

COUNCIL OF STATES

Saturday, 6th March. 1954

The Council met at two of the clock, MR. CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

RESIGNATION BY SHRI K. C. GEORGE

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have to inform hon. Members that Shri K. C. George has resigned his seat in the Council of States with effect from the 5th March 1954.

THE BUDGET (GENERAL) 1954-55—
GENERAL DISCUSSION—continued.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND (Hyderabad) : Mr. Chairman, I shall now come to the capital Budget of our Government wherein the hon. Finance Minister has provided for a floating debt of Rs. 250 crores. It is not clear what the hon. Finance Minister means by "floating debt". If this debt is obtained from Treasury Bills it is really a loan from the market. I think, Sir, the hon. Finance Minister probably means by it the printing of new currency notes to the extent of Rs. 250 crores because that is the real deficit financing.

I will, Sir, discuss in a few words the effects of this type of financing on the country's economy. Sir, we are launching on a mixed type of economy. That means we are going to have a private sector as well as a public sector for the starting and running of industries in our country. In such a mixed economy we have got to be very * clear and earmark the various industries for the two sectors to work together and also earmark the sources of capital formation for both of them. The hon. Finance Minister through the Reserve Bank has entirely controlled all the scheduled banks from lending any money to trade and industry and the Finance Minister is withdrawing, by offering high rates of interest, all

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surplus money from the market. The net result is that there is no money left for the private sector to develop. If we do not want the private sector to develop, it is well and good. The Government should come forward and start the industries, but if the Government does not start the industries and does not leave any money for the private sector to develop, how is the problem of unemployment going to be solved in this country ? There are no new industries coming up. All this is due to the fact that there is no money in the market. It is very easy to say that capital is shy. but capital is not shy. There is no capital to come forward. The scheduled banks are the repositories of savings and you have controlled them. They can only invest in Government securities. Sir, the real benefit of deficit financing will only be visible if by deficit financing the hon. Finance Minister agrees to the printing of notes to the extent of about Rs. 250 to Rs. 300 crores every year. During the last war from 1941 onwards to 1944, currency notes to the extent of Rs. 300 crores were printed every year and our currency was increased by nearly 1,200 crores. I would like hon. Members to consider what were the bad effects of it

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh):
Inflation.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: During war years the prices of articles did not go up as much as they have gone up during the years which you call years of non-inflation. If you remember the years of 1942 and , 1943 the price level then was much lower than it is at present. Sir, at present the prices of agricultural products have started going down; the prices of food grains are also going down but it is leading to greater unemployment. At such a time deficit financing done by an increase in the circulation of nq:es may lead to about 5 to 10 per cent, increase in prices. That means it will arrest the deflation that is setting in in the agricultural prices. That

[Shri Kishen Chand.] deflation is going to very seriously affect the interests of the agricultural population. If the prices of food-grains and the prices of raw materials produced by the agriculturists go down as rapidly as they are going down at present, it will create a very serious situation in our country. People do not realise it. They may be wise after the event, but untold harm would have been done to the economy of the country by this type of carelessness. I think, Sir, that the financing of our capital Budget should be carried on by pure and simple deficit financing. The Finance Minister should leave enough sources *at* capital formation in the private sector which will give a great stimulus to the development of industries in our country, especially of the consumer type. And if these consumer type of industries develop, it will lead to greaver employment and the raising of the standard of living. After all, the standard of living does not mean the satisfaction of the bare necessities of life like food. It is the consumer goods that raise the standard of life and in every society, it is a section of people that produces the consumer goods and the other sections use it. That is the best possible economy that we can have.

Sir, I will only say that the hon. Finance Minister has not made up his mind. On the one hand he wants to go in for deficit financing and on the other side he wants to impose excise duty. He has imposed excise duty on only three items this year but I think it is only a forerunner. He has indicated in his speech that later on he is going to impose excise duty on other articles. He wants to put in more money in the market by deficit financing and also take it away by excise duties on consumer goods. I think this type of policy is not going to benefit our economy at all. He has got to adopt some sort of a bold policy. Too much conservatism is not going to help our country. It is going to create such a magnitude of unemployment in the country that

the whole Government will be engulfed by it. It will be far better if calculated risks are taken and a new type of economy is evolved in the country; unless a bold policy is adopted, there is no chance of survival.

The hon. Minister has -concluded his Budget speech with a sort of survey of the economic progress of our country during the last seven years. I submit, Sir, that it is too rosy a picture. The actual facts are quite different and I shall give the ouier side of the picture for your kind consideration. The hon. Minister has referred to all the events which have happened during these seven years, but I will not give the other side of the picture in respect of all of them, but only about a few of them. The first point is about the rehabilitation of the refugees. I maintain, Sir, that the Congress Government agreed to partition at the last moment without taking due precaution, so that it led to wholesale murder, butchery * and arson and millions had to migrate to either side leaving behind their dear and near. The attempts at rehabilitation have been half-hearted and the doles have only helped them to eke out a bare existence.

The second great achievement is the integration of States. I submit, that the ruling princes were a tottering lot and would have disappeared, but the Congress Government safeguarded their position and is paying an annual subsidy of Rs. 6 crores free of all taxes for the last seven years and has permitted them to transfer assets and jewelleries worth several hundreds of crores outside the country and to distribute a. like amount among their relations in the country.

Sir, the foreign trade and industry have been allowed to flourish in the country at the cost of indigenous trade and industry and are being allowed to take away nearly Rs. 100 crores per year in the shape of interest, profit and services,

The sterling balances are not being drawn and trade is restricted to sterling area and Commonwealth countries by giving all sorts of preferences so that the credit of sterling is maintained. Old army equipment, outdated naval ships and outmoded aircraft are being purchased from U. K. and other sterling areas to permit them to dispose of their junk at fabulous prices. The sterling balances should have been utilised to liquidate foreign 'assets' in India at pre-war prices. The balances should have been converted into dollars in 1949 at the then prevailing price of 30 cents per rupee. That would have enabled the Government to set up basic factories for machine making and producing basic chemicals, thereby making the country independent of all nations in times of emergency.

The level of indirect and direct taxation has been raised to such a level that it has led to price-increase of consumer goods and the people cannot afford to purchase them. The credit facilities have been controlled by orders of the Reserve Bank, which is leading to widespread unemployment. The plight of trade and small-scale industries was never worse than at present. The Government industries are top-heavy and the cost of production is too high.

The cost of civil administration has increased five-fold as compared to prewar years, and the three-fold increase in staff is adding to red-tape and inefficiency. The additional staff is justifying its existence by transferring files from one room to another and where decisions used to be taken after two or three 'notings', they are now taken after twenty 'notings'.

The grandest achievement of our Government is the Five Year Plan which is supposed to double the national income in a period of 27 years, probably by which date the population would have increased by 40 per cent. The Plan is behind schedule of spending in the first three years, and

will now increase the tempo of spending so that all the 2,250 crores of rupees are finished in five years. No proper assessment is being made of the benefits derived from the Plan. The cost of all construction is calculated on rates prevailing in the U.K. or the U.S.A., and any praise from interested foreign experts or visiting foreign diplomats, is taken as a certificate of efficiency and usefulness of the Plan.

The Government is helping in the creation of a new caste system. It is that of L.P. (Important Persons), V.I.P. (Very Important Persons) and V.V.I.P. (Very Very Important Persons), who remain apart from the common man for fear of contamination.

When the history of these seven years is written by some future historian, he will be surprised why the men at the helm of affairs adopted such a weak policy and missed the golden opportunity of building a prosperous India, taking the fullest advantage of world conditions. The verdict will be that the men were not big enough for the occasion.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Chairman, I should like to begin by offering a warm welcome to the officers and men of the Indian forces who have returned recently from Korea, after doing a very difficult job remarkably well. By their understanding, impartiality, and efficiency they have served the cause of world peace and have enhanced the prestige of India.

Sir, our Defence forces may be called upon to handle even more difficult jobs in future. It is, therefore, necessary that we should take such measures as will enable them to work with the maximum efficiency. The size of our military Budget which used to be the subject of criticism every year, has had only one critic in this House this year. It is recognised that although it may appear to be large, it is not too large to ensure the security of the country. If more money were available, I have no doubt that the

[Shri H. N. Kunzru.] Defence Ministry would lay claim to a portion of it in order to provide the things that our Defence forces badly need. But, as no money is available, it is more than ever necessary that such measures should be taken as would make for the full utilisation of the available funds in the best possible manner.

I should like to place before the House and the Finance Ministry two suggestions which, I think, without adding materially to the permanent cost, would add to our security and enable us to follow a sound policy. The first measure that I should like to draw the attention of Government to is the need for the manufacture of stores and equipment in India. I know that something is already being done in this connection and that Government is thinking of taking steps to undertake the manufacture of stores and equipment that are now being obtained from outside. But, I suggest that more active measures should be taken to achieve this end and to enable us to have the more important stores and certain types of mechanical transport manufactured in this country. I do not know how long the plans of Government will take to mature, but I think that it is desirable that a Five Year Plan should be prepared for the development of the manufacturing side. There are countries where the development plan has centred round the needs of the Defence Department. Our development plan has not followed this model. But I think in the circumstances in which we are placed, it is necessary for us to pay attention to it immediately, to take substantial steps in that direction during the next two years of the Plan and to make further development an integral part of the next Five Year Plan.

The next suggestion that I have to make relates to the development of our intelligence services. During British rule, broadly speaking, the higher personnel of these services was largely British.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN, in the Chair.] Our experience and our knowledge therefore of the methods of obtaining information are rather limited, but the value of obtaining accurate and complete information in these days cannot be doubted. We have various ways of gaining information; but I think, Sir,, it will be admitted on all hands that our sources of information have not covered themselves with credit in the eyes of public. Everyone feels that there is something wanting, and that some steps should be taken to increase the efficiency of these services. Now, what I suggest, Sir, is that the technique required for obtaining accurate information in the present circumstances should be properly studied, and that the people whose business it is to enable their country to have the material on which a sounder policy can be based should be properly trained to do their job.

The second suggestion that I venture to make is that efforts should be made to secure more co-ordination than is observable at the present* time. We have some arrangements for securing co-ordination, but in my opinion they are inadequate. Take the U.K. and the U.S.A. If you study the methods that are followed there, you will see that there is an appreciable difference between the organisation that secures this information in the U.K. and the U.S.A. and the organisation that we have in this country. The organisation there is appreciably superior to the organisation that we have in this country. In America, for the co-ordination of information they have established a central information agency which does not merely collate and circulate information but has, what I may call, field agencies. I think, Sir, that the time has come when we should study, as far as we can, the methods that are followed in other countries and try to obtain much more reliable information than what we are doing at the present time. I therefore, think, Sir, that if a committee is appointed by Government to go

into this matter, it may easily be able to make valuable suggestions which will be useful to the country both at the present time and in future.

The last point. Sir, in connection with our Defence Budget that I venture to deal with relates to the need for the appointment of an Indian officer as Director of Military Training. Realising the importance of this matter I pressed Government two years ago to appoint an Indian officer as soon as the term of office of the officer occupying that position at that time expired. But Government extended his term of office by two years. This extension is to expire on the 31st March this year, but Government have thought fit in their wisdom to extend his term further. I should like to know, Sir, why this thing has been done. We have Indian officers occupying higher positions. Why is it then that we should not be able to have an Indian as Director of Military Training? I know that we have competent British officers in our army. We have some in our training institutions, for instance, who are doing very good work, but I think that it is high time that the post of Director of Military Training was occupied by an Indian. I see no reason why the existing arrangement should continue. I say nothing against the officer who is Director of Military Training at the present time. But I do not know whether he has such special qualifications for his work that it is necessary for us to retain his services for another year or two. I should like Government to tell us as to what are the special qualifications and the special services rendered by him that have made it expend his term of office again. I should further like to know, Sir, as to what is the period for which extension has been granted. Sir, I greatly regret the action taken by Government. I think it is wholly unjustified.

And now, Sir, turning to what I may call our Civil Budget, I may

say that it is broadly speaking a development Budget. Now, the most important feature of this Budget is the need for deficit financing on which the Finance Minister has laid a great deal of stress. He referred to it last year too. But the emphasis that he has laid on it this year shows that it has become absolutely necessary in his opinion that it should be resorted to in a substantial measure. Now, Sir, I am not opposed on principle to deficit financing. In an undeveloped country deficit financing, I should think, would be necessary to a great extent to provide the funds required for the development of our economic resources. But we have to consider the present situation and the extent to which deficit financing may be resorted to in order to carry out fully the Five Year Plan. The statistics that enable us to judge whether the circumstances are favourable to the adoption of the method of deficit financing are those relating to the general price index and the food index. I shall take the food index first. In 1952, it is well-known that we had to import about 4 million tons of food from abroad. Yet in March 1952 the food index was—I believe it is for cereals—342·7; in December 1952 it was 344·5; but in January 1954 it was 386·4. The index has certainly fallen in the course of a week, but it must be remembered that there has been an increase of 33 points since December 1952. A great deal has been said about the development of our food resources and the record production of cereals in 1952-53. It is true that the quantity produced in this country was one and a half million tons more than the base year 1949-50, but in spite of this we see that the food index is appreciably higher than it was in a year of admitted scarcity.

