना रखते हैं। लेकिन बात यह है कि उन्होंने अपना पैसा लिया और इधर उधर घूमा। उन्होंने यह कभी नहीं देखा कि बाथरूम की दशा क्या है, लैट्रिन की दशा क्या है और पानी की दशा क्या है। इसकी रिपोर्ट भी कहीं नहीं होती है। यह हमारा स्वराज्य अच्छा है! मैं इसको क्या कहूं। भारतवर्ष का यह कैसा अभाग्य है, मेरी समझ में नहीं आ रहा है! अगर हम लोग सन् ५७ को पार कर जायें—अभी तो ४ मास बाकी हैं—तो ईश्वर को न्यवाद दे। अगर हमारी हेल्थ मिनिस्ट्री का यही रवैया रहा, वह अब भी नहीं चेती तो मैं कहती हू कि बड़ा घोर नरसंहार हो जायगा। हमारी निरीह गरीब जनता, ग्रामीण जनता, बिल्कुल तबाह हो जायगी। वह बिना बाल-बच्चे की, बिना घर-बार की हो जायगी क्योंकि वह इस समय बहुत ही घबड़ाई हुई है। कई दफा हमने कहा कि प्राइमरी स्कूलों में मेडिसिनल चैस्ट रख दीजिये क्योंकि लड़के वहां पर खेलते हैं और उन्हें चोट लगती है, तो कम में कम उनको लगाने के लिये टिककर तो रहे, उनकी आख आ जाती है—छाछूत की यह बीमारी फैलती है—तो उनकी आंखों में दवा डालने

के लिये हो जाय, लेकिन कोई सुनवाई नहीं।

जब हमारे भारतवर्ष में अंग्रेजों का राज्य था तब भी हमारे सिर पर डी० सी० ये और आज जब कि स्वतंत्र हैं तब भी डी० सी० हमारे सिर पर हैं। उनसे बराबर कहते रहो, हाथ जोड़ते रहो कि साहब यह कर दीजिये, वह कर दीजिये, यह नहीं है वह नहीं है, तब भी वे काम टाल जाते हैं।

इतना मिल्क पाउडर बाहर से मगाया जाता है लेकिन वह हमारे पाठशालाओं के बालकों को नहीं मिलता है। वह होता क्या है यह शोचनीय बात है। क्या कुत्ते खा रहे हैं, बिल्लियां खा रही हैं? मैंने एक बार देखा कि एक जगह मिल्क पाउडर रखा था, कहीं से देखते देखते एक गाय आ गई और उसको खाने लगी लेकिन उसको खाते खाते वह गाय गिरी और पट से मर गई। तो यह दशा है। आदमियों को खाने को नहीं मिलता है। एक कहावत किसानों में, गांवों में चलती है :

सड़ गल जावे, गोत न पावे;  
गोत जो पावे, व्यर्थ हो जावे।

तो वही कहावत है। कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं होता है। यह नहीं सोचा जाता है कि कितना पैसा गरीबों का जा रहा है। ग्रामीण जनता की यह हालत है कि वह पशुपालन नहीं कर सकती है। जितना मां का दूध उन्होंने पिया है उतना ही पिये रहते हैं। कहीं कहीं ऐसा है कि वे दूध का स्वाद भी नहीं जानते हैं। तो अगर वह मिल्क पाउडर वहां पहुंचा दिया जाय और उनको दे दिया जाय तो उनके स्वास्थ्य के लिये भी फायदा हो और ग्रामीण जनता को कुछ तसल्ली भी हो कि हमारा भारतवर्ष आजाद हुआ तो हमारे बच्चों के लिये हमें थोड़ा दूध तो मिल गया लेकिन वह कुछ नहीं हुआ।

मैं कहती हूं कि हमारी योजनाएं तो सब चलेंगी परन्तु उसके नीचे के स्तर को

[श्रीमती कृष्णा कमारी]

सम्भालना बहुत जरूरी है। जब तक कि उसको नीचे से नहीं सम्भाला जायगा और उसकी पूर्ण व्यवस्था नहीं की जायगी तब तक हमारे भारतवर्ष की उन्नति नहीं हो सकती है। बड़ी बड़ी योजनाएं बनाने से ही अगर उन्नति हो जाय तो फिर कहना ही क्या है। कहने में काम जितना सरल होता है उतना ही करने में कठिन होता है। उतनी जल्दी और सरलता से काम पूरा नहीं हो जाता जितना कि आदमी कहता है। काम करने के लिये आदमी को बहुत ठोस और मजबूत कदम उठाना चाहिये। कहने के लिये तो कुछ नहीं चाहिये। करतूते तो खुद ही कह देगी और हमें कहने की जरूरत नहीं पड़ेगी। जब काम कर डालेंगे तो आप से आप काम ही बोलने लगेगा, परन्तु हम लोगो में तो यह बात परम्परा में चली आ रही है कि कहना बहुत और करना कुछ नहीं। यही स्वरूप हमको दिखाई पड़ रहा है और यही हालत हमारी हेल्थ मिनिस्ट्री की चल रही है।

मैं अब भी यही कहूंगी कि वह मेरे इस सुझाव को मानें कि चार-चार गावों के अन्दर एक-एक औषधालय और प्रसूतिकागृह खोल दें और हर एक प्राइमरी स्कूल में मेडिसिनल चेस्ट रख दें ताकि कम से कम गाव के आस पास के लोगो के लिये कोई साधारण दवा मिलने के माधन हो जाय और बहुत कुछ सुधार हो जाय।

अब, श्रीमन् का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करना है कि हमारे शिक्षा विभाग में कितनी खामिया आ गई हैं, कितनी कमी आ गई है। यो तो शिक्षा विभाग को बढ़ाने के लिये, शिक्षा प्रचार करने के लिये यह हमारी योजना है कि १० साल के अन्दर या १५ साल के अन्दर भारतवर्ष का कोई भी बच्चा अशिक्षित न रहे। मैं समझ नहीं पाती हू कि कैसे हमारी योजना पूर्ण हो जायगी, जब कि एक साल में तीन बार मुझे अपने दर्जे के कोर्स की किताबें बदलनी होती हैं। छोटे बच्चे हो

या बड़े बच्चे हो, जब तक एक किताब वह पढ़ नहीं पाते हैं तब तक एक दूसरी किताब आ जाती है। तो इससे उनका मस्तिष्क भी विकृत हो जाता है और वे घबड़ा भी जाते हैं कि यह क्या बना है कि हर तीसरे महीने ये किताबें बदलती हैं। यह तो हमारे शिक्षा विभाग की हालत है। वह बार बार हर तीसरे महीने किताबें बदल देती है। पढ़ाई तो जैसी होती है वैसी होती ही है? व्यायाम की हालत जैसी हा रही है वह तो हो ही रही है। पहले लड़के गुरुकुल में भेज दिये जाते थे, वहां वे व्यायाम सीखते थे, वहां उनका हर काम का समय नियत रहता था कि इस वक्त खाना खाओ और इस वक्त पढ़ो आदि आदि। अब लड़के जब पढ़ने के लिये जाते हैं तो यह देखा गया है कि कहीं कहीं अध्यापक कुर्मियों पर ...

(समय की घंटी)

श्रीमन्, थोड़ा समय और दे दें।

तो यह देखा जाता है कि हमारे अध्यापक कुर्मियों पर बैठे बैठे गप्प-शप्प कर रहे हैं, कहीं कहीं शतरंज भी चल जाता है और कहीं कहीं ताश भी चल जाता है और लड़के मनमाने खेल रहे हैं। ऐसी हालत में हमारे यहां शिक्षा कैसे बढ़ पायेगी? मैं यह विनय करती हू कि अब यह रवैया तो कम से कम बदल ही दिया जाय कि जो ये दोबारा, तिबारा पुस्तकें बदली जाती हैं वे न बदली जाय क्योंकि ग्रामीण जनता के पास इतना रुपया नहीं है कि अपना पेट काट कर उनको बार बार खरीद सके, इसलिए जो पुस्तकें रखी जाय, सोच समझ के रखी जाय और किसी के कहने से बार बार न रखी जाय। कम से कम यह सहूलियत तो ग्रामीण जनता के लिए अवश्य हो जाय।

दूसरी चीज यह है कि यह जो कहा जाना है कि महिलाओ को पढ़ाओ, महिलाओ को पढ़ाओ, मेरे विचार में यह कोरी कल्पना है। ऐसा भी सुनने में आ रहा है कि हमारे मोशन

वैलफेयर बोर्ड की तरफ से इसके लिए काफी साधन रख जा रहे हैं। पर जब देखते हैं तो सचमुच मोशल वैलफेयर बोर्ड में काफी रुपया दिखाई देता है—वे खर्च ही नहीं कर पाते हैं। वे समझ ही नहीं पा रहे हैं कि किम ढग में खर्च किया जाय, ऐसा तो इसकी हालत है। वे क्या करेंगे कि जो डी० सी० होगा उसकी स्त्री को वहाँ का प्रधान बना देंगे, मोटर जो मिलेगी वह डी० सी० साहब की हवाखोरी के लिए काम में आयेगी। अब काम हो तो कहा से हो? बाकी जो रुपया है उसमें कुछ रुपये पर अध्यापिका रख ली गई हैं और वह भी नगरों के चारों ओर, और गावों तक वह चीज आती ही नहीं है। देहात में जहाँ औरतें अपने कामों में लगी रहती हैं और उनको वक्त नहीं रहता और जो अपना मध्य बहुत कुछ देने को तैयार होती हैं, अगर उनमें चढ़ा मागने कोई जाय तो वे कहती हैं साहब, हम पढ़ के क्या करेंगी, सिलाई सीख के क्या करेंगी जो अपने के लिए चढ़ा दे, या अपने बच्चों के लिए चढ़ा दे। यह दिक्कत है और मोशल वैलफेयर बोर्ड का यह हाल है कि वह मोटर की दौड़ के अंदर रहेगा। मैं कहती हूँ कि इसके लिए बहुत त्याग की जरूरत है, बहुत हिम्मत की जरूरत है। जब तक यह हिम्मत और त्याग करके हम काम में नहीं जुट जाते तब तक स्त्रियों को उठाने के लिए, उन्हें बढ़ाने के लिए जो साधन मोशल वैलफेयर बोर्ड ने अस्तित्वार किये हैं वे सम्पूर्ण रूप से उपयोगी नहीं होंगे।

श्री अब्दुर रज्जाक खान (पश्चिमी बंगाल) माननीय महोदय, मैं सब से पहले अभी हाल में जो वाक्या दिल्ली के भंगी कालोनी में पेश आया और उसके बाद अभी फीरोजपुर के जेलखाने में होने वाले वाक्य की जो खबरे आ रही हैं, वहाँ जो हंगामे हुए हैं और पुलिस की तरफ से जो मोलिया और लाठियों की दौछार वहाँ चल रही हैं, उनके खिलाफ आवाज उठाना चाहता हूँ। कुछ ऐसे ढंग, कुछ ऐसे आमार मालूम

हो रहे हैं कि अब उसे देखकर हमें पुरानी बातें याद आती हैं।

[Mr VICE CHAIRMAN (M GOVINDA REDDY) in the Chair]

जिन लोगों को मुल्क का हाल मालूम है वे जानते हैं कि अबाम याने पब्लिक में दिन ब दिन घबराहट, बचनी और नाराजगी बढ़ रही है। जो मुतालबा, जो मागे वे पेश कर रहे हैं वे पूरे नहीं होते। अगर उनको पूरा करने के लिए ठीक तरीके न निकाले जाय बल्कि इसके खिलाफ उसके जवाब में गोलियाँ और लाठियाँ निकाली जाय तो आइन्दा हमें खतरा है कि मुल्क के मामलात जिस तरीके से हम निबाहना चाहते हैं, वे ऐसे नहीं निभ सकेंगे। होम मिनिस्ट्री को खास कर सबसे पहले मैं इस बारे में होशियारी दिलाना चाहता हूँ। अभी हमारे किसी पार्लियामेंट के एक मेम्बर की गिरफ्तारी हुई है। पुलिस की तरफ से जो यह गिरफ्तारी हुई है, मालूम होता है कि किसी जमाने में उनके खिलाफ कोई शिकायत थी, लेकिन बदले हुए दिनों का कोई खयाल उसमें नज़र नहीं आता। वही पुराने तरीके हैं, ढग है कि बदला लिया जाय। चोट के बदले चोट, यह तो हमारा नज़रिया नहीं है। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि यहाँ तरीका वही अस्तित्वार किया जा रहा है होम मिनिस्ट्री की तरफ से।

मा० महोदय, होम मिनिस्ट्री के मिलसिले में मैं एक और बात जो इस वक्त जरूरी है, पेश करना चाहता हूँ। वह यह है कि एड्मिनिस्ट्रेशन के एक्सपेंसेज, यानी अखराजात, बहुत ही बढ़ रहे हैं। आपको मालूम होगा कि अभी हाल में बड़ी कोशिश करके पब्लिक का खून चूस करके ज्यादा से ज्यादा टैक्स उसके ऊपर लगाया जा रहा है और उसको लगा कर हम दो सौ, ढाई सौ करोड़ के करीब वसूल कर रहे हैं अपनी पचसाला स्कीम को पूरा करने के लिए, लेकिन आपको मालूम होगा कि इसका निस्फ एड्मिनिस्ट्रेटिव एक्सपेंसेज और डेवलपमेंट एक्सपेंडीचर में चला जा रहा है। पब्लिक को यह जानकर

[श्री अश्वर रज्जाक खान]

ताज्जुब होगा कि माहब, एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन एक्सपेंस में हम इस कदर अपने ऊपर ज़ब्र करके रुपया दे रहे हैं। पब्लिक को भूखा रख कर, नगा रख कर यह जो रुपया उनसे मागा जा रहा है, उसका निस्फ इस तरह आपके एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन एक्सपेंस में चला जा रहा है। इस पर ध्यान देने की ज़रूरत है। आज यह बात पब्लिक से छिपी नहीं रह सकती, पब्लिक होशियार हो रही है। इस तरीके से खर्च करना, हमारे खयाल में काम नहीं देगा, न हमारी पचसाला स्कीम इस तरीके में पूरी हो सकती है।

इतनी भारी रकम तो हम जमा कर रहे हैं टैक्स लगाकर लोगों पर ज़ब्र करके। लेकिन जैसा कि अभी जिक्र आया है, बहुत सी मदों में, खास कर कम्प्यूनिवेशन मिनिस्ट्री के मद में, हम देख रहे हैं कि वहां नुकसान का रुपया देने में कोई पर्वाह नहीं की जा रही है। इसका हवाला पहले आ चुका है, उसमें मैं ज्यादा वक्त लेना नहीं चाहता। मैं पूछता हूँ कि पहले जब यह पब्लिक इंटरप्राइज नहीं था, प्राइवेट इंटरप्राइज था, उस वक्त क्या लोगों को नुकसान नहीं हो रहा था? जब मैं हमारी एयरलाइंस का महकमा पब्लिक इंटरप्राइज हुआ है तब से हर साल ज्यादा से ज्यादा नुकसान होने लगा है, यानी मतलब यह है कि इसकी तरफ तबज्जुह बहुत कम दी जाती है क्योंकि लोगों में टैक्स लेने का कायदा हमारा चला आया है, जितनी खुशी हम ले सकते हैं। इसलिए हम खर्चा करने में गुरेज नहीं करते, बिसकुल पर्वाह नहीं करते।

श्री हुमायूँ कबीर . प्राइवेट में भी काफी लास था।

श्री अश्वर रज्जाक खान . काफी लास नहीं था, बल्कि मुझे मालूम है कुछ लास था और वह लास आपको दिखाने के लिए होता था। बहुत सी बातें उसमें भी हैं। खैर, मुझे इस सिलसिले में जो कुछ अर्ज करना है वह यह है कि यह जो हमारा खर्च हो रहा है उसमें

कमी होनी चाहिए। इसके बारे में क्या यहां की अपोजिशन पार्टी के लोगो को और क्या एक्सपर्ट लोगों को बैठ कर के एक फैसले पर आना है; कबल इसके हम बेतहाशा खर्च करे क्योंकि हमें बजट से रुपया मिल गया है। ऐसी बात नहीं होनी चाहिए।

एजुकेशन मिनिस्ट्री के बारे में हमें पब्लिक की तरफ से यह माग पेश करनी है कि सारे मुल्क में जल्द में जल्द फ्री प्राइमरी एजुकेशन होनी चाहिये। सरकार इस चीज़ की ओर बहुत कम तबज्जुह कर रही है। इस मद में जो कुछ भी रुपया मिलता है वह सिर्फ बड़े बड़े कालेजों को खोलने में सर्फ कर दिया जाता है लेकिन हमारे देश में हजारों गांव ऐसे हैं जहां पर अभी तक कोई स्कूल नहीं है, जहां पर लड़कों को पढ़ाने का कोई इंतजाम नहीं है। हमारे मुल्क में बिल्कूल हालत इतनी खराब है कि जब तक हम सारे मुल्क में फ्री और कम्पलसरी एजुकेशन नहीं करते तब तक उसकी हालत ठीक नहीं हो सकती है। अगर हम इस चीज़ को पूरे तौर पर ठीक नहीं करते हैं तो मुल्क के सामने जो खतरा इस समय मौजूद है, मेरे खयाल में वह और भी ज्यादा बढ़ जायेगा।

दूसरी बात जो मुझे अर्ज करनी है वह डिफेंस के मुताल्लिक है। इस मर्तबा बजट में डिफेंस के लिए बहुत भारी रकम रखी गई है। लेकिन मुझे मालूम है कि हमारे सरहद्दी इलाके में हालत यह है कि वहां पर अच्छी सड़कें नहीं हैं। हमारी डिफेंस लाइन के लिए सरहद्द में कोई माकल रास्ता नहीं है जिससे वह कमज़ोर है। मैंने यह बात अपने डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब, तमाम मिनिस्ट्रो और लोकल मिनिस्ट्रो से अर्ज कर दी है लेकिन इस बारे में यही कहा जा रहा है कि हमारे पास इस काम के लिए रुपया नहीं है। मैं कहता हूँ कि सरहद्दी इलाके का हमारे दूसरे इलाको और सेन्टर के साथ जोड़ना ज़रूरी है, अगर हम ऐसा नहीं करते हैं तो हमारी फौज खतरे के समय में वहां पर नहीं पहुंच

सकेगी। मुझे फौजी बातों का हाल मालूम है, इसलिए मैं यह बात कहता हूँ कि सरहद्दी इलाके में ज्यादा से ज्यादा सड़कें बनाई जायें। मुझे उम्मीद है कि हमारे मिनिस्टर साहब इस ओर तवज्जुह देंगे।

अब रहा हाउसिंग का मसला। इस बारे में मैं यह कहूंगा कि हिन्दुस्तान भर के सारे शहरों में यह मामला सब से अहम है। इस मामले में नये सिरे से तवज्जुह देने की जरूरत है लेकिन इस बारे में कुछ नहीं किया जा रहा है। पब्लिक के जो लोग अपना खुद का मकान बनाना चाहते हैं उनके मामले में आज बहुत सी दिक्कतें हैं। उन्हें ठीक दामों पर लीमेंट नहीं मिलता है और दूसरी जरूरी चीजें दस्तयाब नहीं होती हैं। आज हालत यह है कि इमारती सामान न मिलने के कारण कई सालों से शहरों में मकान नहीं बन रहे हैं। आज हालत यह है कि जो लोग रुपया खर्च करके भी मकान बनाना चाहते हैं उनके लिए भी कोई गुंजायश नहीं है। सारे मुल्क में मकान बनाने के बारे में यही हाल है। सरकार को इस हालत की ओर तवज्जुह देनी चाहिये वरना लोगों की ज़िन्दगी और रोजगार भारी हो जायेगी। आज शहरों में मकानों का किराया रोज ब रोज बढ़ता ही चला जा रहा है। चूँकि लोगों को शहरों में रोजी के लिए मजबूरन रहना पड़ता है इसलिए उन्हें ज्यादा किराया भी देना पड़ता है। आज सरकार की इस हालत को दूर करना है और इस ओर ज्यादा तवज्जुह देने की जरूरत है।