I shall now turn to the general price index. In December 1952 it stood at 372·7, and on the 6th February this year it stood at 396·8. **There** was a rise of about 24 points. Here too the position is not very reassuring.

[Shri H. N. Kunzru.] ing. It is true that inflation has been controlled but I think it is equally clear that up to the present time even a slight inflationary pressure might easily undo the work done during the last two years. We have therefore to be very careful. I understand that the agricultural year 1953-54 will prove to be even more favourable than the year 1952-53. I shall be very happy indeed if the forecast recently made turns out to be true. That might ease the position and have a good effect on the food index and the general price index, but at the present time we have to proceed cautiously.

The Five Year Plan provided for an expenditure of Rs. 2,069 crores. The Government have recently taken in hand schemes in order to reduce unemployment. These schemes will cost about Rs. 175 crores. Therefore the total expenditure on the Plan would be about Rs. 2,244 crores. Our budgetary resources, excluding foreign assistance, amounts to Rs. 1,258 crores. There is thus a gap between the target and the available resources of about Rs. 1,000 crores. The authorised foreign assistance up to the present time amounts to about Rs. 230 crores and we can withdraw, as the Finance Minister told us, Rs. 290 crores from our sterling balances. We can therefore reduce the deficit by about Rs. 520 crores. Even so, the deficit would be of the order of Rs. 450 crores. I do not know whether this is the maximum amount of the gap between our resources and the *total* expenditure that we have to bridge. Take the year 1952-53. I understand that the completed figures show that the expenditure actually incurred on development has fallen short of the Budget Estimates or the Revised Estimates by about Rs. 52 crores. Apart from this, we have been told by the Finance Minister that the States have lagged behind in fulfilling the responsibility undertaken by them for the provision of the resources required for carrying out their part of the development plans. The report

on the progress of the Five Year Plan during the years 1951 to 1953 draws attention to the same fact, and says that in the case of the States the corresponding figure for the five year period is Rs. 532 crores, while the actual performance in the first two years is only about Rs. 101 crores. The situation may have improved in the year 1953-54; it seems from the figures supplied to me, which I have been warned are only rough approximations, that some improvement has taken place, but I should like to know what is the shortfall in State expenditure that is likely to accrue by the-end of 1955-56, and I should further like to know what is the position with regard to the development of the private industrial sector. Its development does not obviously form part of the development of the public sector. The Finance Minister while replying, to the debate on unemployment in the other House said that the private sector had been able to obtain about 52 crores for the expansion of the existing industries and possibly the starting of some new ones and that this sum was adequate for its purpose. Now, I should like to know whether the position in 1953-54 was equally satisfactory. I should further like to know how the Government obtain information with regard to the private sector. Is there any established channel for the provision of information? I do not know of any publication that supplies us with information on this subject and so far as I know, Government have to correspond with the directors of each industry in order to find out the additional sum invested in it for its expansion. If this is a fact, I venture to think that this is a highly unsatisfactory position and that something should be done to obtain information as regularly about expenditure in the private sector as can be obtained in the public sector. Now I do not know whether the actual gap between our resources and the development expenditure to be incurred by us will be more or less than I have calculated. I should like to know what the

Government's estimate is because unless we know it, it is difficult for us to make up our minds with regard to the question of approving or disapproving of the extent of deficit financing that is proposed. Taking the circumstances as they are, it seems to me that Government must proceed with the greatest caution; though circumstances may have changed greatly for the better during the last two years, the forces that still exist make it necessary that we should continue to move forward with caution, lest the progress that we have made should be destroyed or be reduced to any material extent. There is just one more point about the responsibilities of the States that I should like to have information about. The report on the progress of the Plan during the years 1951—53 says that in five States—Madras, Bihar, West Bengal, Mysore and Saurashtra—the additional resources provided were of the order of Rs. 20 crores while the targets for the Plan period for these States is Rs. 208 crores. If the resources of these States were to be increased in equal proportions every year, the resources of these States should have been raised by Rs. 80 crores but as a matter of fact they have been raised only by Rs. 20 crores. I should like to know what this difference is due to, and this makes it all the more necessary to know what the actual extent of deficit financing is likely to be.

Now I venture to suggest that though it is necessary to carry out the Five Year Plan, Government should tell the States that there is a limit to the assistance that they can give to the States for the purpose of carrying out the Plan. They should press the States as strongly as they can to fulfil their responsibilities to the maximum extent possible.

Now I should like to say a word about the customs and excise duties proposed to be levied by the Finance Minister. I know that the imposition of certain customs duties and the remission of certain existing duties

cancel one another but one of the things on which it is proposed to levy a customs duty is betel-nut. Now the Finance Minister has said in his budget speech:

"Profit-margins on betel-nuts have for some time been very high often leading to the payment of premium on import licenses. We do not think that this would in any way affect the available supplies or occasion any significant increase in prices". I thought, when I heard this, that the duty would have to be paid by the seller who was already getting high prices and not by the consumer but my enquiries show that the price of betel-nut has risen in exact proportion to the duty levied by the Finance Minister. The enhancement is a little more than the duty imposed by the Finance Minister. The duty amounts to about Rs. 0-13-0 per seer but the increase in the price is Re. 1/-per seer. It is obvious therefore that it is not the seller but the consumer that will have to bear the weight of the new duty. As regards the excise duty, while the sale of cloth has improved during the last two months, I do not know whether it has increased to such an extent as to give us some justification for thinking that an increase in its price would not affect its purchase by the public. I should like to have some information from Government. So far prices have not risen except in the refugee shops, but in a month or so, even the wholesale dealers may raise the prices. Government must have thought about the matter before deciding to impose this duty and I should like them to give us full information on this subject.

Then I should like to say a word about soaps and footwear. The imposition of a 10 per cent, duty on footwear has already created great dissatisfaction in the leather market in Agra. It is felt, notwithstanding the assurance given by the Finance Minister that shoes produced through cottage industries would be exempted

[Shri H. N. Kunzru.] from the new duties, it is a fact that the *prices* of footwear have risen and that it is feared that they will depress the shoe market further than it is already depressed. I shall not say anything about soap, except that it seems that at present the price of every quality of soap has risen by two pice per cake. It seems, therefore, Sir, that the consumer will have to feel the weight of the new taxation. The taxation is not of such a character as might not be felt by the consumer. Everything that he buys will make him realise that he is paying more for it than he did before. Although the need of the Government for getting more funds is quite clear, yet what has actually happened requires that they should pay a little more attention to this matter and give us more information than they have done so far.

Just one point more, Sir, and I have done. We have heard a great deal during the last few months about un employment, particularly unemploy ment amongst the educated classes in this country. The Finance Minister said during the unemployment debate in the other House that the number of the unemployed had risen from 425,000 in March 1953 to I think.....

SHRI J. S. BISHT (Uttar Pradesh): To a little over 500,000.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: Yes, to 523,000 in December 1953. Now, can the Government tell us what the effect of the Plan so far in increasing employment has been? When it was placed before us, we found that according to official calculations it should increase employment by about 52 lakhs in 5 years. Now, has any increase actually in employment been observable during the three years that have already elapsed? And what the outlook for the future? I mean, it will be a serious thing if the Plan* so far carried out at present has not fulfilled the hopes of the Planning Commission in regard to increased employment. As regards employment

among the educated classes, while the Plan, no doubt, will create new openings for them, I think we have to remember that this question cannot be tackled by Government alone. I think it will have to be tackled by the private sector, which includes both organised and unorganised industries and the cottage industries. According to the report of the National Income Committee, the number of people employed by factories in 1950-51 amounted to about 30 lakhs and those engaged in small enterprises numbered 1 crore and 15 lakhs. It is obvious, therefore, that if the problem of unemployment is to be tackled, vigorous steps must be taken to expand our industries and in particular, to help the unorganised, that is, the smaller industries, and the cottage industries. The Government have already established an All-India Handloom Board and an All-India Handicraft Board. I do not know what these Boards have done. Some information has been given about their work in the explanatory memorandum. But what I want to know is have they a workable plan that will enable us to reduce the unemployment substantially in the course of the next three, four or five years? We have been talking about cottage industries for years and yet have made no advance. If the Handloom Board and the Handicraft Board work in the leisurely way that agencies connected with these activities have done in the past, then they will not prove to be of any real value in grappling and dealing successfully with the very difficult problem before us. I hope, Sir, that the Government will be able to give us adequate information on this point.

Sir, before I sit down, I should like to say I recognise the determination shown by the Finance Minister in matters relating to the provision of funds for the execution of the development plan and the prudent policy that he has followed. He will, no doubt, be equally prudent in future. But it is the duty of all of us who take part in this debate, to draw at-

tention to such factors, such important factors as seem to us to bear on -this question and while appreciating the efforts made by Government, to warn it against taking steps which, though their purpose may be to carry out the Plan may in the end do more harm than goon.

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SHRI T. R. DEOGIRIKAR (Bombay) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I congratulate the Finance Minister over the Budget. Budgets may come and Budgets may go but our proverbial poverty goes on for ever. I am not, therefore, very particular about the nature of the Budget. According to me, the Budget which links up the past with the present and provides for the future is the best. As we are building a new nation, we should care less for the past, a little for the present but most for the future. Looking to this Budget in this perspective, I welcome it.

Coming to the Budget proposals to make up the deficit. I beg to submit that as we are planning for plenty and are undertaking big ventures a proper psychological atmosphere and confidence must be created in the minds of the people. Pinching a few lakhs from here and pinching a few crores from there vitiates the atmosphere and endangers marginal industries. If at all small deficits are to be made up, then export duties, import duties and excise duties should be the order of precedence. What we do outside is not usually felt by people but a small tax here sounds the loudest. As an example, I may give the case of the excise duty on artificial silk fabrics. Sir, I have received a number of telegrams from power #looms in Maharashtra. They say that their industry was already running at a loss for the last three years and as a result of this excise duty some of the looms will have to be closed. I do not understand why Government did not wait till the receipt of the report of the Textile Enquiry Committee or the Taxation Enquiry Committee. I, however, request the Fin-

ance Minister to exempt all power looms and not upto ten power looms only from this taxation.

As regards the enhancement of duty on arecanut, I must say that the Finance Minister has been ill-advised in this matter. The position of arecanut is this: The consumption of arecanut in this country is about 30 lakh maunds. Out of these 30 lakhs, we produce 21 lakhs and import 9 lakhs. Last year, that is from January to December 1953, we imported 6,88,900 cwt. or about 9 lakh maunds of arecanut. The countries from which we imported are the Straits Settlement, the Federated States of Malaya, Ceylon and Singapore. Our imports from the Straits Settlement are about 80 per cent, and our imports from Pakistan are almost negligible. Coming to the value of imports last year, the total value of our imports was Rs. 3 crores and the duty was Rs. 5 crores. Now the value of imports will not increase but the duty will be Rs. 8 crores. In terms of pounds, for every pound of arecanut at the port of landing, its cost is only six annas and the duty will be one rupee, that means, the cost of imported nut will be Rs. 1-6-0 and the selling price on an average in the wholesale markets will be Rs. 1-12-0. The price of indigenous nut varies from market to market and from variety to variety. In the Shimoga market, average wholesale price is Rs. 1-6-0 per pound. The prices in our markets depend upon the price of imports. Our market prices will not remain at Rs. 1-6-0 per pound as at present. Therefore, what the Government says *viz.*, that the prices will not increase is not true. May I ask the Government whether they are prepared to control the prices if they go up? If they do so, blackmarketing and scarcity will come. Sir, the retail price of arecanut has already risen to Rs. 2-8-0 per pound. The Government has benefited the middlemen and, to a certain extent, the growers at the cost of the consumers. Sir, is it not strange that for arecanut worth about six annas, the consumer is made

LSHri T. R. Deogirikar.] to pay Re. 1 as duty? Government is imposing 266 per cent, duty on areca-nut. In the schedule of Sea Customs you will find that next to motor spirit betel-nut occupies the place. May I know whether there is any other commodity so heavily taxed except petrol? One can understand the excessive duty on petrol because Government has to spend in constructing, maintaining and repairing roads but in the case of arecanut Government has to spend nothing.

Sir, as regards the duty on soap and footwear to make up the deficit in the revenue Budget, it is equally vexatious. I am not expert in the art or science of taxation but I think Government could have made up the

it, by imposing an additional duty on manganese ore, mica, coir, cashew nut, coal, fruits and vegetable and footwear. If that were not possible men we could have cut our developmental expenditure by Rs. 5 crores

even if that was not feasible then we could have a deficit Budget of Rs. 243 crores instead of Rs. 238 crores. It is, after all, the psychological effect that matters and not money. Anyway, I request the Government at least to exempt *chappals* and washing soap from this duty. We could now say, Sir, that we are taxed from top to toe.

Sir, our Finance Minister can rightly be proud for the things that, have happened during the last year. Our Plan is progressing vigorously. The price index has come down. There is increase in industrial production. The food situation is gradually improving and the position of our balance of payments and that of the dollar is also satisfactory. That is creditable and very creditable but we are sorry that in spite of these improvements, unemployment is also increasing. I entirely agree with the Finance Minister when he says that unemployment is not a short-term phenomenon calling for short-term remedies but I do not agree with him when he says that increasing numbers

of our men and women coming out of schools and colleges will be absorbed by the increase in the economic

activities. That is a pious hope. May I ask him whether we have qualified these young men and women to take advantage of the economic activities? Sir, can somebody tell me, in precise terms, what the aim of our education is? The Soviets, for example, say that the aim of Soviet education is the creation of active workers for the construction of socialist society. In Japan they say that there is no unemployment because everyone gets some training in art, craft or science. Similar is the case in other countries. But if you look to India you will find that a boy or a girl who wants to appear for the Secondary School Leaving Examination is made to study a number of languages. In Bombay, for instance, a student is required to study four languages. English is one. Classical language is another. Hindi is third and mother tongue is fourth. I have seen the amount of energy that the student spends in learning these languages and mastering none. I do not know whether multi-linguism is the aim of our education. That is the tragedy of our present education, Sir. We are aiming at hundred per cent, literacy, but Gandhiji said literacy is no education nor even a beginning of it. Sir, we may be creating an army of unemployed if we do not alter the basis of our education and that too immediately. Government has undertaken short-term remedies to remove unemployment, by providing jobs to fifty thousand persons as school teachers. I only wish that the remedy should not prove to be worse than the disease.

Sir, our industrial production is increasing. We are glad of it, but may I ask whether any attempt has been made to understand why so many limited companies that had sprung up during the war have gone or are going into liquidation. Recasting the company law will not improve matters. An attempt should be made to appoint a small committee with a view to

study the whole problem and with a view also to reorganising and planning the small-scale industries. Sir, as at present our industry is subjected to four checks. The Finance Ministry wants more income tax, more excise and more customs. The Labour Ministry wants more wages, gratuity, bonus and other benefits to its workers. The Industry Ministry wants more production, more efficiency and more quality, and the capitalists want more profits, more commission and less supervision on the part of the Government. The only creature who is subjected to these is the poor consumer who is a victim in this game of pull and push. He is the ass of the burden. I therefore say, Sir, that unless there is co-ordination in the different departments of the Ministry, matters will not improve. According to me the fate of the small-scale and cottage industries is not very brilliant, hemmed in as they are by these "dos" and "don'ts". It is up to the Government to give serious consideration to these and improve matters if they think necessary.

Sir, I must thank the Minister for Information and Broadcasting for reviving the *Indian Information* and the *Bharat Samachar*, which had stopped publication two or three years back. I must also thank the Government for the readiness and the sympathy with which they came to the help of the famine-stricken in Maharashtra.

Sir, with two quotations I am ending my speech. Bhartrihari has said:

राजन् ! दुधुक्षसि यदि क्षितिध्रेनुमेनाम् ।
तेनाद्य वसमिद लोकममु षुषाण ॥

"Oh, King, if you want to milk this cow in the form of earth then feed the people who are like her calves." Now the Raja has gone but the Finance Minister is there. So it is his responsibility.

Mahatma Gandhi says: "I shall work for an India in which the poorest will feel that it is their country in whose making they have effective voice, an India in which there shall

be no high class and low class of people, an India in which all communities will live in harmony. Western democracy is on its trial. If it has already proved a failure, may it be reserved to India to evolve the true science of democracy by giving a visible demonstration of its buttress. Corruption and hypocrisy ought not to be inevitable products of democracy as they are to-day. Nor is the bulk a true test of democracy. True democracy is not inconsistent with a few persons representing the spirit, the hope and the aspiration of those whom they claim to represent. I hold that democracy cannot be evolved by forcible methods. The spirit of democracy cannot be imposed from without. It is to come from within."

BEGAM AIZAZ RASUL (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I congratulate the Finance Minister on presenting to Parliament the seventh Budget of Free India. I also join Dr. Kunzru in welcoming our troops from Korea. As he has rightly said, they had a very difficult duty to perform and the manner in which they have performed their difficult task has earned the respect and admiration of peoples all over the world. We are proud of them.

Sir I would like to say something about the U.S. military aid to Pakistan before I express a few ideas on the Budget. It is unfortunate, Sir, that this pact should have taken place and it is very natural that it should give rise to tension and to many suspicions. President Eisenhower has promised that he will thwart aggression if it takes place by virtue of this aid. If that promise is to be kept it follows that American military officers will step in all over the military establishments of Pakistan and be present in all strategic positions. That means, Sir, that Pakistan's independence will be compromised, but Pakistan leaders protest that the alliance does not in any way affect their sovereignty and independence. If their claim is to be justified then President Eisenhower's promise cannot be fulfilled because to do that it is necessary to place their

[Begam Aizaz Rasul.] officers stationed in strategic positions in the country to which military aid is being given. Anyhow it is clear, and Pakistan cannot escape the fact that United States of America's military aid is given to a country to promote the foreign policy of America. This is not very different, Sir, from the old Imperial Policy which the British followed for long and which is well known to us. When King Amanullah of Afghanistan decided on the independence of Afghanistan, it meant a break with British control over Afghanistan's foreign affairs. If Pakistan now submits itself to the foreign policy of America, it compromises its independence and sovereignty and brings the

Id war to its territory. Our Prime Minister has said that this military aid brings in a new type of colonialism and thereby threatens the newly-won freedom of the countries of Asia. Pakistan cannot claim that it is faced with the same situation as Turkey. Turkey for centuries has been afraid of Russian aggression and has always been sensitive to threats of danger. Pakistan has no such predicament and is not exposed to that kind of danger. It is thus clear that Pakistan has formed this alliance not in the interests of its security but for other reasons. These must be ■ divined. Some may suggest that the acceptance of this military aid will effect a saving of a substantial amount of national wealth which may be diverted to strengthen the economic structure of the country and providing increased employment to its people. But, Sir, if economic reconstruction was the only objective, one wonders why such a roundabout method should have been adopted. It would have been easier and saner *o have asked for economic rather than military aid. The other reason that 'is being suggested is this that Pakistan's aggrandisement of her armed might is due to a desire for military adventure. In the latter case, neighbouring countries like India and Afghanistan would be less

than circumspect if they were to ignore the dangers that they are exposed to. In fact, most of us feel that in referring to these dangers our Prime Minister has been most moderate and restrained, and rightly so, because he does not want to cause a scare. He believes in the inherent strength of his country and his confidence is well-founded. Sir, vhe call which he has made to the nation deserves enthusiastic response and I am sure that my Muslim brethren will be as responsive as any other section of the population, and I assure the Prime Minister that the Muslims will lend their best support in strengthening the security of their country and be prepared to offer any ifice which they may be called upon to make in this connection. Their interests are bound up with the prosperity of India and they, more than any other section, feel that it will be a tragedy if relations between India and Pakistan were to be strained. In fact, those leaders of Pakistan who profess interest in the well-being of the Indian Muslims are doing those very people the greatest disservice by causing a breach in the relationship between the two countries. Sir, the future prosperity and stability of this sub-continent—indeed of South Asia—depends to a large extent on the closest co-operation between India and Pakistan and any development which retards that process will be suicidal to the interests of both, especially of Pakistan. Some lenders of Pakistan have for some time been flirting with the idea of Pan-Islamism and for that purpose have been trying to forge a link through this pact with the peoples of the Middle East. But, rightly, there has been no success; because even recently the Foreign Minister of Turkey reiterated the secular outlook of his country. The Arabs have repeatedly rejected the move because they believe in an Arab unity and not in the Pan-Islamic idea. Having failed to carry out this design by propaganda and conferences, they are

now adopting a method of associating these countries with themselves in military alliances with American aid. It remains to be seen whether they succeed in this.

Sir, turning now to the Budget, the Finance Minister in his speech disclosed the fact that a provision has to be made for Rs. 474 crores in the current year to meet Rs. 26 crores of revenue deficits, Rs. 395 crores for financing essential capital outlay and assisting the State Governments, local bodies, etc. for financing their development schemes and Rs. 53 crores for repayment of the maturing debt. This he expects to make up by raising Rs. 75 crores from loans in the country, Rs. 48 crores from foreign assistance and dollar loans, Rs. 45 crores from small savings and Rs. 56 crores from other remittance transactions. This leaves an over-all deficit of Rs. 250 crores. Now, Sir, as a woman looking after my household, the conception of deficit in budgeting is foreign to me. I believe in cutting my coat according to my cloth. I realise, however, that money for the Five Year Plan has to be found somehow and the Plan has to be completed. But the question arises whether we would be able to spend the large sum of money, provided in the Budget. Reverting to the deficit of Rs. 250 crores, part of this is to be met by drawing upon the sterling balances and the rest by issuing new currency, how much of each is intended has not been disclosed.

Now, Sir, the expenditure on Defence is only Rs. 6 crores more than last year. Is this expenditure adequate? We have to be well-equipped and well-fortified. A sum of Rs. 12 crores is being sought to be raised by levying excise on commodities, but these commodities are not luxury goods but things which are used by the rich and Poor alike. As has been said by many hon. Members here, it would have been a good thing if these commodities had not been taxed. It is useless to say that this additional levy will not fall on the consumer, because as we all know

and as has just been pointed out by several hon. Members, it is sure to fall on the consumer in the end. I would have been very happy if shoes and *chappals* had been exempted whose cost does not exceed Rs. 10; those wearing shoes of a higher price than Rs. 10 may afford to pay the increased price but *chappals* and shoes priced less than Rs. 10 are generally worn by the lower middle class and by people who can hardly afford to pay anything more than that and it would have been a good thing if they had been exempted. In the same way, I think it would have been a good idea if washing soap had been exempted from this tax because washing soap is used by rich and poor alike and it will certainly cause great hardship to the poor classes.

As regards duty on cement, Sir, of course it may provide an emotional satisfaction to our Finance Minister to have imposed this duty but he must also realise that about 50 per cent, of the cement used in our country is being consumed by the Government itself, so that the Government will have to pay a higher price for the cement that it will use. When sales tax was being imposed in the States it was said that it would not fall on the consumer but our experience has been quite the opposite. In fact I have several times come across cases where the shopkeepers have charged sales tax on commodities on which it is not levied, so that the ordinary man not knowing what articles or what commodities are taxed and what are not taxed, has to pay these taxes along with the price of the articles that he is buying, and of course in every case on the chargeable items. Now Sir, I would like to say something about betel-nuts. I come from a State where betel-nuts are consumed in a large quantity and this additional levy on this commodity will certainly be a great blow to the consumers of my State.

It is useless to say that the burden of the additional levy on these-

[Begam Aizaz Rasul.] articles will not fall on the consumers. Our experience proves something different. I have just mentioned the sales-tax and so with betel-nuts. The middleman is certainly not going to undergo any loss on, account of the additional levy. Apart from that, I wish to make out another point. I find that betel-nut produced in India is of the order of 22 lakh maunds on which there is no excise duty. The consumption of this commodity in our country is 33 lakh maunds and therefore we have to import 11 lakh maunds a year from abroad. In the Finance Bill, the provision is that "the duty on betel-nut is being increased from 9i annas preferential to Re. 1 preferential with corresponding adjustments in the standard rate". That means that the Government have increased the customs on imports and from this it expects to get Rs. 3 crores but the 22 lakh maunds which is produced in the country goes scotfree. We would have been very happy if these 22 lakh maunds of betel-nut that are produced in the country and which have not been subjected to excise duty, had been made available to the consumer at lower prices. But the standard rate having been increased the price of betel-nut will at once shoot up, and has already done so, and the consumer will have to buy it at that rate — because he will be charged the maximum price. Calculating Re. 1/-per pound on 22 lakh maunds the additional amount comes to 18 crores of rupees, who benefits by this amount? It is the grower and the middleman. Of course, you are helping the Indian grower to the extent of Rs. 18 crores; but the consumer is also called upon to pay not Rs. 3 crores but Rs. 21 crores out of which only Rs. 3 crores will reach the Government coffers and the rest will go into the pockets of the middlemen and the growers. I hope that something will be done about this.

Now, Sir, I come to another point. I have, on another occasion, brought to the notice of the Government, the

very unfair manner in which my State of Uttar Pradesh is being treated by the Centre, as regards money for development and other purposes. Out of the 303 crores of rupees allotted to Part A and B States, in grants and loans for development purposes, I find that U.P. is only getting Rs. 71 lakhs which represents 0·2 per cent. of the total while other States of the Union have been treated with a liberality which, I for one, would have welcomed with greater cordiality if the step-motherly treatment meted out to my State had not been so glaring in character. Our development schemes of Ghagra Valley Project and Rihand Dam are being held up on account of paucity of funds. Projects like Mahanadi, Kosi, Damodar and Bhakra are well under way; but the Ghagra Valley Project which will produce about 40 lakh kws of electricity and passes through about thirteen districts of U.P., containing about 19 million people and covering an area of 25,000 square miles, cannot be proceeded with on account of lack of funds.