इन बातों के बाद जो खास बात मुझे अर्ज करनी है वह रिहैबिलिटेशन के बारे में है। चूँकि मैं रिहैबिलिटेशन की कंसलटेटिव कमेटी का एक मेम्बर रह चुका हूँ इसलिए मुझे इस मिनिस्ट्री के जो हालात हैं, वे मालूम हैं। यह बात आप सब लोगों को मालूम है कि मगरबी पंजाब से जो लोग आये हैं उन्हें जो एलाटमेंट हुआ है और जिन शरायत पर हुआ है, उससे उन्हें फौरी तौर पर डेढ़ हजार और दो हजार रुपया जमा करना होगा। वे लोग इसे अदा

नहीं कर सकते हैं। वे इस रुपये को जिन किस्तों पर अदा करना चाहते हैं वे मंजूर नहीं की जा रही हैं। इस चीज के लिए रूल बदलने की जरूरत है। ये लोग एक बड़ी पेचीदगी में पड़ गये हैं, अगर इस चीज को ऐसा ही रहने दिया गया तो इससे न सरकार का भला होने वाला है और न इन लोगों का। इसलिए मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इस मामले में रूल की परवाह नहीं करनी चाहिए। उन लोगों को आसान किस्तों पर यह रुपया जमा करने की इजाजत दी जानी चाहिये ताकि वे आसानी के साथ इस रकम को जमा कर सकें और मकानों में बस जायें। लेकिन रिहैबिलिटेशन मिनिस्ट्री की तरफ से इस बारे में जो रूल बनाये गये हैं उसकी वजह से पब्लिक में एक शोरिश है, एक हंगामा है। उसे जल्द से जल्द हटा देना चाहिये और वे लोग जो किशन मांग रहे हैं वह मंजूर कर ली जानी चाहिये। मेरे ख्याल में इस में सरकार को कोई नुकसान नहीं होगा। अगर ऐसा नहीं किया गया तो सरकार को मुश्किलों का सामना करना पड़ेगा।

**श्री अ० रा० क०ूर** कौन सा रूल आप बदलवाना चाहते हैं? अगर आप बतलायें तो उस कमेटी में, जिसकी मॉटिंग अभी होने वाली है, शायद हम उस पर गौर कर सकें।

**श्री अब्दुर रज्जाक खान :** इस समय रूल में यह दिया गया है कि अगर कोई जायदाद १० हजार या २० हजार की किसी रिफ्यूजी को एलाट की जानी है, तो उसे फौरी उस रकम का पांचवा हिस्सा जमा करना पड़ता है और बाकी रकम १० सालाना किस्तों में जमा करनी पड़ती है। जितने भी रिफ्यूजी लोग हैं वे गरीब तबके के हैं और उनके लिये फौरी डेढ़ हजार या दो हजार रुपया अदा करना मुश्किल है। वे इतनी रकम एक साथ अदा नहीं कर सकते हैं। अगर वे यह रकम अदा नहीं कर सकते हैं, तो क्या करना होगा? उन

[ श्री अब्दुर रज्जाक खान ]

लोगों को मकानों में हटना होगा और यह एक मुश्किल सवाल है। दिल्ली में जो हजारों रिफ्यूजी हैं, उनके दिलों में इस बात के लिये एक शोरिश है लेकिन उसकी कोई परवाह नहीं की जा रही है। मेरे ख्याल में इस को.

(Time bell rings)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): You have two minutes left.

DR. R. B. GOUR (Andhra Pradesh): The time allotted to our Party is two hours and he can take all the time he wants. If necessary, we will withdraw our last speakers.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Is there nobody else speaking?

DR. R. B. GOUR: There are but the total amount allotted to our Party is two hours and we can adjust within that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): He has already taken seventeen minutes.

DR. R. B. GOUR: That does not matter at all.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): How much time does the hon. Member want?

DR. R. B. GOUR: There is no time limit for us. This morning it was decided that way.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): That is all right but how much time does he want?

श्री अब्दुर रज्जाक खान : अभी तो मैं ने शुरू ही नहीं किया। अभी तमाम जरूरी बातें अहम तौर पर पेश करनी हैं।

I do not know. I cannot say beforehand.

DR. R. B. GOUR: He can speak even for half-an-hour. We do not mind

श्री अब्दुर रज्जाक खान : रिहैबिलिटेशन का किस्सा ईस्ट बंगाल में आये हुए लोगों . . . . .

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: This is capitalistic distribution of time, not socialistic. Everybody should have equal time.

DR. R. B. GOUR: You believe in socialism and, therefore, fifteen minutes each.

श्री अब्दुर रज्जाक खान : तो एक तरफ मिनिस्ट्री की तरफ से दावा किया जा रहा है कि बहुत कुछ किया जाता है और दूसरी तरफ कहा जा रहा है कि साहब, ईस्ट बंगाल के जो लोग हैं वे बंगाल के बाहर जाना नहीं चाहते हैं इसलिये रिहैबिलिटेशन नहीं हो रहा है। दोनों बहुत ही मुताजाद बातें हैं। मैं आप लोगों में यह कहूंगा कि आसाम में कई लोग गये हैं, त्रिपुरा में कई लोग गये हैं, बिहार में भी कई लोग हैं, अंडमान में भी हैं, तो यह कहना बिल्कुल गलत है कि ईस्ट बंगाल के लोग बाहर जाने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं। हा, अगर वहां जा कर लोग मरने लगे तो वहां से भागेंगे, इस में कोई शक नहीं है, यह मजबूरी है, वरना यह कहना गलत है कि वे वहां जाने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं।

कहा जा रहा है कि बहुत कुछ किया जा रहा है। मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि बंगाल में १३३ स्क्वैटर्स कालोनीज हैं। जो आये थे वे जबरदस्ती कालोनी बना कर के कब्जा वगैरह कर के बैठ गये। तो वहां १३३ ऐसी कालोनीज हैं, इसमें ज्यादा ही होंगी। उनको कोई बसाया नहीं गया है, उन लोगों ने खुद अपने को बसा लिया है और इस तरीके से वे चल रही हैं। पुराने जमाने में ही, जब से कि ये बनी, तब से ही यह मांग पेश की जाती रही है कि इनको रेगुलराइज कर दिया जाय, लेकिन रेगुलराइज नहीं किया गया। इस तीन साल



के दौरान में १३३ में मे मिर्फ ४८ कालोनीज रेगुलराइज हुई है। नये मिनिस्टर को तकरीबन ३ साल हो गये हैं और इस तीन साल के दौरान में मिर्फ ४८ कालोनीज रेगुलराइज हुई है और बाकी पड़ी हुई है। कहा जाता है कि जब तक ये रेगुलराइज नहीं होती है तब तक आप की कोई मांग पूरी नहीं की जायगी। यह वाक्या है। रिपोर्ट में यह दिया हुआ है। यह रिपोर्ट मेरे पाम है। अगर आप उसका मुआयना करेंगे, उसको देखेंगे तो आप को पता चलेगा कि बावजूद इस के कि हम बराबर इस पर इसरार करते रहे कि कालोनियों का मामला खत्म कर दीजिये और इनको रेगुलराइज कर दीजिये, अब तक मिर्फ ४८ कालोनीज रेगुलराइज हुई है और १० कालोनियों के मामले में ऐसा कहा जा रहा है कि हा वे भी हो रही हैं।

आप देखिये कि तकरीबन तीन या साढ़े तीन लाख लोग कैम्पों में बसे हुए हैं। जो नये आये हुए हैं, उनका शुमार इसमें दाखिल नहीं है, जो हाल में दो साल में आये हैं उन का शुमार इस में नहीं है, ये पहले के लोग हैं, ये साढ़े तीन लाख आदमी कैम्पों में पड़े हुए हैं। कहा गया कि इनका प्रायरीटी दीजिये, इन लोगों की ज़िदगी को और खराब न कीजिये, कैम्प में बैठे बैठे इन लोगों की ज़िदगी खराब हो रही है, इसानियत में दूर हो रहे हैं लेकिन उनके लिये क्या हुआ है। रिपोर्ट में यह कहा जा रहा है :

"Nothing was done except that a committee was formed recently to draw up schemes for their speedy rehabilitation."

जो मिक्स-मथली रिपोर्ट निकली है उसमें आप यह पायेंगे कि एक कमेटी बनी है जोकि उनके लिये स्कीम तैयार कर रही है। तो यह है हमारी मिनिस्ट्री के कारनामे ? आप गौर कर सकते हैं कि इसको क्या कहा जाय। मैं नहीं कहता कि मिनिस्ट्री ने कुछ नहीं किया है, वह कर रही है। जनाब, वह यहाँ से वहाँ चली गई है और खर्च बढ़ गया है।

आप देखें कि रिहैबिलिटेशन मिनिस्ट्री की तरफ से जो कुछ कर्जें दिये गये, उसका हाल क्या हुआ ? जिन लोगों का मालूम है वे जानते हैं कि उसका हाल यह है कि वह तमाम रुपया अब बिल्कुल खत्म हो गया है, उसको पाने की कोई उम्मीद नहीं है। वह किम को दिया गया यह मालूम नहीं है। आदमी नहीं मिल रहे हैं। जिन आदमियों के नाम में वे दिये गये हैं, उन आदमियों का पता नहीं है। फाल्स नमूना और फाल्स पते पर दिये गये हैं। यह हालत है। आप का रुपया बर्बाद हो रहा है और यहाँ कहा जाता है कि मौ करोड़ रुपया हमने खर्च किया। ज़रूर आपने किया है, रुपया निकलता जा रहा है, मौ करोड़ रुपया यहाँ में निकल गया है इसमें कोई शक नहीं है लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि रिहैबिलिटेशन डिपार्टमेंट में बहुत करप्शन है और रुपया इस तरीके से बर्बाद हो रहा है। जितना काम होता है उसमें ज्यादा रुपया बर्बाद हो रहा है। यह चीज आप खुद रिपोर्ट में पायेंगे :

"Twenty schemes of medium scale industries have so far been sanctioned with an employment potential for about 9,600 displaced persons with a Government investment of Rs. 2 13 crores...."