Then, Sir, out of all the locomotive, fertilizer, aircraft, and steel plant factories and national laboratories only one—the Central Drug Research Institute—is located in the U.P. I bring it to the notice of hon. Members who are apt to say that U.P. gets preferential treatment. I bring it to the notice of the hon. the Finance Minister who I am glad is present and hope that he will see that some more money is allotted to my State.

Sir, the Finance Minister, in his Budget speech, has said that the States had not shown the same readiness to augment their resources to the extent envisaged in the Plan. As far as U.P. is concerned, I may inform him that there is no scope for further taxation. Already the people are groaning under the burden of high prices, and if any additional burden is put on them, the whole economy of the State will collapse.

I welcome the abolition of Imperial preferences so far as the import of motor cars, their accessories and parts are concerned.

One minor point which I would like to bring to the notice of the Finance Minister is regarding the issue of income-tax clearance certificates to people going outside India. I have been told that these certificates are issued from Delhi. For instance, if I am living in Lucknow and I ask for a clearance certificate, they give a certificate there, but it has to be approved formally by the authorities in Delhi. This, Sir, is causing great hardship, and I would request the hon. the Finance Minister to make the State headquarters issue it, that is the income-tax officers should be empowered to issue income-tax clearance certificates.

Sir, I welcome the improvement in the food situation in the country and the rationing of foodstuffs in most States. This is a most heartening development and I congratulate the Food Minister on his bold policy.

I am glad that it has been decided to publish text-books on the Five Year Plan for teaching in middle and high schools. It is very necessary, that our children study this Plan and know what is being done to develop the resources of our country and to improve the living standards of our people. I hope the publication of these text-books will be expedited.

Another thing that I would like to bring to the notice of Government is the opening of more vocational centres for training in handicrafts in (different parts of India. During my recent visit to Japan, I had the opportunity of seeing some of their vocational centres and it was really extremely interesting to see these places when men and women are being taught handicrafts, at Government cost, with no fees of any kind. The courses last from six months to two years, and after receiving this

training, these men and women are absorbed in private or Government establishments and industries in the country.

Sir, so much has been said about unemployment in our country that I do not want to dilate upon that point. It is of course, a crying need of our country. I would like to suggest that the opening of these vocational centres in far larger numbers than are at present in existence, is very necessary. I enquired from the Labour Minister one day I think and he told me that there were about 160 - vocational centres in the whole of India. In a large country like India, I feel that this is a very small number. The need of our country today is that our men and women should be taught handicrafts which they can use for the purposes of earning their own living and also for the purposes of developing small and cottage industries. Japan is very famous for her cottage industries. I found that there was nothing new that was happening there, except that people were taking an interest in the development of cottage industries. Wherever a particular commodity was available, there they opened that particular cottage industry. They worked in their homes and received orders from big business houses for the sale of these commodities on a cooperative basis. This should like wise, be developed in our own country; and our men and women should be trained to utilise their knowledge not only for earning their own livelihood and improving their resources but for the economic progress of the country also and for relieving the problem of unemployment.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Before I call on the next speaker, I think the time has come to restrict the time for speeches. There are 15 names on the list for today. I would therefore request hon. Members not to take more than 15 minutes. Mr. Satyapriya Banerjee.

SHRI S. BANERJEE (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, it is said that the Budget is the balance-sheet of a nation, a nation that was in the immediate past, a nation that is in the living present, and a nation that is going to be in the immediate future. The hon. the Finance Minister has, in his Budget statement, drawn a very rosy picture of the economic condition of the land. He claims that the food position is satisfactory, the trend of prices shows that inflation has been successfully overcome, industrial output is increasing, the balance of payments position is fairly satisfactory, the dollar position has improved; but the net result of all these achievements about which the Finance Minister has waxed so eloquently has come to this that unemployment has cast its gloom over the entire country and want is writ large on the face of the common man. Not a ray of hope nor a streak of light is there to sweeten the home of the common man. What is this due to?

This brings me to the tax structure contained in the Budget. The Finance Minister has said that no changes are proposed in the income-tax rates which, for the next year, will continue to be the same as at present. He has however levied Union excise duties on superfine cotton cloth and other varieties of cotton cloth. He has levied excise duty on cement, soap and footwear. But may I say that the whole structure is very significant? Sir, shall I be wrong if I may be permitted to interpret this scheme of taxation as a sign that the Government has accepted the validity of the contention of the capitalists that the present level of direct taxation tended to destroy business initiative and that any increase in the burden of such taxation would be a serious handicap to capital formation and development in the private sector. It is well-known to all that the unsatisfactory performance of this sector has caused grave concern and anxiety in official quarters and the avoidance of any new imposition by way of direct taxation is a sure indication of the solicitude of the Government for private enterprise and its

anxiety to make things not difficult for them. I must congratulate the industrialists on their no mean achievement in convincing the framers of the fiscal policy that social objectives such as reduction of inequality need to be limited by a realistic appreciation of the necessity of providing industrialists and investors with adequate incentives. This brings me to the very last sentence of his statement. He is conscious that he is on the right road. I join issue with him directly here. Avoiding taxation of the rich and taxing the already penniless poor is certainly not the right road. The right road would have been to take to those measures of taxation which would have enthused the whole people—man, woman and child—to exert their utmost to see that the Five Year Plan which forms the background not only of this Budget but also of the previous Budgets, which aims at raising their standard of living, succeeds. Why did they not stand behind it? The reasons are not far to seek. The peasant is now in the very same condition that he was under the British rule. The worker is eking out his miserable existence in the same way as he did under the British rule. Where is the change.' The psychology of change, that is to say, a change in the psychology of the common man has got to be introduced by the Government—if it really means business—before it can hope for any substantial progress in the implementation of the Five Year Plan. The present Budget has completely failed to bring this about.

Sir, I was astonished and amazed to see "how the Finance Minister could have written such a sentence in his Budget statement as "The rehabilitation of displaced persons is now near-ing completion." I do not know what rehabilitation has been done with regard to the displaced persons of West Pakistan. But I know what has been done for the refugees from East Pakistan to West Bengal which is my constituency and which I have the honour to represent here because "I live, move and have my being" with the refugees. When I go back I.

can confidently assert that rehabilitation here has hardly begun. Several crores have been spent. I do not deny it, but those crores have not gone an inch towards their rehabilitation. They might have given some relief, but rehabilitation has a different connotation—it means the absorption of the refugees in the economy of West Bengal and her social production. Have the Government been able to do so? The answer is an emphatic 'No'. Therefore it was really unimaginable that a Finance Minister of the Union of India of the stature of Shri Chintaman Deshmukh should have written such a sentence in his Budget statement, a sentence which does not tally with facts. I may go further and say—which is a travesty of truth and which will undoubtedly mislead the unwary public, a thing certainly the hon. Finance Minister cannot and does not want.

Sir, deficit financing has been the order of the day. In the original Five Year Plan for the whole period of five years only Rs. 290 crores were provided, but what do we find in the next year's Budget? In the next year we have Rs. 250 crores of deficit financing, a risk which, I think, the hon. the Finance Minister would do well to think over before plunging into it and if during the course of the year occasion arises to put a stop to it, he will have the courage to do it. I am not opposed to deficit financing in principle. There are occasions when deficit financing becomes a necessity. If deficit financing, on the other hand, paves the way to inflation, immediate steps should be taken to put an end to that and I am sure that the brightest jewel in the crown of the Government of India, Shri Chintaman Deshmukh, will rise to the occasion if circumstances so demand.

He has only just touched on the question of unemployment and referred us to what was said in the past. There is considerable increase in unemployment and it is gradually mounting. What is the remedy? Long-term measures are needed. Nobody joins

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issue with him in that regard. Unemployment is a scourge on society. The greatest evil of unemployment is not only physical but also mental, not only on account of the privation which it brings in its train but also on account of the hatred and fear which it breeds—hatred for those who are responsible for this unemployment and fear of starvation on this account. Sir, without going into the causes of unemployment and the long-term measure to deal with it may I ask what is going to be done with the relief of the unemployed here and now? Shall they face starvation? Is provision for the relief of the unemployed incompatible with long-term measures? Would not a slice out of 175 crores provided to meet unemployment be diverted for unemployment relief?

(Time bell rings.)

Sir, I will now come to some specific subjects. The Damodar Valley Project is one of the biggest projects in the Five Year Plan. Many crores of rupees have been spent on it and perhaps many more crores have been misspent. It appears that, when the Damodar Valley Project was started, nobody gave any thought to the effect which this Project would have on the port of Calcutta and consequently on the city of Calcutta. The other day the Chief Minister of West Bengal, Dr. B. C. Roy, at his Press Conference here in Delhi stated that, if the port of Calcutta was gone, the whole city of Calcutta was also gone. Therefore I would like to draw the attention of the Government to the need for taking steps simultaneously to see that the port of Calcutta does not suffer on account of this Project and also that the Damodar River is tamed. These should go simultaneously hand in hand, and not one at the cost of the other. I should like to refer here to one civil engineer of repute in Calcutta who has been trying his best to din into the ears of the Government of India the possible and probable effect of the Damodar Valley Project on the port of Calcutta. He has published articles in the Press, written letters to the

[Shri S. Banerjee.] Government, from the lowest to the highest, from the Port Commissioners to the Prime Minister and Planning Minister. Acknowledgment is received but nothing else is done. Could not the Government send some of their experts to talk with him over the matter and see that something is done which will maintain the port of Calcutta and also tame the Damodar River? That engineer is Shri Kapil Bhattacharya.

(Time bell rings.) It is unfortunate that I have no time. I would mention only one matter. When he drew the picture of the economic situation in the country, the Finance Minister referred to strikes. Strikes are really bugbears to the Treasury Benches. Workers do not resort to strikes just for fun. They resort to them when it becomes a life and death question to them. If steel production has gone down, it has gone down not on account of the strikes that the workers were forced to resort to, but on account of the recalcitrant attitude of the employers supported by the Government. It is that which is responsible for the fall in the production of steel. Therefore my appeal to the Government will be to have a human approach to the whole question; the whole Budget should have a human background which, I am afraid, the present Budget lacks. Sir. I have done.

SHRI B. P. AGARWAL (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, this Budget has been looked upon by the various sections of the House from various angles. While certain hon. Members have criticised it right and left, there are many on this side who have offered their congratulations to the Finance Minister. I for one feel that the Finance Minister's is the most difficult role in the Cabinet. While there are all sorts of demands for all possible schemes and reliefs, to which there is hardly any end. I do not think there is anybody who likes his own interests to be touched.

Taxation of any kind, big or small, is always disliked. There is a general

hue and cry from all sections of the community that they are already hard hit and there is hardly anything left with them out of which they may be in a position to contribute anything further to the general exchequer. The only course open to Government under these circumstances was to refer this question to the impartial enquiry of an Expert Commission so as to find out ways and means as to how and where-from further revenue could be raised to meet the growing needs of the country. This has already been done by the appointment of the Taxation Commission. It may, however, take its own time, while the country's march of progress cannot be stopped. Any new taxation under these circumstances was out of the question, and the Finance Minister has acted wisely in not Jaunching upon any measures of large taxation.

The few taxes which have been proposed are unobjectionable, as far as I can see, although it would have been better if even these had not been imposed and the *status quo* maintained till the findings of the Taxation Commission were out. After all, even with these taxes, there is a large deficit which could not be filled, and the non-imposition of these taxes would have made little difference to the main currents of the Budget. I do not see how the enhancement of the duty of betel-nuts can be objected to on the grounds that it is an article of very essential need. If cigars and cigarettes are luxuries, I think that betel-nuts are equally a luxury.

AN HON. MEMBER: No, Sir.

SHRI B. P. AGARWAL: They cannot be put on the same footing as food and clothing. If excise on superfine cloth has been increased, the import duty on superior staple cotton has been 4 p M \^{abolished}d. Similarly, if excise 'f' duty on cement has been imposed, import duty on certain kinds of steel has been abolished. Thus taking it on the whole, I do not think any serious objection could be raised to the new taxes on any reasonable grounds.

Coming to the ways and means of meeting the large deficit when the avenues of large taxation are no more open, the deficit could be managed either by borrowing or by leaving the deficit as it is for liquidation in future . good years and managing the temporary requirements by short term loans. In the present international situation, in which we find ourselves, it seems almost improbable that we can count upon large foreign aids. I therefore think the Finance Minister has done the best under the circumstances by embarking upon the field of deficit financing. Looking to the downward trend of prices and the all-round improvement in the various spheres of production, I think the opportunity has been rightly chosen for this step, and this was the only sound policy in the existing circumstances.

I should, however, like to know one thing from the Finance Minister whether this entire amount of Rs. 250 crores of the deficit financing is proposed to be raised from the banking and business circles or any portion is to be offered to the Issue Department of the Currency. I believe this amount will be entirely drawn from the market. Therefore, I hope, the Finance Minister will take necessary precautions to see that this does not create conditions of competition in the business circles, thereby creating difficulties in meeting the financial requirements of the industries in the private sector. What I mean to suggest in this connection is that Treasury bills should be offered to the market at times when the pressure of demands from the industries may be slack. In short, conditions of competition between the Government and industry should, as far as possible, be avoided.

Coming to the problem of implementation of the various development projects, I think the whole country is behind the Government in wishing it nil success in its efforts to implement the various schemes. The additional provision which has been made in the Budget is well appreciated by all; but there is an honest apprehension in any minds whether the Government

machinery, as it is at present constituted, will be able to make full use of these funds. From past history, it appears that the Government machinery needs to be immediately geared up for utilising these funds to xne proper extent. The Prime Minister had stated some time back that the Government machinery needs a thorough shake-up if Jhe results are to be achieved quickly and let us hope, that these commendable views of the Prime Minister are translated into action without delay. The Finance Minister has also expressed in his speech that this matter was receiving the close attention of the Government. I hope therefore quick action is taken in this behalf and the House is fully informed of it.

I should like to make a humble suggestion in this respect. It would be much helpful if Members of Parliament are afforded greater opportunities of associating themselves with the progress of the various development schemes. This, in my opinion, could be done by appointing small committees of Members of Parliament for each important project. The members of such committees could frequently visit these projects, see their working and progress and report to Parliament with their suggestions for improvements, etc. from time to time. By associating Members of Parliament, on the one hand there will be less of uninformed criticism and on the other hand they will be in a position to offer useful suggestions. I hope this will receive due consideration of the Government.

With these views on the general aspect of the Budget, I should like to draw serious attention of the Government to the growing unemployment amongst the educated middle classes of the country. This problem has assumed a very serious aspect in the State of West Bengal which I have the honour to represent. The displacement of a large number of middle-class people from East Bengal has created a difficult situation in West Bengal. There is not sufficient land in West Bengal to feed the entire population.

[Shri B. P. Agarwal.] It is, therefore, an imperative necessity that suitable employment for this vast number of middle-class and displaced persons is found out at once.

Frequent troubles in the city of Calcutta over any little issue are an outcome of the frustrated life of the people. This city of Calcutta is a big industrial centre and happenings there have wide repercussions throughout the country. The resources of West Bengal alone are not sufficient to meet this growing trouble. The Centre should therefore find out ways and means of solving this difficulty very early, otherwise I am afraid, Calcutta may be a danger spot for the whole country. The only way in which this difficulty can be solved is by the creation of cottage and small-scale industries side by side with the large-scale industries, and I feel that the measures so far adopted have not touched even the fringe of this problem. In view of these circumstances, I would earnestly appeal to the Government to look into this matter seriously and with sympathy.

Another matter about which I have felt is the treatment meted out so far to the system of indigenous medicines in the country. Looking through the Budget figures, I find that a recurring and non-recurring grant of Rs. 18 crores has been made in the Civil Estimates for the Medical and Health Services. Out of this provision, only a paltry sum of Rs. 5 lakhs has been provided for research in indigenous medicines. While we are all proud of the endeavours which are being made in the sphere of various scientific researches under the forceful inspiration of our Prime Minister, it is a matter of great regret that the system of indigenous medicines, which is liked by millions of people in this country, should receive such insignificant attention from the Government. It may be that the system of Indian medicine is not at its best today like all the other treasures of Indian art and culture which through the ravages of time, have suffered heavily. But it will be a travesty of truth if it is stated that

this system has nothing of its own and it is only a quackery. It is now high time that this ancient system of medicine, which has given relief to the vast number of population through times-immemorial, receives due recognition at the hands of the Government. I am afraid very few of the recommendations of the Chopra Committee which inquired into this matter at length, have been acted upon, and the system of Ayurvedic medicines has received a step-motherly treatment at the hands of our Health Ministry. I would, however, suggest to the Finance Minister, who is himself a great scholar of Sanskrit literature, to have a glance through the various monumental works of Ayurved like Charak and Shushrut, and provide a proper place to this ancient system of medicine in the-Budget of the country.

Lastly, I would like to draw the attention of the House towards the need of adopting measures of strict austerity. I feel that we have now difficult times ahead. We have a vast programme of reconstruction to accomplish and although we have large potential wealth in the country, yet to-exploit this wealth for the benefit of the nation, we have to struggle hard for a certain time. We have to depend entirely on our own endeavours and it would be wrong on our part if we-base our programmes on external aids. We shall all have to make large sacrifices to achieve these objects and for the maintenance of our hard-won: independence, which is equally a big. responsibility for us to shoulder.

I think it is desirable therefore that strict measures of austerity are devised in all walks of life, both official and non-official, as then and then alone we will be able to see a bright future. I assure the Finance Minister that he will find the whole-hearted co-operation of each and every Member of this House in the arduous task which h& has to face in the wider interest of the nation.

SHRI R. C. GUPTA (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I congratulate the hon. Finance Minister over the very sound financial

Budget proposals which he has placed before this House. It is a difficult matter for any Finance Minister to make both ends meet when there are large demands from every section of the society. The Finance Minister has after all got certain resources from which he can meet the needs of the country. He cannot create wealth but whatever is available he can only distribute and to the best advantage of the community. In this task the Finance Minister, I think, has succeeded very well. However, there are certain aspects on which I would like to say something. The Finance Minister has assumed that he would get Rs. 9 crores as the first instalment from the Pakistan Government out of the amount due to India from Pakistan. Rs. 18 crores were due in the last two years and not a single pie has been paid to India. So I think this expectation is not going to be fulfilled this year also as the circumstances are so very clear that Pakistan will probably not respect the commitments which have been made.

As far as the question of taxation is concerned, much has been said in this House and I join with those who have said that certain things which are really necessities of life have been taxed. They are three in number. Number one is betel-nut, number two is soap and number three is footwear. All these three commodities are necessities of life. Was it not possible for the Finance Minister to find this money from some other sources? Was it not possible for him to tax luxuries a little more and leave these things alone? I think, Sir, it was quite possible to have done so. It is wrong to say that betel-nuts are not a necessary of life. The number of poor people using betel-nuts is very very large indeed and their pockets are bound to be affected. The Finance Minister has in his speech said that the burden would fall on the middleman and his profits would be reduced; but I think he is mistaken in that assumption. He says "the profit margins on betel-nuts have for some time been very high, often leading to the payment of a premium on import

licences. There is little justification for the importer and the middlemen retaining such profit and I am sure the House would welcome this attempt to divert a part of it for the benefit of the exchequer." If this money were to come from the pockets of the profiteer or the middleman, nobody would have grudged it. But our experience is otherwise. Our experience is that it falls on the consumer and Mr. Deogirikar who spoke a little while before me has already asserted that the prices of betel-nuts have already gone up very high. Who is going to bear the brunt of this? It is the poor consumer and nobody else. Similarly in the case of tax on soap and footwear. They are also necessities of life and they should have been left alone. If it was not possible to get this money out of any other tax, then the deficit in the Budget could have been increased by about Rs. 5 crores. That would have been better than the imposition of these new taxes on necessities of life.

Leaving this question of taxation, I come next to another very important question on which I feel very strongly and on which some of the other Members have already expressed their views. That is the question of the educated unemployed in our country. The Budget does not actually contain any bold proposal for meeting this menace. The Finance Minister has contented himself with saying that provision has been made and certain amounts have been set apart for meeting this problem of unemployment, in the Five Year Plan. I submit that this is not sufficient. It is impossible to meet this menace of educated unemployment in this manner. The number of educated people is increasing every day. From the State of Uttar Pradesh alone this year, 1954, ¹ two and a half lakh boys are taking the High School and Intermediate examinations. That is two and a half lakhs from one State alone. If you just calculate the number for the whole country, the number of the educated turned out by the Universities and the Intermediate and High School Boards would be tremendous. Are you going

[Shri R. C. Gupta.] to find employment for them all in the shape of service? It is impossible to meet that situation. Therefore, something else has got to be done and the question is, what should be done? Various suggestions have been made. Dr. Kunzru has suggested that cottage industries might be developed. Of course, that is one of the very good suggestions that should be accepted. But I would suggest that for this purpose what is necessary is that the system of education must be overhauled. The matter is engaging the attention of Government, both the Central and the State Governments, and at least four or five Governments have appointed their committees on reorganisation of secondary education. The reports of some of them have already been published and the Central Board of Education in their last meeting considered this question at great length and have arrived at certain conclusions. My own view is that unless the Centre comes to the aid of the States in organising secondary education, it would be impossible to solve the problem. What is necessary is to see that the students at the secondary stage must be qualified to enter life. If the education given to them is purely of the literary type, then they must go to the university and flood the gates of the colleges, and the number of graduates coming out every year would be larger and larger and then it would be impossible for any Government to find employment for them. Therefore, enough provision should have been made in this Budget for financing secondary education and compelling the States to provide technical and professional education to meet the growing demand for such education. If the students when they come out of the secondary schools are fit enough to enter life and find suitable employments, then there will not be so much rush to enter the universities. Only the best class of students would go there and take advantage of university education and then the number of the unemployed would certainly decrease. Therefore, my suggestion is that in this Budget there should have been sufficient provision

for helping the States to enter on the reorganisation of the system of secondary education at once.

Another point that I would like to stress is that in my State of Uttar Pradesh there is the question of law and order and that is shared by both Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan also. Every day you read in the papers that dacoities are committed, that kid nappings take place and people are held to ransom. For some years all these States have been taking steps to remove this menace, but they have not succeeded so far. The reason is

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But it is entirely a State subject.

SHRI R. C. GUPTA: Although it is the concern of the States, the Central Government must come to the rescue of the States because it is a question of law and order with which the Central Government is also intimately connected.

The Home Minister himself went very recently to Madhya Bharat to witness the operations conducted by the three States. This question is a very serious one and unless the Central Government comes to the aid of these three States, it is not possible to remove this menace of the dacoits and kidnapers and it is also not possible to restore peace in the countryside in these States of Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh.

There is one other point that I would like to make in regard to my State. In the First Five Year Plan there was one scheme, known as the Rihand Dam Scheme, suggested. Somehow that scheme could not be financed, and the treatment that has been meted out to the Government of Uttar Pradesh in this respect has been a step-motherly one, I should say. As a matter of fact, many schemes were suggested by the U.P. State Government and if at least this scheme had been accepted and financed by the Centre, as it has done so in the case of several schemes from other State

Governments it would have been possible to increase the food supply in the State of Uttar Pradesh. The scheme would cost about Rs. 50 crores. I understand that this scheme has been included in the Second Five Year Plan. I find that a provision has been made in this Budget to the extent of Rs. 15 crores. This amount also includes provision for the Rihand Dam but I do not see any work being started in right earnest so far as this scheme is concerned. I would request the Government to take immediate steps to see that this scheme is implemented as soon as possible.

(Time bell rings.)

SHRI M. S. RANAWAT (Rajas-than): Mr. Deputy Chairman. I would not go into very great details but only put in a few points to which I want to draw the attention of the House.

The first thing that I want to bring to the notice of Government is that previously there was generally, or rather always, an arrangement that any fresh taxation to be proposed was only undertaken at the time of the Budget and for the whole of the year that thing was not disturbed. Therefore, general trade and commerce in the country always waited for the presentation of the Budget but after the attainment of independence, we have, inadvertently perhaps, started it or perhaps certain forces have compelled the Government itself, to come out with such proposals in the middle of the year, either levying new taxes or changing the existing ones. These things have disturbed commerce and trade and the market does not know what may or may not happen any time. This, I should submit, is not a healthy thing to do and the Government should be very serious about it that whatever changes in the taxation or fiscal measures they want to bring, it should always be at the time of the presentation of the Budget. The Finance Minister has already said that we should wait for the report of the Taxation En- I

quiry Commission and my request is that if that report comes or if any change is anticipated, this should not be done suddenly in the middle of the year but it should be incorporated in the Budget of the next year.