जो रुपया हमारे मिनिस्टर माहब के हाथ में दिया गया था, उसमें से २.१३ करोड़ रुपया दे दिया गया है, वह इनवेस्ट किया गया है और यह उम्मीद की जाती है कि वह साढ़े नौ हजार आदमियों को मिलेगा। कब मिलेगा ? यह मालूम नहीं है। यह खुद रिपोर्ट में आप पायेंगे। तो यह कारनामा है, यह कामयाबी है ?

इस रिपोर्ट में अगर भी बहुत सी बातें हैं लेकिन मैं इस पर ज्यादा ध्यान नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ। मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि यह प्रॉब्लम मिर्फ बंगाल का नहीं है, यह नेशनल प्रॉब्लम है और इसको साल्व करने के लिये मिनिस्ट्री बड़ा रुपया खर्च कर रही

[श्री अब्दुर रज्जक खान]

है इसमें कोई शक नहीं है लेकिन रुपया जिस तरीके से खर्च होना चाहिये उस तरीके से नहीं खर्च हो रहा है और काम आगे नहीं बढ़ रहा है। आप बंगाल में जायेंगे तो यह पायेंगे कि हर रेफ्यूजी जो है वह गवर्नमेंट से नाखुश है। अगर आप उनको ठीक तरीके से, ठीक तौर पर रिहैबिलिटेड किये होते तो आज इतनी नाराजगी नहीं होती। जो लोग अडमान गये हैं वे वापस नहीं आ रहे हैं। आप वहां भेजिये और ठीक तरीके से स्कीम को चलाइये तो लोग वहां जाने के लिये तैयार होंगे। आप डेवलपमेंट की स्कीम ला रहे हैं। वहां जब जमीन मिलेगी तब वह तैयार की जायेगी, उसका डेवलपमेंट किया जायगा और डेवलपमेंट के बाद वहां आदमी भेजे जायेंगे, तब कहीं इसका सल्युशन होगा। यह तो बड़ी दूर की बात है। मैं समझता हूं कि यह तो बिल्कुल लोगों की विस्मय के साथ खेलना है। कब आपकी यह स्कीम कामयाब होगी, कब वहां डेवलपमेंट होगा, यह कुछ मालूम नहीं है। अब आपकी नजर यहां से वहां उस तरफ दौड़ी है और वहां सौ करोड़ रुपया खर्च करने की स्कीम आप कर रहे हैं। तो यह बात है कि साहब इसको किये बगैर कुछ नहीं हो सकता है। मुझे इस बात पर जोर देना है कि अभी आने वाले लोगों की बात नहीं है, आने वाले लोगों के लिये आप जगह तैयार कीजिये, लेकिन जो लोग अभी हैं, जो कैम्पो में साढ़े तीन लाख आदमी हैं उनके लिये फौरी इंतजाम होना चाहिये। ज्यादातर लोग शहर के आस पास बसे हुए हैं इसलिये इसके लिये एक फौरी इंडस्ट्रियल स्कीम चाहिये और जो रुपया खर्च किया जा रहा है वह इंडस्ट्रीज के डेवलपमेंट में खर्च करना चाहिये। ज्यादा जोर उसी पर देना है। लोग कहते हैं कि जमीन नहीं मिलती। लेकिन आप जानते हैं हमारे मुक्त का क्या हाल है। जहां ५० रुपये ज्यादा दाम दे दीजिये वहां जमीन मिल

जायगी। जमीन की कमी नहीं होती, बेचने वाले लोग रोजमर्रा जमीन बेचते हैं। जब जमीन बिक रही हो, तो नहीं मिलती के क्या माने हैं। आप दस रुपया ज्यादा दे दीजिये, सौ रुपया ज्यादा दे दीजिये फिर देखिये जमीन कैसे नहीं मिलती है। अगर कोई मरमायाशर १०० रुपया ज्यादा दे देता है तो वह जमीन खरीद सकता है। यह तो हम देखते आये हैं। ताज्जुब है कि आप कहते हैं कि जमीन नहीं मिलती। खैर जमीन की कमी है, बावजूद इसके मैं कहता हूं कि आप जमीन लेते हैं तो किस की लेते हैं? जो गरीब किसान है, जो हल जोत रहे हैं, खेत आबाद कर रहे हैं, उनकी जमीन तो आप ले रहे हैं। एक को हटा कर दूसरे को जमीन आप दे रहे हैं, दूसरे को बसा रहे हैं। तो इस तौर पर काम हो रहा है और मामला कुछ आगे नहीं बढ़ने पा रहा है। अगर आपको कुछ करना ही था, तो ये जो दो, तीन करोड़ रुपये आपने खर्च किये, उससे ऐसी स्कीम एक्सपर्ट लोगों के मशविरे से बनाई जा सकती थी कि जिससे बहुत लोगो को काम मिलता। इधर बंगाल में हालत यह है कि बहुत से लोग जो आ गये हैं वे अभी तक प्रोडक्टिव लेबर नहीं कर रहे हैं, न कर पा रहे हैं। चुनाचे कुछ २५ परसेंट नौकरी में आ गये हैं, लेकिन यह मिनिस्ट्री के लिये या हमारे लिये कोई बहादुरी की बात नहीं है, हमारी मिनिस्ट्री के तुफैल से यह नहीं हुआ है। उन्होंने खुद अपना रोजगार ढूँढ लिया है। २५ परसेंट उनमें से ऐसे हैं जो व्यापार में लग गये हैं, और २५ परसेंट ट्रेड में लग गये हैं। स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्री में १७ परसेंट हैं, और बाकी ८ परसेंट रह जाते हैं। तो ये सब लोग अपने अपने तौर पर बस गये हैं। कुछ मदद उन को मिली है, लेकिन मालूम नहीं कि वह रुपया कहा गया। आप यह भी सुन लीजिये कि उनको हाउसिंग के लिये एक बार रुपया दे दिया गया और अब फिर दोबारा उनको देने की जरूरत है। जो हाउस और हट्स

उन को दिये गये थे, वे बांम और फूस के बनाये गये थे और वे तमाम उखड़ गये या गिर गये। फिर उनका वही का वही हाल हो गया, अब वे सड़कों पर, स्टेशनों पर जा कर बैठने हैं। मेरे खयाल में इस चीज पर गौर करने के लिये एक्सपर्ट्स को बैठने की जरूरत है और अगर ऐसा नहीं होगा तो मामले में जो अंधेरा है वह और बढ़ता जायगा। जब तक बंगाल में आपने कोई काम अच्छी तरह से कर के नहीं दिखाया तब तक लोग तैयार नहीं होते कि दंडकारण्य स्कीम जैसी स्कीम पर भरोसा कर के दूरदराज मुक्त में चले जायें। यह तो एक साइकोलोजी की बात है, उसे आप समझ सकते हैं। आपने जो जो मशविरा दिया है पहले उसको कर के दिखाइयेगा, फिर आप देखें कितने लोग तैयार होते हैं। हम भी अपनी तरफ से उन को तैयार करने के लिये कोशिश में रहेंगे। लेकिन बात कुछ दूसरे ही तौर पर होती है। आसाम में लोग रो रहे हैं कि यहां आस-पास में इतने लाख बसाये जा सकते हैं, कुछ कारवाने बन सकते हैं। बिहार में कुछ आवादी है, कुछ जगह है जहां पर खुदाई हुई है और डेवलपमेंट करने के वास्ते लोग रो रहे हैं कि इस जगह पर कुछ सरमाया और पूंजी लगाओ। तो एक्सपर्ट लोगों को बिठा कर इस मामले पर गौर करके स्कीम बनाई जा सकती है। हम मौजूदा जो हमारी मिनिस्ट्री है, उसको होशियार कर देना चाहते हैं कि वहां यह मामला बहुत ही अहम है। जिस तरीके से आप चल रहे हैं उस तरीके से यह मामला निभेगा नहीं, यानो एक भारी रकम उसमें बेकार ही बर्बाद होती जा रही है और काम आगे नहीं बढ़ता।

**SHRI J. S. BISHT (Uttar Pradesh):** Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to support the Appropriation Bill and in doing so I shall first take up the item with regard to the Ministry of Transport, because the hon. Minister happens to be luckily present here at this time.

**DR. R. B. GOUR:** Even if he is absent, his spirit is present in this House.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY):** We have nothing to do with spirits here.

**SHRI J. S. BISHT:** Sir, I welcomed the proposal, when the new Ministry was formed, of separating the Ministry of Transport from the Ministry of Railways because I felt, as I said last year at the time of discussion of the Railway Budget—or it was the General Budget, I forget which it was—that the Railway Ministry was not in a mood to encourage road transport. It was adopting a sort of dog in the manger policy. It would not allow others to carry on some sort of private enterprise in the field nor would it itself do anything in this particular matter. I would therefore draw the attention of the hon. Minister to the letter that was written to the Government of India by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development team. I will quote the relevant portion from paragraph 8 of this letter. It says:

“We urge that the Government review its whole transport policy and programme with a view to maximising transport by all available means, by rail, road, coastal shipping and inland waterways. While we are not in a position to suggest any detail how this might be accomplished, we consider it important that both the level and structure of railway rates be revised promptly so as to provide more incentive for the utilisation of other means of transport. We are inclined to discount the objection that an upward revision of rates would impose an excessive burden on the economy because there is no justification for maintaining rates at economically unrealistic levels particularly if these result in a transport bottleneck which would make it impossible to achieve the production targets of the Plan.”

[Shri J. S. Bisht]

I will again quote another small sentence from paragraph 9:

"As additional measures to overcome transport difficulties, we would suggest that the Government consider—(a) more energetic measures to remove State and inter-State restrictions on road transport and to revise tax rates bearing on road transport"

I think the Road Transport Associations and other companies in the country have repeatedly brought to the notice of the Government the desirability of encouraging road transport by all means possible. Today the taxation on motor vehicles in various forms like the import duty, the excise duty, registration fee and so on, is so heavy that it has become almost impossible for road transport to work on competitive rates with other means of transport. Even in an advanced country like America which has got about two lakh route mileage of railways, the haulage by road transport forms a very substantial portion of the total freight lifted but in this country since those lean days of the thirties when the railways were suffering from a sort of loss in revenue, a policy was adopted to squeeze out the competition from the road in order that the Railways may not suffer any loss in transport of either passenger or freight.

[MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

But now since the war began the whole thing has changed completely and as far as I can see for another 20 or 30 years that position will never recur. The position today is that we want every form of transport so that, whether passengers or freight, all may be lifted from place to place and I wish to know what the Ministry of Transport is doing in this respect; what practical steps it has taken in this particular matter with regard to encouraging road transport or transport by river. This morning the hon. Minister said something with regard to the Master Plan for inter-

connecting riverways and all that. But that is a matter of long-term objective. The immediate thing that is likely to help us in this matter is that we should encourage this transport by motor vehicles. Whether they are private or they are partly private and partly run by the State Road Transport, it does not matter. What matters is that we should avoid all these bottlenecks which would otherwise make it very difficult to reach the production targets. I hope the hon. Minister will inform this House and the country as to how far they are earnest about this particular matter.

The second point to which I wish to draw the attention of this House is with regard to the Ministry of Defence. Last year when we were discussing the Appropriations Bill, the hon. Dr Hriday Nath Kunzru drew attention to that problem and I was developing that point when we were discussing the Navy Bill, but I was told that that was not the appropriate place to discuss that matter. Therefore, I take advantage of this opportunity to bring home, to the Government the difficulties we are experiencing in the recruitment of officer cadre for the Armed Services. In fact, Dr Kunzru himself pointed out last year that he was himself not satisfied with the material that we were getting and he pointed out also that it was a sad commentary on our present method of attracting people to the officer cadre of the Armed Forces, that the sons of the officers themselves could be counted on one's finger tips. Well, I have every sympathy with all branches of the Armed Forces, that is to say, whether they are jawans, non-commissioned officers, junior commissioned officers or fully commissioned officers. But the question of the jawans is entirely different. They are supplied with free rations, free clothing, free housing and free medical relief, etc. Apart from that they are recruited at a very young age, mostly about 17 or 18 years and they enter service usually for a period of

15 years and after that they can retire on a certain pension. Some of them may choose to serve further, but they are not bound to. So that a soldier or a jawan can retire at the age of, say, 32 to 35 and he can look forward to another 25 years of private career in other walks of life. Their difficulty is not so serious in that particular branch. Those among them who are very capable usually make their way up either to the non-commissioned officer ranks or to the junior commissioned officer ranks and in certain cases to the commissioned ranks. In fact, the Minister of Defence stated here the other day that almost ten per cent of the commissioned ranks are from people who have been recruited from the ranks of the jawans. That is why I am not touching on the particular question of the jawans or the N.C.Os. or J.C.Os. But with regard to the officer cadre, the difficulty is that there is a very big block in promotion. The maximum salary that a Major is entitled to get is Rs. 1050/- and the vast majority of them are today stuck up on that particular rank, because as you know the posts of Lt.-Colonel, Brigadier and Major-General are very small and limited. The posts of Lt.-Colonel are hardly 250, whereas the officers in the rank of Major may be in the neighbourhood of about 4,000. Now, there are only 250 posts to which they can be promoted. The rest of them will have to retire on that and the age of retirement is very low if a man is not promoted. Now, recently they have put it down to 50. In regard to other Central Services the age of retirement is usually 55 years. In fact, in U.P. they have increased it to 58 years, which I think is a very reasonable thing which even the Central Government can do, as was reported and recommended by the first Central Pay Commission. However, that is a different point altogether. What I am drawing the attention of the Government to is that an officer of that rank and between the age of 40 and 50 has got to incur the maximum amount of expenditure. He has got a wife and family and

children to support and he is being transferred from one corner of India to the other, say, every year or every two years as the exigencies of the service may demand. It becomes very hard to ask him to retire at that age on a paltry pension of about Rs. 400. Rs. 450, may be Rs. 470 or something like that. And no practical solution has yet been found by the Ministry of Defence with regard to that particular difficulty and that explains why the officers themselves are not inclined to encourage their sons to come into the Armed Services. And well that is a serious point. You want to have complete security and in the security services if this sort of mentality goes on it will be a very difficult and serious problem. Now, Sir, there is no other walk of life, no career in which there is an element of risk that your life will be at stake, you are liable to lose your life. There is only one such career and that is the service in the Armed Forces. In no Civil employment is there any risk to life. You are quite safe. You know accidents may happen, perils may happen, other things may happen, but here the man goes and he knows, and his family knows, that even in the normal course there is a considerable amount of risk to life. And when there are disturbances or there is some sort of a war—for instance there is a campaign in Kashmir, or a campaign in the North East Frontier Agency against the Nagas or anywhere else—the life is in danger. Especially in the Air Force or even in army manoeuvres, the life is always in danger. Here is a walk of life where you want to attract the best talent in the country, the most gallant men and where there is this risk to life. And yet what are the attractions that you offer to them? What are the securities that you offer to them? In England which is now a poor country as compared to what it was in the old days they have revised these scales of pay of the officer cadre nearly four or three times, in the last two or three years; I think twice since 1950. It was done first by the Labour Government itself, because they know

[Shri J. S. Bisht.]

that in order to attract the best talent in the country they have got to pay the price. If a thing is not available at a particular price, it is not wisdom or statesmanship to stick to some sort of bureaucratic obstinacy and say, 'no, we will not pay a higher price for this.' Therefore, I submit that the matter is so serious that the Ministry of Defence and the Government of India as a whole must pay special attention to this point.

With regard to the question of the removal of the block in promotion, I suggested once before, and I repeat it again, that that in itself can relieve the anxiety of the officers to a very great extent if it is to be handled in two or three ways. Firstly, you should upgrade the rank of the officers commanding a regiment. The officer commanding a regiment today holds the rank of Lt.-Colonel. The rank of Colonel is merely nominal. Only a few posts there are of the rank of Colonel and very few promotions are made in that rank. If you upgrade that to the rank of Colonel and upgrade the rank of the second-in-command of the regiment to that of Lt.-Colonel, you thereby increase at least 250 additional posts. The difference in pay between a Colonel and a Lt.-Colonel is not very much. The maximum salary of a Lt.-Colonel, I think, is about Rs. 1,400/- and that of a Colonel about Rs. 1,600/-. The difference is only Rs. 200/-, but you are able to promote so many Majors to the rank of Lt.-Colonel; so many Lt.-Colonels to the rank of Colonel; and so many Captains will go up to the rank of Major. Thus you will be able to promote nearly 500 to 800 officers and give them some better opening. That is one thing.

Another way is as they had it in the British Army—and we had it in the Army when the British were here—and it was whenever there was a block in a particular cadre, they allowed those people to, what was called, muster out. That is to say, if a Major having attained the highest rank had got no further chance of

promotion to the rank of Lt.-Colonel he had the option either to remain in that particular rank and get his salary or he could take the pension of the next higher rank, that of a Lt.-Colonel. So that when he is still under, say, 45 and when he can work for another 15 years in other walks of life on a good pension—because a Lt.-Colonel is granted a pension of Rs. 650—that mustering out itself would enable a large number of officers to muster out of the Army. That itself will create other vacancies. (*Time bell rings*) There may be some ways by which you can solve this problem and I hope the Ministry will pay special attention to this particular point for solving a very serious difficulty because, whatever little money it will cost to the Exchequer, it is worth while. If you keep the officers cadre contented, which is the backbone of the Army, you will understand that in every emergency they will stand by you gladly and faithfully to the last. Otherwise, this one-sided loyalty cannot carry on very long.

There are pressure groups developing in this country and the idea gets round that our Government yields only to pressure. The Posts and Telegraphs Department, the Central Services, all these combine and threaten to strike and ask for some sort of a Pay Commission. It will cost Rs. 10 or 20 crores and they think the Government will easily find money for them. I hope that such an idea will not be allowed to come into the security services, whether it is the Army or the police. Statesmanship lies in realising where the real and genuine grievances are and meeting them before you are faced with a serious problem. There was a revolt in the Navy and it was a serious matter. It originated mostly because of the dissatisfaction in the Services. Therefore, I give this friendly advice to the Government and the Ministry of Defence to take this matter very seriously.

With regard to the administration of justice, there is a considerable amount of arrears both in the Supreme Court

and in the High Courts of India. They say, 'Justice delayed is justice denied.' That is quite true today. You file an appeal in any High Court now. You are lucky if you have the first hearing of the case within five or six or eight years. Even the first appeal takes two or three years. Why is it so? Why are the Government, the Ministry of Law and the Home Ministry allowing this sort of thing to go on? If you want to clear up the arrears, certainly you can do so by appointing additional judges. The law is very flexible in this matter. You can appoint additional judges for a period of two to three years in every High Court. Once these arrears are cleared up, at least the way will be open for others later on. After all this is not done free of cost. In this country today, civil justice is a very expensive justice. The court fee is very high and in all the States, the Governments are getting more revenue out of the Department of Justice than they are spending on it. Nobody asks the Government to spend anything out of its own money. But you must at least give back to the Litigant what you are taking from him. Give him prompt and equal justice and there will be some justice instead of waiting for years and the father's case going on to the grandson.

Dr. RAGHUBIR SINH (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am grateful to you for calling me to speak. Better late than never. First of all, I have got to tender an apology to the House for a mis-statement made by me in my speech of May 21, 1957. Unfortunately, I made a statement that the report of the activities of the Ministry of Defence did not contain a statement or any reference to the aircraft carrier. I could not think that even the Ministry of Defence will not have some correct appreciation regarding the relative priorities. I could not imagine, Sir, that an aircraft carrier will be tagged on to the tail-end of the frigates. I have now learnt from experience that the reports have got to be read every paragraph, every line. What was announced in the House was

just reported in that statement of activities. It does not in any way give an answer to the point I had made. The Ministry has not yet taken care to do anything to make the country and the people defence-conscious. No details have been given there about the aircraft carrier. I think that the aircraft carrier is sufficiently big to be seen by any one and it is known to anybody. The details of the aircraft acquired must have been published already; even if the name of the aircraft carrier had been published in the Report, it would have meant something to us.