Having said that, Sir, I would come to the proposals for new excise duties which have been proposed. I expected that some relief would have been given at least to the agriculturists and to the consumers. We are all glad that food prices are falling. That is a great relief but then, Sir, that relief is not a relief to the agriculturists because the wages all round in the villages and the cost of other things are still increasing, and I have known even this year agriculturists who could not buy even ordinary things after selling all the produce. In my own part of the country, the price of maize has almost suddenly fallen to half of what it was before and the agriculturists do not know how to live and how to make both ends meet. Therefore, it is necessary to give relief to the villager in regard to his most essential requirements. I wish that something had been done to reduce the cost of kerosene by reducing the import duty. Similarly, Sir, relief should have been given in the excise duties on some of the agricultural products. For instance, there is an excise duty on tobacco, but tobacco prices have fallen and the reduction is to the extent of 50 per cent, to 60 per cent, but then the same excise duty is continued on tobacco. The result is that everywhere in the country, heaps of tobacco are lying, not only this year's crop but also last year's crop. The whole stock is lying unsold. I asked them why they could not give away freely to people but was told that the farmer is not allowed to do that as the Inspector has to come, inspect the stock and assess the duty to be paid or, in the alternative the stock has to be destroyed. I think it is high time that something was done; I thought something would have been done in the Budget itself but nothing seems to have been done

[Shri M. S. Ranawat]

The Finance Ministry has got its Excise Department officials in the various States but the Collector has got his office at so great a distance. The village people are not educated; they do not know how to write out an application in Hindi even and it is expected that they should send out typed applications in English. Then some uakil has to be engaged as otherwise relief cannot come. All over the country there has been very great trouble, very great restlessness in the minds of the producers. I do not know in what position the cultivator would be placed next year and I am also sure that in my own part of the country, the area under tobacco will be reduced very very heavily. It is not worth cultivating more of tobacco. What is the alternative? I cannot say because the land on which the farmer was growing tobacco is not good enough for food crops. There is thus no option. You may say, "Why not grow cotton?". That requires a different kind of soil and you cannot do that at one and the same time. There is no planning; there is no advice; there is no help. It is all left to the people's own mental and physical resources as they are. We have done great things in this country. I know and I have seen the Damodar Valley Project and I congratulate this Government for that. The progress is marvellous. Of course, we have these big projects undertaken and big problems being tackled but at the village level there- is practically nothing being done. I come here to Delhi for my parliamentary work and then I go back to my village. I find that here everything is talked of and it seems as though something very big is going to take place at aeroplane speed in the village?, but nothing has happened all these seven years except that the post office people have opened some post offices. Even with regard to this I was told that they are going to close down these post offices because the new post offices are not paying. Naturally the people are not going

to pay two annas every time because they have not got the money for it. But the postal authorities think that it should work as a commercial concern and they propose to close them down. The village people have got a lot of difficulties. Something should be done which should really help the people. Mere talks are not going to improve their condition. As a matter of fact the gulf between the village people, the cultivator and the agricultural labourer, and the city people is becoming enormously big, and so they call this Government as the Government of the city people, as the Government of *Banias* and they ask what the Government have done for them. This is a hard fact and I wish that the Government realised it much earlier. I say this, Sir, with full responsibility. I happened to be a Revenue Settlement Officer for 25 years. I have been from field to field and from village to village and I know the country. Of course, I am talking of my own State, a State where, I believe, the Government has the highest responsibility to do things. If nothing has happened there I do not know what might be happening elsewhere.

Similar is the position of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. There had been a Commission. There had been a report. The Commission had been asking one thing or other. Money has been granted to certain States, but it does not even touch 5 per cent, of the problem. In my own village there are about 200 families. Of these people not a single man had received during the last seven years any sort of help either from the State Government or from the various organizations or from the Central Government. Nothing seems to be moving. Mere formulation of schemes will not do. The officers of the Planning Commission or the Ministers or those who are interested in the common people have to find out how the improvements that we plan will reach the

common man, particularly in the villages. *Unless* all that is done, we will be in great difficulty.

I now have to mention that the Archaeological Department of the Government of India as well as of the States is highly neglected. We are not finding any money whatsoever for that. Probably we have inherited the same stereotyped notions which we had received at the hands of the British Government. There is not that flair, not that desire to push ahead in a right manner. We have sanctioned a few lakhs of rupees for writing the history of the Independence Movement and in a way and to some extent it will get good advertising value for certain people who are now still living. But, Sir, that is not enough. In the whole Indian history of the last 2,000 years there are big gaps and it is not known how you propose to construct them. Even take the case of the great Kalidasa or the great Maharajah Vikramaditya or even Lord Buddha or the great Shan-karacharya. Regarding these we are not well informed historically and cannot completely supply definite data or the dates of that historical period. It is because we are not spending enough money for archaeological research, and I was pained to find in the Budget, Sir, that the funds for the archaeological departments have been reduced. It is really surprising. In the year 1952-53 the budgeted amount was Rs. 14 lakhs. In 1953-54 it was Rs. 22 lakhs while in the revised estimate it dropped down to Rs. 14 lakhs. Of course, we are now providing Rs. 16 lakhs. It is a very paltry sum and it seems that enough emphasis is not being given. If you see the State Budgets, Sir, the position is still worse. It seems as though it is nobody's business and valuable treasures of our archaeology are being lost by their not being properly recorded and after about 20 years' time you will only know some stories that there was something here and something there. Therefore, it is high time that this Government took up this subject seriously.

Now, Sir, there is another point to which I would draw your attention. As I said, I have gone to the Damodar Valley Project and I have great admiration for it. Very good work has been done there, but as we were going in motor cars on the roads we did not see many local people and it seemed as if the whole area was a deserted one. It seems that that part of the country is absolutely undeveloped and there is not enough population. There should be some basic scheme by which a large number of educated people from all over India are diverted to these areas so that these people, instead of looking for jobs of *Babus* may turn to be producers of the wealth of the country by settling down in those newly developed parts of our country.

We produce cheap electricity there and the D.V.C. gives it to the Bihar Government and then the Bihar Government, though they get it at a cheap rate, turns into a good Marwari *Bania* and sells it to the people at high rates when distributing it to the different parts of Bihar. Now the Bihar Government through such agency is selling electricity to the consumers in Hazaribagh at six annas per unit. Probably they may raise it this year to seven annas. The whole idea seems to be to make money. You give cheap power so that the people may make use of it for their development, but in the whole of that area Hazaribagh seems to be the most badly treated and it almost gives one the impression that Hazaribagh is a very very backward place.

Then, Sir, coming to the point which I raised last year and which I again raise this year, in these undeveloped areas or in these backward States like Rajasthan, Saurashtra, Assam or Orissa, the Central Government is not playing their part fully well. There is a wide gulf between the developed areas and the undeveloped areas in these States. It has become all the more because those developed areas are being supplied with capital and

[Shri M. S. Ranawat.] with all the finances while these undeveloped areas are continuing to be backward for lack of resources for lack of man-power and unless the Centre takes it up as a special responsibility and goes to do something out of the way, to give a great push, there is no hope of any improvement.

Now, Sir, I am grateful that the Chambal Valley Scheme has been accepted. It is going to be a great boon to that long neglected State. Chambal falls within the Southern part of Rajasthan and Bhakra Nangal in the Northern part. In between there is a huge area of a size which will swallow two or three of your States and nothing seems to be being done there to improve. For your information, Sir, I will say that the Rajasthan Plains Division has an area of 195 lakh acres and has a population of 66 lakhs. Now this is the area where something is being done while in the hills and in the plateau with an area of 157 lakh acres and a population of 41 lakh very little is being done although the resources are there among which are minerals. Now the desert area is 500 lakh acres and the population is 46 lakhs. Practically nothing is being done here except that you have put a research station and sometimes the Chief Minister throws some seeds from aeroplanes and that is all that is being done. So, Sir, something definite must be done there. You should develop animal husbandry and the various other things which you can do. What I suggest, Sir, is that there should be, just like the D.V.C., an Aravalli Hills development board and a desert development board; and you should put a large capital at their disposal, put experienced people in them and then work out the scheme and thus develop the neglected areas. /

SHRIMATI CHANDRAVATI LAK- | HANPAL (Uttar Pradesh):

श्रीमती चन्द्रावती लखनपाल (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरी दृष्टि में जो बजट इस समय हमारे सामने प्रस्तुत है वह देश की आवश्यकताओं को और देश

की मुख्य समस्याओं को हल करके का एक गम्भीर प्रयत्न है। वस्तुस्थिति पर आश्रित और प्रैक्टिकल (practical) तथा संतुलित बजट के लिये मैं माननीय अर्थ मंत्री जी का हृदय से अभिनन्दन करती हूँ। इस बजट के ऊपर देश के विकास का अधिब से अधिक भार और दायित्व होते हुए भी कोई नये और प्रत्यक्ष कर का न लगाया जाना वास्तव में बजट का बड़ा संतोषप्रद पहलू है। बेकारी हमारे देश की सबसे बड़ी समस्या है लेकिन बेकारी को दूर करने के लिये जो प्रयास इस बजट में किया गया है वह वास्तव में प्रशंसनीय है। काटन (cotton) को कर से मुक्त करके बारीक और महीन कपड़े पर कर लगा कर और साबुन तथा जूते के जो गृहउद्योग हैं, जो काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज (cottage industries) हैं उनको कर से मुक्त करके जो कदम उठाया गया है वह वास्तव में बेकारी को दूर करने की दिशा में एक अच्छा कदम है। किन्तु, श्रीमन्, साबुन पर जो कर लगाया गया है उसके बारे में आज देश के अन्दर एक बड़ा असंतोष सा हो रहा है। उसका कारण यह है कि यद्यपि साबुन पर कर लगाने का जो उद्देश्य है वह बहुत अच्छा है किन्तु जिस आधार पर कर लगाया गया है वह कुछ उचित नहीं प्रतीत होता। बहुत से ऐसे साबुन के कारखाने हैं जो पावर (power) का इस्तेमाल करते हैं और बड़े दिखलाई देते हैं परन्तु उनकी पैदावार इतनी कम है कि उन पर कर लगाये जाने से उनको बहुत अधिक धक्का पहुंचने की सम्भावना है और साथ ही साथ बहुत से ऐसे कारखाने हैं जो कि देखने में छोटे हैं और पावर नहीं इस्तेमाल करते हैं परन्तु उनका प्रोडक्शन (production) काफी है। तो उनको इस कर से नाजायज फायदा

मिलेगा। इसलिये माननीय अर्थ मंत्री जी से मेरा अनुरोध है कि वह इस साबुन के कर को पावर के बेसिस (basis) पर न कर के प्रोडक्शन बेसिस पर लगायें तो इस तरह उनका मन्तव्य भी सिद्ध हो जायगा और देश में जो साबुन के उद्योग हैं उनको भी हानि नहीं होगी।

श्रीमन्, आज देश के अन्दर जो विकास कार्य चल रहे हैं और जिनके ऊपर आज देश का भविष्य निर्भर है उन विकास कार्यों के लिये इस बजट के द्वारा एक प्रचुर धन राशि ३० करोड़ रुपये की रक्की गई है जो वास्तव में यह इस बजट का स्वागत करने योग्य एक विशेषता है। पंचवर्षीय योजना एक ऐसी योजना है जिसके ऊपर देश का उज्ज्वल भविष्य निर्भर है और हमने अपने सीमित साधनों के द्वारा आज इस दिशा में जो उन्नति की है वह आशातीत है और वह ऐसी है जिस पर कि कोई भी देश बड़ी आसानी से गर्व कर सकता है। हमारी जो नदी घाटी योजनाएँ हैं, भाखरा, नांगल, दामोदर वैली, तुंगभद्रा आदि जो योजनाएँ हैं, उनके द्वारा आज देश के अन्दर जो कार्य हो रहा है वह वास्तव में ऐसा है जिससे कि देश की काया पलट हो जाने वाली है। इसके अतिरिक्त जो हमारी सामुदायिक योजनाएँ हैं वे भी वास्तव में देश के अन्दर जो लाखों ग्राम हैं उनका नवनिर्माण करने की एक बड़ी सुन्दर कल्पना है और अपने देश के अन्दर क्या शायद विश्व के किसी देश में भी इससे पहले इतने विशाल पैमाने पर कोई नवनिर्माण का कार्य इस तरह नहीं उठाया गया। इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं कि आज पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत जो कार्य देश में हो रहा है वह ऐसा है जो कि आशातीत है और इसके द्वारा हमारे देखते देखते हमारे देश का नक्शा बदलता जा रहा है। आज लगभग

सारी दिशाओं में हम आशातीत उन्नति कर रहे हैं। हमारी कृषि की पैदावार बढ़ रही है, हमारे उद्योग धंधे पहले से बहुत अच्छी हालत में हैं, हमारा यातायात भी सुधर रहा है लेकिन फिर भी हम क्या देखते हैं कि आज भी इतना कुछ होते हुये भी हमारे देश के अन्दर कुछ लोग ऐसे हैं जो कि पंचवर्षीय योजना की प्रगति और उन्नति में संदेह करते हैं और उससे संतुष्ट नहीं हैं। इनमें से कुछ तो ऐसे लोग हैं जो इसको जानते हुये भी कि अच्छा कार्य हो रहा है और प्रगति हो रही है उसको जानना नहीं चाहते और देखना नहीं चाहते। ऐसे लोगों के बारे में मुझे कुछ नहीं कहना है लेकिन हमारे देश में कुछ ऐसे लोग भी हैं जो कि पंचवर्षीय योजना के कार्यों को देखते हुये भी उसके बारे में कुछ गलतफहमी होने के कारण उसकी समालोचना करते हैं और उसका छिद्रान्वेषण करते हैं। अभी दो तीन दिन हुये इसी सदन के अन्दर हमारी एक माननीया बहन के द्वारा सोशल वेलफेयर बोर्ड (Social Welfare Board) की जो समालोचना हुई है उसका उद्देश्य कोई बुरा नहीं। लेकिन उन्होंने सोशल वेलफेयर बोर्ड के सम्बन्ध में जो कुछ कहा है इससे प्रतीत होता है कि उनको अवश्य ही कुछ गलतफहमियाँ हैं। श्रीमन्, सोशल वेलफेयर बोर्ड ऐसी संस्था है जिसका निर्माण इस उद्देश्य से हुआ है कि देश के अन्दर जो समाज व्यवस्था को सुधारने के लिये प्राइवेट (private) और निजी संस्थायें हैं और उनके द्वारा जो स्त्रियों और बच्चों के क्षेत्र में कार्य हो रहा है उसको प्रोत्साहन दिया जाय। इस सोशल वेलफेयर बोर्ड का उद्देश्य इस कार्य को आगे बढ़ाना है। इसका उद्देश्य उन संस्थाओं को जो कि बच्चों और स्त्रियों के लिये कार्य कर रही हैं प्रेरणा देना है। यह कौन

[Shrimati Chandravati Lakhnapal.]

कह सकता है कि ऐसी संस्थाओं की देश को आवश्यकता नहीं है क्योंकि ऐसी संस्थाओं के बिना और ऐसे कार्यों के बिना समाज के लिये जो उन्नति अपेक्षित है वह होनी असम्भव है। इसमें कोई दो रायें हो नहीं सकतीं; सोशल वेलफेयर बोर्ड जो है उसका निर्माण देश की उन्नति के लिये और देश की भलाई के लिये हुआ है। इस कार्य को चलाने के लिये तीन पैनल (panels) बनाये गये हैं, एक स्त्रियों का पैनल है, एक बच्चों का पैनल है और एक पैनल जुवेनाइल डेलिक्वेंट्स (juvenile delinquents) का है। इन सबका कार्य देखने के लिये अलग अलग पैनल बनाये गये हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ ऐसे आक्षेप मेरी बहन मिस दास के द्वारा किये गये हैं जो निराधार हैं और ठीक जानकारी न होने के कारण किये गये हैं। तो मैं इस सदन के सदस्यों के भ्रम को दूर करने के लिये और उनकी जानकारी के लिये कुछ सूचनाएँ यहां पर देना चाहती हूँ। वह सूचना यह है कि इन पैनल्स में—हर एक पैनल में पांच पांच बहनें हैं इस प्रकार देश में भ्रमण किया है :

बच्चों के लिये जो पैनल है वह मद्रास, मैसूर, ट्रावनकोर कोचीन, हैदराबाद, पश्चिमी बंगाल, दिल्ली और आसाम गया।

स्त्रियों के लिये जो पैनल है वह बिहार, विन्ध्य प्रदेश, मद्रास, आंध्र और दिल्ली गया।

डेलिक्वेंट चिल्ड्रन (delinquent children) के लिये जो पैनल है वह बम्बई, मध्य प्रदेश, मध्य भारत, भोपाल, सौराष्ट्र और दिल्ली गया।

इस प्रकार इन्होंने भ्रमण किया है। तो इससे यह स्पष्ट है कि उड़ीसा तो कोई

भी पैनल गया ही नहीं। मुझे अफसोस है कि इस वक्त मेरी माननीया बहन श्रीमती दास उपस्थित नहीं हैं। उन्होंने इस सम्बन्ध में एक आक्षेप लगाया था। उड़ीसा जो पैनल गया और वहां उसके द्वारा जिस प्रकार कार्य किया गया उसकी उन्होंने सख्त आलोचना की थी। दूसरा आक्षेप जो उन्होंने लगाया था वह यह था कि जो पैनल्स के सदस्य हैं वे कोई खास काम नहीं करते हैं और उनके आने जाने पर टी० ए० (T. A.) वगैरह पर बहुत खर्च होता है और काम कुछ नहीं होता। श्रीमन्, इस सम्बन्ध में मुझे यह निवेदन करना है कि इस वक्त तक टी० ए० पर जो खर्चा हुआ है वह २५,००० रु० है जो कि बजट के पूरे खर्च का केवल एक फीसदी है, और अगर और ज्यादा बारीकी से तख्मीना इसका लगया जाय तो हर स्टेट पर हर एक व्यक्ति का खर्चा कुल ८५ रु० पड़ता है। श्रीमन्, हमारे कुछ पार्लियामेंट के सदस्य ऐसे हैं जो उड़ीसा और ट्रावनकोर कोचीन से आते हैं और उनके टी० ए० पर ढाई सौ, तीन सौ रुपया खर्च हो जाता है। यह देखते हुये हर स्टेट पर जो एक व्यक्ति का खर्चा ८५ रुपया पड़ा वह कुछ भी नहीं है।

इसके अतिरिक्त तीसरा आक्षेप जो उन्होंने लगाया था वह यह था कि काम कुछ नहीं हो रहा है। मुझे इस सम्बन्ध में यह कहना है कि इन तीनों पैनल्स ने मिलाकर जो अभी तक संस्थाएँ देखीं हैं उनकी संख्या ४६५ है जिनको देखने के बाद हर एक संस्था की उन्होंने अपनी एक विस्तृत रिपोर्ट पेश की है। इन पर जो रुपया वितरित किया गया है वह १८ लाख ५४ हजार है। यह सब देखते हुये यह नहीं कहा जा सकता कि काम कुछ नहीं हो रहा है। मैं यह मानने के लिये तैयार हूँ कि उसमें कुछ खामियां, कुछ त्रुटियां

हो सकती हैं क्योंकि काम भी नया है और काम करने वाले भी नये हैं। किन्तु मुझे यह बात देख कर अफसोस हुआ कि हमारी माननीया बहन ने बिना पर्याप्त जानकारी के, बिना आधार के, कई ऐसी बातें कहीं जिसमें कि न केवल सोशल वेलफेयर बोर्ड को ही बल्कि स्त्रियों की रेपुटेशन (reputation) पर भी धक्का लगा है। अच्छा होता कि वे ऐसे निराधार आरोप लगाने के पहले ज्यादा पता लगा लेतीं। लेकिन जैसा कि मैंने कहा यह सम्भव हो सकता है कि काम में कुछ त्रुटियाँ हों। यही अनुभव करके शायद श्रीमती दुर्गाबाई जी ने दूसरे सब काम छोड़ कर अब सोशल वेलफेयर बोर्ड का ही कार्य सम्भालने का निश्चय किया है।

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI B. C. GHOSE) in the Chair.]

इसके अलावा मैं एक अति आवश्यक विषय की ओर आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करती हूँ। मैंने अभी कहा कि हम लोगों ने बहुत सी दिशाओं में उन्नति कर ली है, लेकिन ऐसी भी कई दिशाएँ हैं जिनमें हमारी रफ्तार धीमी है। एक महत्वपूर्ण दिशा की ओर मैं आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करती हूँ और वह है हिन्दी से सम्बन्धित प्रश्न। श्रीमन्, हिन्दी इस समय हमारे देश की राष्ट्र-भाषा है। राष्ट्र-भाषा के विकास और समुन्नति के लिये इस बजट के अन्दर कुल दो लाख ५० हजार रुपये रखे गये हैं जो कि मैं समझती हूँ कि यह जैसा विषय है और इस विषय का जितना महत्व है, उसको देखते हुये बहुत थोड़ी रकम है जबकि फेमिली प्लानिंग (family planning) जैसे अनावश्यक विषय पर जिसकी उपयोगिता संदिग्ध है, और ऐसे ही छोटे मोटे विषयों तक के लिये ६५ लाख रुपये रखे गये हैं। इसलिये यह जो हिन्दी की समुन्नति और विकास के लिये, इस विशाल देश की राष्ट्र-भाषा की उन्नति

के लिये जो यह केवल २ लाख ५० हजार रुपये रखे गये हैं, वह बिल्कुल अपर्याप्त है।

इसके साथ ही साथ इस सम्बन्ध में जो कार्य हो रहा है वह तो और भी ज्यादा अपर्याप्त है, उसकी प्रगति बहुत धीमी है। श्रीमन्, उसकी ओर मैं आज आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहती हूँ। मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि हिन्दी का प्रश्न कोई एक साधारण प्रश्न नहीं है।

(Time bell rings.)

श्रीमन्, मुझे आशा है कि आप मुझे इस विषय पर कुछ विचार प्रकट करने का अवसर देने की कृपा करेंगे क्योंकि यह एक ऐसा विषय है कि शायद इस पर किती भी सदस्य ने ध्यान इस वादविवाद में आकर्षित नहीं किया। यह किसी एक प्रदेश विशेष का विषय नहीं बल्कि यह एक राष्ट्रीय महत्व रखता है और समूचे देश से सम्बन्धित है क्योंकि इसी एक राष्ट्र-भाषा के ऊपर ही, इसकी उन्नति पर ही राष्ट्र की उन्नति निर्भर करती है। श्रीमन्, यह सबको ही विदित है कि देश का उत्थान राष्ट्र-भाषा पर ही अवलम्बित है और राष्ट्र-भाषा ही हमेशा राष्ट्र को मजबूत और सुसम्पन्न बनाने और बिखरे हुए टुकड़ों को बांधने में सहायक होती है। हमारे देश की स्वतंत्रता जो इतनी तपस्या और सदियों की दासता के बाद हमने प्राप्त की है वह भी हमारे देश की एकता के ऊपर अवलम्बित है। इसलिये मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि हिन्दी का प्रश्न साधारण प्रश्न नहीं बल्कि देश की एकता का प्रश्न है, देश की स्वतंत्रता की रक्षा का प्रश्न है, हमारे उत्थान और जीवन-मरण का प्रश्न है। इसलिये श्रीमन्, हिन्दी की समुन्नति की ओर और हिन्दी के प्रति दृढ़ नीति बरती जाने की ओर मैं आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहती हूँ।

(Time bell rings.)

[Shrimati Chandravati Lakhanpal.]

मैं अपना वक्तव्य श्री के० एम० पानीकर जो स्टेट्स रिऑर्गनाइजेशन कमीशन (States Reorganisation Commission) के सदस्य हैं, उनके विचारों से समाप्त करती हूँ जो उन्होंने पटना यूनिवर्सिटी के दीक्षान्त भाषण के अवसर पर प्रकट किये हैं। उन्होंने हिन्दी भाषा की उन्नति के बारे में कहा :—

"It seems, therefore, vitally important that within the next few years we should develop our national language as a medium of all-India thought and culture and not permit the present tendency to over-emphasise the importance of local cultures to undermine the unity of our life."

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं माननीय अर्थ मंत्री जी का ध्यान हिन्दी के लिए उन्होंने बजट में जो रूपया रखा है उसको बढ़ाने की ओर आकर्षित करते हुए एक बार फिर उनका अभिनन्दन करती हूँ।

[For English translation, see Appendix VII, Annexure No. 105.]

•SHRI N. S. CHAUHAN (Uttar Pradesh):

श्री एन० एस० चौहान (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमन्, हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने जो बजट पेश किया है उसमें जहाँ तक एक्साइज ड्यूटी (excise duty) के जरिये जो आय होती है उसको यदि देखा जाय तो मालूम होगा कि उसका तिहाई से ज्यादा हिस्सा तम्बाकू के द्वारा प्राप्त होता है, जिसको कि देहातों में किसान पैदा करते हैं। इसका मतलब यह है कि यह रूपया तिहाई से ज्यादा किसानों से प्राप्त होता है। किसान का तबका ऐसा है कि जो काम बहुत करता है और शोर क म मचाता है और प्रदर्शनों में भी कम भाग लेता है और अखबारों में भी उसकी बातें कम निकलती हैं। हालांकि कभी कभी कुछ

राजनैतिक दल उसको फुसला लाते हैं किन्तु मुश्किल से ही वह उनके कहे में आता है। और कभी कभी आजाने पर घर जाने की फिक्र सदैव बनी ही रहती है। इसीलिए तो उससे सम्बन्धित लाभ की बातें नहीं हो पाती हैं।

किसानों की देहातों में क्या स्थिति है, यह जो तम्बाकू का टैक्स उन पर लगता है उससे उन्हें क्या अमुविधाएं उठानी पड़ती हैं? मुझे दूसरे प्रान्तों का तजुबा नहीं है, लेकिन जहाँ तक उत्तर प्रदेश का सम्बन्ध है, उसके सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। इस वक्त किसान की स्थिति ठीक नहीं है, उसकी वैसी हालत नहीं है जैसी कि लड़ाई के समय में थी जबकि उसके द्वारा पैदा किए हुए (उत्पादित किए हुए) माल की कीमतें तेज थीं। जो कुछ उसकी स्थिति में सुधार हुआ था वह धीरे धीरे कम हो रहा है और उसकी दशा बिगड़ती जाती है।

यह भी बताया गया है कि जो तम्बाकू बाहर भेजा जाता था उसमें भी स्लम्प (slump) के कारण कमी हुई है, इस वजह से तम्बाकू की कीमतें घट गई हैं। इस से भी तम्बाकू पैदा करने वाले किसानों की दशा और खराब हुई है। इसलिए यह आवश्यक है कि उसके ऊपर जो ड्यूटी (duty) लगाई गई है उसको कम किया जाय। अगर फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब चाहें तो पान, टाई या अन्य श्रृंगार की वस्तुओं पर भी टैक्स लगा दें तो मुझे इसकी चिन्ता नहीं। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि वह वर्ग जो कि मुसीबतें उठा कर राष्ट्र को खिलाता है पहले उसके बोझ को हल्का करना जरूरी है। अन्न का उत्पादन बढ़ाने के अनेक कृत्रिम उपाय बतलाये जाते हैं, लेकिन जो अन्न को पैदा करने वाला है उसको मजबूत बनाने की कोशिश नहीं की जाती है। तम्बाकू की ड्यूटी को कम करना आवश्यकीय है, लेकिन साथ ही साथ एक दूसरी चीज जिससे