I want to say that unless and until the Government makes some real, deliberate effort to make the people defence-conscious, I am afraid the future of India's defences will not be very bright. Defence-consciousness of the people alone is the most efficient guarantee for the successful defence of India in the future. Thus alone, Parliament and the people can continue to keep an alert and watchful eye over the defence services and equipment. Without that defence-consciousness, I am afraid the State is liable to lapse into self-satisfaction and the consequent backwardness finally leading to inefficiency and failure.

Sir, a statement was made in the other House that our Navy is efficient. We admit that our Navy is efficient, very efficient. But efficiency is one thing, effectiveness is another thing. Effectiveness is not merely related to efficiency. Effectiveness is related to number also. It is in that connection. Sir, that I hasten to raise the question of submarines. I know, Sir, and every student who has a little knowledge of defence strategy knows, that India's defence economy in many respects is sea-based. Especially a country which is in one way or another trying to plough its lonely furrow by holding fast to its policy of neutrality has got to be all the more alert. In the case of a major conflict, it will be very necessary for us to keep the seas clear.

[Dr. Raghubir Sinh.]

And it will be most essential, much more than ever before, that the vital supply lines should be kept up. Only a strong Navy can do that. And if this is not done, Sir, crores and crores of money that we are spending would be a waste and all these things, as our friend opposite, Shri Kishen Chand, has said, will be only good enough for being kept in the museums. I was happy to read in the proceedings of the other House the assurance of the Defence Minister about the safety of India's frontiers. He said there, that those frontiers would be defended not only to the best of our ability, of our Armed Forces, but also with all the determination, with the masses of the people behind them. He also said that if this land of ours should be invaded once again as it was in 1947, then any one who comes here will get not as good as he gives, but better. I am happy to note that, but in that connection I would once again raise the question which was raised by that veteran Parliamentarian, Dr. Hirday Nath Kunzru, I refer to atomic weapons. I have mentioned it in my last speech as well that we have also got to think of atomic weapons to ensure that we are able to provide proper defence for our country. I have a report in my hand published in "the Hindustan Times" of 22nd May, 1957, which says—it is a report from London—

"Britain's latest guided missiles which will be on view at the Paris air show opening at Le Bourget on Friday will be for sale, it was announced here tonight."

Then I have got another cutting with me saying that certain arrangements have been entered into between the U.S.A. and Japan, arrangements which can be extended to our neighbouring countries also, that atomic weapons will be available for sale. We have been often told that such weapons as have been given to our neighbouring country by way of military aid will not be used against us, but would any country be able to stop the use of such

weapons which are bought by another country? I have got once again to say that in the past we lost our independence not because we were lacking in numbers, not because we were lacking in bravery, but because our weapons were antiquated; our military science had lost touch with the progress that had been made in other countries. I only wish that the same mistake should not be repeated, that history should not repeat itself again and that we are not caught napping. I am sure that the Defence Minister need not be told that there are 'Blood hound and Seaslug' missiles which can be used for defence also. I do not ask for any of these weapons for the purposes of launching an offensive, but for defence we must think of them. In this connection I would once again repeat what I said in my last speech about the urgency and the importance of using the new developments for increasing the fire power of our military forces. I had referred to what they call 'sterling sub-machinegun' which is more or less like a pistol and can fire like a machine gun, and which is now being used even by the armies of countries like Iraq. Can we not think of including them as a part of our regular equipment? Can we not manufacture them? Can we not make ourselves as efficient as some of these other countries? That is my submission to the Defence Minister. I am sure he can and should do something in this respect. With all my earnestness and persuasion, with all the emphasis that I can command, I put it to him for his careful consideration.

After defence, I come to the other subjects in which I have even tried to dabble. There are only two services of the Central Government which touch every common man. One we have already disposed of; I refer to the railways. The other is the Posts and Telegraphs Department. Even the poorest of the poor has sometimes to deal with the Postal Department. In that connection I know that the number of post offices today is 58,000 while in 1947 it was only 22,000, but



the increase in numbers has only meant increasing deterioration in their efficiency. I repeat once again that unfortunately the efficiency of the Posts and Telegraphs Department is continuously on the decline. I do not want the House to believe it on the basis of just what I say. If the reports be true, in a speech made by the hon. Minister. Shri Raj Bahadur, he is reported to have made an appeal to the P. and T. workers to do their best to restore the efficiency of the P. and T. Services which has touched a very low level lately. I do not grudge them the new Pay Commission that has been agreed to by the Central Government but I do hope that somewhere some effort will be made to improve the efficiency of this particular service. Last year when I spoke on that very subject during the debate on the Appropriation Bill my hon. friend. Shri Lal Bahadur said, "Please give me time to set things right". More than one year has elapsed since then but the efficiency of the service has become worse and worse. I do say that unfortunately somehow something is wrong somewhere and in spite of whatever is being done to improve things, they only deteriorate further. Regrouping of the Post Offices is being effected but with what result? Formerly letters used to take 2 days now they take four days. Unfortunately regrouping is done without any due regard to proper adjustment of essential mail connections. Then, again about the modernisation by use of mail buses. I have got a report with me here that mail buses are being introduced instead of mail runners but letters reach the destination a day late. I do not know what sort of modernisation it is. This sort of thing is more or less the order of the day. I have got another cutting with me which says that a letter posted from Old Delhi, to reach New Delhi had to go to—can anybody guess where? I am sure nobody can possibly guess—to South Africa Distant seas had to be crossed, the Indian Ocean had to be crossed twice before the letter could reach New Delhi. Now, some-

how in South East Asia, all roads lead to New Delhi.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: What about foreign postal stamp on it?

DR. RAGHUBIR SINH: It was not asked for, I am afraid. Foreign postage is all a very painful story. But I will come to that later. Last year when Shri Raj Bahadur was replying to my speech, he said "I would have been grateful to him (he meant me) had he brought such cases to my notice, when I would have enquired into them," I will tell you from my personal experience about the result of our reporting such cases. Three years ago I brought it to the notice of Shri Raj Bahadur that in the district of Mand-saur and neighbouring areas letters were being tampered with, opened, repasted and posted again. Somebody was trying to find out whether there was any money, cheques and like items or not. I reported the matter, an enquiry was made, postal officers made frantic inspections and tours, but with what result? Now letters do not at all reach anybody on the other day. If this is going to be the result of enquiries, what is the use of such a proceeding? The new Cabinet Minister for Transport and Communications told the other House that he has ordered his Ministry to go into the question of the feasibility of using scooters for delivering express delivery letters. I welcome that proposal. I believe in the policy—as I stated it in the beginning of my speech—of better late than never. I prefer it to the proposed possible alternative of immediately or never. Express delivery letters either reach very late or never. People think that express letters must contain something valuable and so they are opened and later finally destroyed. I have a report here where 110 letters sent by express delivery were found in the House of a postman and for that act somebody in Meerut had to be held up. When reports are made about express delivery letters, the post office says 'We don't keep track of them. How can we verify where they went?' Well,

[Dr. Raghbir Singh.]

I mentioned last time and now also I again say. The Ministry says: 'We are expanding and so efficiency is bound to go down.' I submitted last time that the biggest expansion of any service happened during the war and that was in the army. There if efficiency could not be maintained, we would have lost the war. Can the Ministry not put its service on a war basis? Can they not do anything to ensure that the efficiency of the service is brought up to a proper level? I only repeat that if that is not done all this expansion, all this expenditure will be just useless.

Finally I am afraid I have got to bring to the notice of the House something. I must say, that is painful to me. I don't think either you personally or the hon. Minister has ever cared to wander down to the Post Office here. Ministers don't do that and probably Chairman too don't do that also but as a Member I have got to do that and when I went there should I enlighten the House what I saw there? I saw something myself as a Member of the Sovereign Parliament who had that way something to do with the Indian administration. I saw it. I glared at it and I hung my head in shame. I could not bear it. The House would wish to know it and I would tell you what it is. I am sure you will join with me in that view. There in the Post Office the postal authorities have put down a notice: "Please get postage stamps on the air-mail articles defaced in your presence" What an admission of incompetency, inability and helplessness on the part of the administration! Can ever any administration hope to root out corruption and inefficiency that way? I had a little experience of administration. By putting that way such an endorsement you can never achieve the desired result; but the story does not end there.

(Time bell rings.)

This is the last of my statement. Probably the House would like to know

that the details of this thing have reached even across the seas. I have got here certain letters published in the 'Times of India' by somebody in New York. He says:

"It is shocking to find such a low standard of public service that mail with stamps over a minimum value must be cancelled before being posted to assure that stamps will not be removed by postal clerks for private re-sale and the mail destroyed."

AN HON. MEMBER: Who says that?

DR. RAGHUBIR SINGH: This is a letter published in the *Times of India* by Mr. J. J. Beckman, White Plains, New York.

Then I have another cutting with me here about somebody who has written from Germany—an Indian student studying in Germany. There he read a report in the American newspapers and he said that he too had to hang his head in shame. He says there:

"I was reading an American magazine in America House here which contained a newsletter from New Delhi. The writer was criticising a number of things in the Indian capital and also referred to the rule she had adopted to register every letter she had to send by air mail to America because otherwise the letters were sure to be stolen on account of the high value stamps affixed."

Sir, such letters are published not only abroad but also here. Now we have two ways open, either to make them 'bearing' or to register them. One means increased cost the other means just cheating the Government. Would the Ministry ever like us to resort to that method of sending their letters 'bearing'?

There is an English proverb saying that new broom sweeps well. It is rather a crude saying. I don't think I can use that word for people in high

offices. But we have had a change and got the new Cabinet Minister. Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri is now in charge of this Department. He has done good work in other Departments also. I am afraid he has got a very difficult task. He has got to clean this Augean stable. I hope he will look after it and next year something better will emerge.

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण (म्बई) :

माननीय उपसभापति जी, आपने स्वप्न में भी यह ख्याल नहीं किया होगा कि एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल पर बार्डिलिगुवल बम्बई स्टेट से चर्चा शुरू होगी। जिस वक्त मेरे साथी कम्युनिस्ट मित्र आज सुत्रह बोल रहे थे तो उन्होंने पहले पहल संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र ही याद किया। वह रहते तो बहुत दूर है परन्तु उनका ख्याल संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र में ही रहता है। मुझे दुःख है कि मौके वे मौके ये हमारे मित्र, बार बार इस बार्डिलिगुवल स्टेट की बात किया करते हैं, अगर मनुष्य के शरीर में कही जख्म हो जाता है, तो वहाँ पर मक्खियाँ दौड़कर बैठ जाती हैं। उसी तरह से अगर देश में कही कोई झगडा खड़ा हो जाता है तो हमारे दोस्त कम्युनिस्ट जा पहुंचते हैं और हर वक्त वहाँ पर उमे बढ़ाते रहने की कोशिश करते हैं। हमारे मित्र ने कहा कि यह बार्डिलिगुवल कोई नहीं चाहता है, महाराष्ट्रवासी भी नहीं चाहते हैं। मेरे भाई यह बात भूल जाते हैं कि संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र केवल १२ जिलों का ही नहीं है बल्कि २५ जिलों का है और उन २५ जिलों की अधिकांश जनसंख्या की बात को मानना होगा कि वे बार्डिलिगुवल बम्बई स्टेट चाहते हैं। मेरे भाई ने यह भी कहा कि अहमदाबाद म्युनिसिपैलिटी का अभी हाल ही में जो चुनाव हुआ, वह क्या दिखाता है। मैं अपने भाई से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अहमदाबाद म्युनिसिपैलिटी ने कौन सा प्रस्ताव पास किया है। अहमदाबाद म्युनिसिपैलिटी तो तीन स्टेट्स चाहती है ? मैं अपने कम्युनिस्ट भाइयों से भी पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वे तीन स्टेट चाहते हैं और क्या अहमदाबाद वाले तीन स्टेट्स चाहते हैं या नहीं ? मैं अपने कम्युनिस्ट भाइयों से

प्रार्थना करूंगा कि वे अब इस झगड़े को दूर रखें और इस सदन और लोक सभा ने ओवरव्हेलमिंग मेजारिटी से जो फैसला किया, आप लोगों ने जो फैसला किया, वह डेमोक्रेटिक है और ओवरव्हेलमिंग मेजारिटी से किया गया है। उस निर्णय को कुछ समय प्रमाणिकता से आजमाते, तजुर्बा करें और फिर मोर्चे और देखें क्योंकि आपको इस चीज को सोचने का मौका तो मिलता रहेगा।

इसके बाद मैं सदन का ध्यान इस समय देश में अन्न की जो हालत है उसकी ओर दिलाना चाहूंगा। इस समय सदन में एग्रीकल्चर एंड फूड मिनिस्ट्री का कोई प्रतिनिधि नहीं दिखाई देता है। आज हम देखते हैं कि देश में अन्न के दाम बढ़ते जा रहे हैं। देहातों में लोगों को अन्न बड़ी मुश्किल से मिलता है और चारों ओर अनाज की कमी है। सरकार की ओर से देहातों में श्री मोर फूड का जोरों से प्रचार किया जाना है। तो मैं आप से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि कभी आपने किसानों से भी पूछा कि "श्री मोर फूड" प्रचार के बाद भी आप लोग अन्न की क्यों नहीं ज्यादा पैदायश करते हैं। किसान इसका जवाब यह देता है कि अन्न की पैदायश करने से उसका खर्च नहीं निकलता है, उसे उसमें कुछ मुनाफा नहीं रहता है। मनी क्रॉप्स पैदा करने से उसे अधिक पैसा मिलता है। मैं अपने जिने के तजुर्बे आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ। हमारे यहाँ किसान कपास, मूंगफली और केला पैदा करते हैं। ये मनी क्रॉप्स हैं, इन से किसानों को काफी पैसा मिलता है। मैंने उनसे पूछा कि तुम लोग अन्न क्यों नहीं पैदा करते हो, तो उन्होंने बताया कि अन्न पैदा करने में हमारा खर्चा नहीं निकलता है, हम घाटे में रहते हैं तो मेरा सुझाव यह है कि इस समय आवश्यकता यह है कि एग्रीकल्चर और फूड मिनिस्ट्री को चाहिये कि वह अन्न की मिनिमम कीमत निश्चित कर दे, फिक्स कर दे। किसानों को यह बताया जाय कि अधिक धान्य पैदा करने से अधिक लाभ होता है। अगर उसको यह चीज नहीं बतवाई जायेगी तो वह मनी क्रॉप्स

[श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण]

हो पैदा करता रहेगा, अन्न पैदा नहीं करेगा। कई वक्त सरकार की ओर से यह कहा गया है कि हम मिनिमम प्राइस निश्चित करेंगे कभी कहा जाता है कि हम इकौनौमिक प्राइस निश्चित करेंगे और कभी यह कहा जाता है कि हम रीजिनेबुल प्राइस निश्चित करेंगे। आज ही मुझे जवाब मिला, उसमें इस प्रकार लिखा हुआ है :

"Government, therefore, would like to assure the agriculturists that the prices of foodgrains and other agricultural commodities would not be allowed to fall below the economic level."

परमेश्वर जाने, इस इकौनौमिक लेवल का क्या अर्थ है क्योंकि आप किसानों को देखिये और उनसे पूछिये कि उनकी आज हालत क्या है। जिस समय उनका अनाज खेत से निकलता है तो भाव नीचे चले जाते हैं और जब सीजन खत्म हो जाता है तो अन्न के भाव ऊपर चले जाते हैं और व्यापारियों को नफा होता है। इस समय देश में सबसे आवश्यक बात यह है कि अगर आप अन्न की पैदायश बढ़ाना चाहते हैं तो एग्रीकल्चरिस्टों से आपको यह कहना चाहिये कि आपको पूरे दाम मिलेंगे, बतलाना चाहिये कि उनकी मेहनत का असली फल इसी में मिलेगा, आपको मुनाफा रहेगा और आपको यह मोह पैदा नहीं होगा कि आप मनी आप्ला ही पैदा करें। इसके बाद में शिक्षा मंत्रालय के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। आपने देखा होगा कि शिक्षा मंत्रालय का बजट और कई मंत्रालयों के बजट में काफी लम्बा है। जो सवाल पूछे जाते हैं, जिस सम्बन्ध में क्वेश्चंस होते हैं, उनकी फेहरिस्त अगर आप देखिये तो आप पायेंगे कि सब से लम्बी फेहरिस्त शिक्षा मंत्रालय की है। समझ में नहीं आता कि इतनी बातें उनके जिम्मे क्यों दी गई हैं। इस देश की शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में जो बड़ी बातें हैं उनकी ओर उसका जितना ध्यान बाना चाहिये उतना नहीं जा रहा है। हमने बायदा किया था कि हिन्दुस्तान

में १० वर्ष में प्राथमिक शिक्षा कम्पलसरी और फ्री हो जायेगी लेकिन आज क्या हालत है? जब हम इस बारे में पूछते हैं तो कहा जाता है कि पैसा नहीं है। मेरा कहना है कि जो बहुत से छोटे छोटे काम शिक्षा मंत्रालय के द्वारा हो रहे हैं उनको आप बन्द कर दीजिये क्योंकि आपका पहला फर्ज यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान में जो गरीबों के बच्चे हैं, जो लाखों गरीब किसानों के बच्चे हैं उनको कम से कम प्राथमिक शिक्षा तो जरूर ही दी जाय। आप उन भाग्यवानों के लड़कों के ऊपर पैसा क्यों खर्च करते हैं जो कि अपना पैसा खर्च कर सकते हैं? जो चीज इस देश में ज्यादा से ज्यादा लोगों को देना जरूरी है और दे सकते हैं उसको आपको पहली प्रायोरिटी देनी चाहिये और बाद में और चीजों को प्रायोरिटी देनी है। बेसिक एजुकेशन को आप मंजूर करते हैं, पसंद करते हैं, उसके लिये कॉन्फ्रेंस कर रहे हैं परन्तु आज बेसिक एजुकेशन का क्या हाल है? आप देखिये कि शिक्षा के बेसिक शिक्षा में रस नहीं लेते हैं, पालक ध्यान नहीं देते हैं और सरकारी अफसर भी दिलचस्पी नहीं दिखाते हैं। हम प्रस्ताव पास करते हैं—प्रस्ताव पास करने के मैं खिलाफ नहीं हूँ क्योंकि मैं चाहता हूँ कि हर एक प्राथमिक स्कूल को बेसिक स्कूल बनाया जाना चाहिये—परन्तु बेसिक स्कूल के योग्य आपको शिक्षक पैदा करने होंगे, शिक्षकों के साथ साथ योग्य अधिकारी पैदा करने होंगे और उसके लिये कुछ अधिक धन देना होगा।

इसके बाद में पी० डब्लू० डी० के ऊपर आता हूँ जिसके लिये मेरे एक दोस्त कहा करते हैं "प्लंडर विदाउट डिटेक्शन डिपार्टमेंट"। तो यह पी० डब्लू० डी० है। जब से हम स्वतंत्र हुए हैं तब से हमारी कितनी इमारतें बन रही हैं और उनमें कितना खर्च हो रहा है। यहाँ ही नहीं, सारे हिन्दुस्तान में और सारे राज्यों में ये बन रही हैं। जब हम गांवों में जाते हैं, अपने छोटे कसबों में जाते हैं तो हमें यह दिखाई देता है कि हम उजाले में से अंधेरे में आ गये हैं। आप सोचिये कि सिविल बिल्डिंग्स के

ऊपर जो कुछ खर्च हो रहा है, उसमें बहुत कुछ बचत हो सकती है यदि आप उसे करना चाहें। कहते हैं कि एकानामी होनी चाहिये परन्तु साहब “चैरिटी बिगिन्स एट होम”, आप घर से एकानामी शुरू करिये। आप जरूरत की, पर छोटी इमारतें बनाइये। आप इतने बड़े बड़े प्रासाद बना रहे हैं और उन प्रासादों पर लाखों मन सीमेंट बहा रहे हैं। मैं कहा करता हूं कि दिल्ली में सीमेंट की जमुना बहा रही है और देहात के गांवों में, छोटे छोटे गांवों में सीमेंट के दर्शन भी नहीं होते हैं। वहां सीमेंट की पांच रुपये की बोरी ब्लैकमार्केट में १० रुपये में मिलती है। ब्लैकमार्केट के बगैर किसानों को न तो सीमेंट मिलती है और न लोहा मिलता है। मैं कहूंगा कि ऐसी हालत में जब कि जनता भूखी मरती हो, जब कि जनता को धरों के लिये सीमेंट और लोहा न मिलता हो, जब ऐसे वक़्त में यदि बड़े बड़े प्रासाद बनते हो तो यह दैवी दुर्व्यवस्था ही है और कुछ नहीं। इतना ही मैं इस बारे में कहूंगा। इसलिये मेरी प्रार्थना है कि जब हम काट-कसर इकोनोमी के जमाने में हैं तो सब से पहले काट-कसर पी० डब्लू० डी० के सिविल वर्क में करें फिर दूसरी चीजों में। पी० डब्लू० डी० ही करप्शन का बड़ा जरिया है।

इसके बाद मैं कामन और इंडस्ट्रीज मिनिस्ट्री के बारे में कुछ शब्द कहना चाहता हूँ। मुझे खुश है कि जब से हमारे नये मिनिस्टर आये हैं तब से बहुत सी बात देश के अनुकूल हो रही है। इम्पोर्ट्स कम हो रहे हैं, भले ही एक्सपोर्ट्स बढ़ते रहें। हालांकि मुझे पता है कि एक दिन आने वाला है जब कि एक्सपोर्ट भी बन्द हो जायेंगे क्योंकि जिस तरह से हम कोशिश करते हैं कि अपने देश में इम्पोर्ट न करें उसी तरह से हर एक देश यह कोशिश करता है कि इम्पोर्ट न करें, बाहर से माल न मंगायें। परन्तु मैं श्री मुरारजी भाई को इसलिये धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि इम्पोर्ट्स की तादाद बहुत कम होती जा रही है और खास कर लकड़ी गुड्स बिल्कुल ही बन्द हो गये हैं। पर साथ

ही साथ यह भी मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जितना पैसा ग्रामोद्योग और खादी के ऊपर खर्च किया जा रहा है उसके साथ साथ उसके ऊपर जिस निगाह में ध्यान देना चाहिये, जो पालिसी अख्तियार करनी चाहिये वह पालिसी अख्तियार नहीं की जा रही है, उस निगाह से ध्यान नहीं दिया जा रहा है। खादी के बारे में तो कुछ हुआ है। उस के लिये “कामन प्रोडक्शन प्रोग्राम” बनाया गया है, परन्तु बहुत सी ऐसी चीजें हैं जिनके बारे में भी कामन प्रोडक्शन प्रोग्राम बनाया जा सकता है। जैसे कि तेल का मामला ले लीजिये, कर्व कमेटी ने यह सिफारिश की है। इतना ही नहीं उसके बाद जो कमेटी हुई उसने भी सिफारिश की है। तेल के लिये एक खास कमेटी काम हुई थी उसने भी यह सिफारिश की थी कि आप तेल के लिये कामन प्रोडक्शन प्रोग्राम बनाइये क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान में घानी से जितना तेल आपको चाहिये उतना पैदा हो सकता है और आप पैदा कर सकते हैं। तो इसके लिये आप यह निश्चित कर दें कि खाने का जो तेल है, मूंगफली और तिल का जो तेल है—खाम कर के तिल का—वह तो घानियों से ही तैयार किया जाय। इसके साथ साथ आप दोनों प्रोडक्शन को एक जगह करेंगे तो आपको यह भी पता चलेगा कि मिल के तेल में आपको जो कुछ मुनाफा नजर आता है, उतना तो नहीं परन्तु थोड़ा बहुत मुनाफा घानी के तेल से भी हो सकता है और मिल का नफा घानी को मदद दे सकता है। इसलिये मेरी प्रार्थना है कि तेल के मामले में कामन प्रोडक्शन प्रोग्राम बनाना चाहिये।

आज हिन्दुस्तान की सारी तेल मिलों में ८६ हजार आदमी काम करते हैं और गिरी हुई हालत में भी आज घानियों से ६ लाख आदमी अपना पेट भर रहे हैं। मैं आप से कहूंगा कि यदि आप घानियों को तरक्की देंगे, आप यह निश्चय करेंगे कि इसका कामन प्रोडक्शन प्रोग्राम बनायें और किसी हद तक अब आगे तेल की मिलें बढ़ाई न जायें, तो मैं दावे से कह सकता हूँ कि आप १० लाख

[श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण]

आदमियों को काम में लगा सकेंगे, जो कि डेढ़ से दो रुपये रोज की कमाई करेंगे। इसलिये कामर्स और इंडस्ट्रीज मिनिस्ट्री से मेरी यह प्रार्थना है कि वह कामन प्रोडक्शन प्रोग्राम बनाये।

(Time bell rings.)

I shall just finish, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes.

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण: इसके बाद मुझे यह कहना है कि आपने देखा होगा कि आधे दिन, रोजाना, रिमूवल आफ स्लम्स की बात की जाती है। आपको पता होगा कि गत वर्ष बम्बई में रिमूवल आफ स्लम्स के लिये एक काफ़ेस हुई थी। वहाँ की चर्चा में पता चला कि स्लम्स में करीब दो करोड़ घर ऐसे हैं जिनको कि फौरन गिरा देना चाहिये और फिर से बनाना चाहिये और उस के लिये ५ हजार करोड़ रुपया लगेगा। हमारे सेक्रेटरी फाइव डायर प्लान में सिर्फ २० करोड़ रुपया रखा गया है। तो फिर आप बतलाइये कि २० करोड़ के हिसाब से बड़े बड़े शहरों से ये स्लम्स एरियाज़ कहाँ तक दूर होने वाले हैं। परसों मैंने यह सवाल मिनिस्टर साहब से पूछा था कि आप दिल्ली के स्लम्स को कितने वर्ष में खत्म करने वाले हैं तो उन्होंने जो कुछ जवाब में कहा उस पर मुझे तो हंसी आई, उन्होंने कहा कि यह तो कहना मुश्किल है परन्तु हम करते जायेंगे और दूसरे स्लम्स बनते जायेंगे। यह जवाब आप ने मुझे दिया था। यदि स्लम्स क्लीयरेंस के बारे में यही हाल है कि एक तरफ से दूर होते जायेंगे और दूसरी तरफ से बढ़ते जायेंगे तो मैं आपसे यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि वे नारकीय, गलीज बस्तिया कभी दूर होने वाली है या नहीं और जो गरीबों को उनमें हेबानियत का जीवन व्यतीत करना पड़ रहा है, वह कभी खत्म होने वाला है या नहीं। इसलिये मेरी आपसे यह प्रार्थना है कि इस ओर विशेष ध्यान दिया जाय और यह कोशिश की

जाये कि स्लम एरियाज़ म्युनिस्पैलिटीज़ और राज्य सरकारों की मदद से जल्दी से जल्दी दूर हों क्योंकि इनमें इंसानियत खत्म हो रही है। आपको हिन्दुस्तान की इंसानियत को जिन्दा रखना है, तो आप इन स्लम्स में रहने वाले मनुष्यों की ओर देखियेगा तभी आप यह कह सकते हैं—जिस तरह से महात्मा गांधी ने कहा था : “Swaraj must be felt by every man, woman and child” मैं आपसे पूछता हूँ, Is it felt by every man, woman and child today? यदि नहीं, तो आप इसको जरा सोचें। माफ़ कीजियेगा, मैं सरकार के पक्ष का आदमी हूँ, रात दिन देहातों में कांग्रेसी के नाते काम करता हूँ। इसलिये मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज जनता में जितना असन्तोष है वह दो कारणों से है। एक अन्न की कमी और मंहगाई है, और दूसरा भ्रष्टाचार यानी कर्पशन से। इन दो कारणों से आज असन्तोष है। यदि जनता के इस असन्तोष की ओर आप नहीं देखेंगे तो मुझे डर है कि आप को धोखा होगा और मैं नहीं चाहता—ईश्वर से प्रार्थना है—कि आपको धोखा हो या देश को धोखा हो।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is time.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: I shall just finish. Only one minute more Sir.

आज आप कहते हैं कि हम सोशलिस्टिक पैटर्न आफ मोसाइटी पैदा करना चाहते हैं। जरूरी बात है। परन्तु सोचिये तो सही, आज क्या हालत है :

“According to Dr. Rao, ten per cent. of the urban population receives 50 per cent. of the national income while 48 per cent. of the land-holders receive only 9 per cent. of the national income. 65 per cent. of the population which constitutes the peasant class does not receive

more than 25 per cent. of the national income."

इसलिये मेरी आपसे प्रार्थना है, सब मंत्रालयों से प्रार्थना है कि :

there should be levelling up of the rural incomes so that the colossal disparity in the distribution of national income can be righted.

इसी के साथ साथ आप यह कोशिश करते रहिये कि इकोनोमी हो, काट-कसर हो। यहां हम रोजाना देखते हैं कि कितनी काट-कसर हो सकती है। हमारे पार्लियामेंट में कागज में इतना खर्च होता है कि उसको बचा कर हम हजारों रुपये की बचत कर सकते हैं। मैं रोज के शुद्धि-पत्र एकत्रित कर रहा हूं और सदर साहब, किसी दिन आपको समर्पित

करूंगा। रोजमर्रा मुझको पांच-दस, शुद्धि-पत्र मिलते हैं। जब कि हमारे इतने क्लर्क, इतने आफिसर्स बगैरा हैं तब मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि रोजाना इतने शुद्धि-पत्र कैसे निकलते हैं और उनकी क्या आवश्यकता है, उनसे क्या काम निकलता है। तो कागजों में भी बहुत बचत हो सकती है। और भी बहुत सी बातें हैं जो कि, यदि आपकी आज्ञा हो तो मैं कहूं, नहीं तो मैं बैठ जाता हूं।

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

The House then adjourned at thirty-three minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 28th August, 1957.

Rajya Sabha Secretariat,  
Editor of Debates,  
Editor of Debates,  
Rajya Sabha Secretariat.