कि सरकार को भी नुकसान होता है और किसान को भी नुकसान होता है, उसे मैं आपके सामने उपस्थित करना चाहता हूँ। जो ड्यूटी के असेसमेंट (assessment) का तरीका है वह बहुत ही त्रुटिपूर्ण है, उसके जरिये से मैं समझता हूँ कि बहुत अधिक पैसा जो लोग कि असेसमेंट करते हैं उनकी जेबों में चला जाता है, क्योंकि फसल के आधार पर असेसमेंट किया जाता है, इसलिए इन्स्पेक्टर लोग इसमें मन चाहा असेसमेंट करते हैं और किसानों को रिजर्वत देने को मजबूर करते हैं। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह कदापि नहीं कि सभी लोग जो असेसमेंट करते हैं बेईमान होते हैं, उनमें बड़े ईमानदार अच्छे से अच्छे आदमी भी हैं जो हमारे राष्ट्र का हित करते हैं, लेकिन जांच करने पर आपको मालूम होगा कि उनमें से अधिकतर लोग भ्रष्ट हैं जो किसानों से रिजर्वत लेते हैं।

अगर इन्स्पेक्टरों को पैसा अधिक दे दिया जाय तो वे असेसमेंट कम कर देते हैं, जो नहीं देता उसके ऊपर अधिक ड्यूटी लगा कर उसे तबाह कर देते हैं। इस तरह सरकार की आय भी कम हो जाती है और कर्मचारियों में भ्रष्टाचार और स्वेच्छाचारिता की प्रवृत्ति भी बढ़ती है। इस प्रकार यह पैसा न सरकार की जेब में रह पाता है और न किसान के पास ही। इसलिए यह जरूरी मालूम होता है कि इस तरह के भ्रष्टाचार को रोकने के लिए अवश्य कदम उठाये जाने चाहियें। जहाँ तक मुझे मालूम है, हमारी उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार ने भी केन्द्रीय सरकार को इस विषय में सुझाव दिया है कि असेसमेंट एकरेज (acreage) पर कर दिया जाय। अगर ऐसा किया जायगा तो सरकार की आय में भी कमी नहीं होगी और इस विभाग के कर्मचारियों को भ्रष्ट होने का अवसर भी नहीं मिलेगा। मेरा तो निश्चित सुझाव यह है कि

एकरेज के हिसाब से ड्यूटी लगा दी जाय। किसानों से यह कह दिया जाना चाहिए कि अगर इतने एकड़ में खेती की जायगी तो प्रति एकड़ इतनी ड्यूटी लगेगी।

इस सम्बन्ध में अभी हमारे माननीय मित्र राणावत साहब ने यह कहा था कि इस विभाग के जो अफसर होते हैं, वे विभिन्न स्थानों पर दूर दूर रहते हैं, जिससे किसानों को इन तक पहुंचना बहुत मुश्किल होता है। यह ठीक है और इस विषय में मेरा निजी तर्जुमा भी यही है। मैंने जब कभी इस विभाग के अफसरों को कोई शिकायतें भेजी हैं, उनका कभी भी कोई उत्तर नहीं मिला और न वह मालूम हो सका कि उन पर क्या कार्यवाही हुई। कहिये अपढ़ किसान यहाँ क्या न्याय पा सकता है! इस सम्बन्ध में मेरा यह सुझाव है कि राज्य सरकार के जो स्थानीय अफसर हैं, जैसे कलेक्टर, डिस्ट्रिक्ट मजिस्ट्रेट, तहसीलदार, उनके ऊपर यह जिम्मेदारी डाली जानी चाहिए और साथ ही साथ पंचायतों को भी इसके लिए जिम्मेदार ठहराया जाना चाहिए। अगर सरकार की ओर से एकरेज के अनुसार ड्यूटी लग जायगी तो फिर किसी प्रकार की गुंजाइश इस बात की न रहेगी कि किसी प्रकार का भ्रष्टाचार फैल सके। हाँ, एक बात हो सकती है, कि जब कभी दैवी कारणों से फसल खराब हो जाये तब जो रेमिशन (remission) किया जायगा, उसके देने में भेद भाव बरता जा सकता है। क्योंकि जब रेमिशन का सवाल आयगा तो इन्स्पेक्टर इस बात की जांच पड़ताल करेगा कि किस किसान को कितना नुकसान हुआ है। इसका हल भी हो सकता है कि इस काम को लेखपाल, तहसीलदार और गांव पंचायत के सुपुर्द कर दिया जाय तो रेमिशन के सवाल पर किसी प्रकार का भ्रष्टाचार न हो पायेगा। इसलिए मेरी अर्थ मंत्री जी से प्रार्थना है कि वह कृषकों की कठिनाइयों को ध्यान में रखते

[Shri N. S. Chauhan.]

हुए इस बात की ओर अवश्य ध्यान दें। मैं तो यह चाहता हूँ कि किसानों की इस समस्या के बारे में ऐसे अफसरों व सदन के सदस्यों की जो कि किसानों की समस्याओं से वाकिफ हों, एक कमेटी नियुक्त की जाय, जो इस विषय पर पूरी तरह से जांच करे और किसानों को जो भी कष्ट इस बारे में हो रहा है उसको दूर किया जा सके। देहातों में काम करने वाले जो संगठन हैं या सार्वजनिक कार्यकर्ता हैं, उन सबके दिमागों में यह चीज है कि किसानों को इस असैसमेंट द्वारा जो कष्ट होता है उसके तरीके में सुधार किया जाना बहुत ही आवश्यक है। अगर इस कठिनाई को दूर करने में कोई कानूनी दिक्कत सामने आती हो तो उसको भी दूर किया जाना चाहिए। इसलिए मुझे आशा है कि अर्थ मन्त्री जी किसानों के इस कष्ट को दूर करने के लिए अवश्य कोई न कोई कदम उठावेंगे।

दूसरी बात जो मुझे कहनी है वह शान्ति और व्यवस्था के सम्बन्ध में है। शान्ति और व्यवस्था ऐसी चीज है जो हर राज्य के लिए बहुत ही आवश्यक है। भारत के लिए तो यह बहुत ही आवश्यक है क्योंकि हमारा देश आज एक बड़े संकट काल से गुजर रहा है। यह वास्तविकता है कि आज हमारे मित्र अधिक हैं और दुश्मन कम और यह भी वास्तविकता है कि हमें इन मित्रों से ही अधिक खतरा है दुश्मनों से कम। हमारे देश का एक मित्र है जिसका नाम "अमेरिका" है, उसने हमारे पड़ोसी देश पाकिस्तान को हथियारों से सुसज्जित करना स्वीकार कर लिया है। इस तरह से पाकिस्तान को मदद करने का अर्थ तो वही अच्छी तरह समझ सकता है, मगर वह हम से भी यह मान लेने को कहता है कि इस फौजी सहायता द्वारा पाकिस्तान से भारतवर्ष को किसी प्रकार का नुकसान नहीं पहुंचेगा। वह संसार को दिखाने के लिए ही

इस प्रकार की बात कहता है। वरना उसके अन्दर जो भावना छिपी हुई है वह हम सब लोगों को अच्छी तरह विदित ही है। एक मित्र हमारे अंग्रेज भी थे, जिन्होंने सम्य बनाने के नाम पर हमारा काफी शोषण कर मजबूत बनाया और अब जो कुछ कमजोरी बाकी रह गई थी वह यह हमारा नया मित्र अमेरिका पूरा करता चाहता है। एक बुजुर्ग की कहावत के अनुसार वह ऐसा मसीहा है जो दुआ करता है जीने की और दवा देता है मरने की। यानी जबान से तो वह कहता है कि हम तुम्हारी मदद कर रहे हैं मगर हर तरह से काम ऐसा कर रहा है जिससे हमारा सर्वनाश हो जाय। अमेरिका का विरोधी एक रूस भी है। जो हमारा मित्र है जिससे प्रेरणा पा कर हमारे देश में एक दल नित्य प्रति सरकारों को उलटने का प्रयत्न करता रहता है। उसके द्वारा की हुई कार्यवाही अधिकतर हिंसात्मक होती है।

इसके साथ ही हमारे देश के अन्दर कुछ ऐसी संस्थाएं भी हैं जो देश के अन्दर जगह जगह हड़ताल व अन्य उपद्रव कराती रहती हैं। इनका स्वार्थ दलगत होता है जिसका अर्थ होता है केवल सरकार को संकट में डालने का। इस तरह से ये लोग देश के अन्दर इस समय कानूनशिकनी करके देश की जनता को तो फायदा पहुंचाते नहीं हैं बल्कि इससे समाज-विरोधी तत्वों यानी चोर डकैतों का कानून के विरुद्ध कार्य करने को प्रोत्साहित ही करते हैं।

(Time bell rings.)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI B. C. GHOSE):

श्री उप-सभाध्यक्ष (श्री बी० सी० घोष) : चार बजकर पचास मिनट में आपने गुरु किया अब दो मिनट और बाकी हैं।

SHRI N. S. CHAUHAN:

श्री एन० एस० चौहान : अभी तो पांच मिनट और बाकी हैं, मुझे एक बहुत महत्वपूर्ण बात आपके सामने रखनी है और वह यह है कि

राजा महेन्द्र प्रताप जो एक बड़े क्रान्तिकारी थे, आज अपने प्रचार द्वारा फौज और पुलिस को भड़का रहे हैं। उन्होंने एक पर्चा शायद किया है जिसमें उन्होंने लिखा है : "उठो। चलो। दिल्ली पकड़ो। दस मई १९५४ को दिल्ली पकड़ेंगे।" उस पर्चे में यह लिखा हुआ है कि "मेरे यह स्वप्न देख रहा हूँ कि सहस्रों मेरे साथी दूर दूर से आवेंगे और दिल्ली में ऐसे छा जायेंगे जैसे रामचन्द्र की हनुमान सेना लंका में, और मेरे प्रेमी दिल्ली में अभी से जब तक पुलिस और सेना में इतना प्रचार कर चुकेंगे कि सेना और पुलिस मेरे दिल्ली पहुंचते ही मेरा स्वागत करेगी और सलामी देगी।"

SHRI T. S. PATTABIRAMAN: (Madras) : On a point of order, Sir. He is raising a very important issue, I understand. So will it not be better if the pamphlets referred to are placed on the Table of the House?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI B. C. GHOSE): He is just referring to something.

SHRI N. S. CHAUHAN: This is a very important matter. I will put these papers on the Table, but I want a little more time to explain these things. Here is the literature issued by Raja Mahinder Pratap.

श्री एन० एस० चौहान : यह बात बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण है, इसलिए मैं इस पर बोलने के लिए ज्यादा समय मांग रहा हूँ वे आगे कहते हैं कि राष्ट्रपति जी स्वयं मेरे कार्यक्रम को स्वीकार करेंगे और मुझे कह देंगे कि "आर्यानि पेशवा, अब आप जानें, जो चाहें करें, मुझे विश्वास है कि आप जो भी करेंगे, अच्छा ही करेंगे।" यह प्रोग्राम वह मसोलिनी की भांति घेरा डाल कर मनवायेंगे। उनका यह भी कहना है कि जवाहरलाल नेहरू भी उनकी इस बात से मन ही मन खुश होंगे और मन ही

मन कहेंगे "चलो अच्छा हुआ, मुझे छटकारा मिला।"

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI B. C. GHOSE):

श्री उप-सभाध्यक्ष (श्री वी० सी० घोष) : आपका समय खत्म हो गया है।

SHRI N. S. CHAUHAN:

श्री एन० एस० चौहान : तो मेरा कहना यह है कि आज देश के अन्दर इस तरह से सेना और पुलिस के अन्दर प्रचार किया जा रहा है। जनता में तो अनेक पार्टियों द्वारा प्रचार किया जाता है और किया जाता रहेगा, मगर हमारी सेना और पुलिस के अन्दर इस तरह बगावत की भावना को फैलाना बहुत ही खतरनाक बात है। "साठ लाख सेना बनाऊंगा, जमींदारों को कप्तान और सूबेदारों को करनल बना दूंगा," इस प्रकार लालच दे कर विद्रोह की भावना फैलायी जा रही है।

(Time bell rings.)

मेरे पास समय नहीं है अन्यथा मैं इस विषय में विस्तार के साथ आपको सब बातें बतलाता। मुझे पूर्ण आशा है कि हमारी सरकार सोती नहीं रहेगी और देश में इस प्रकार जो देशद्रोही लोग उत्पन्न हो गये हैं, जो हमारे देश की एकता को नष्ट करना चाहते हैं उनके विरुद्ध कड़ी से कड़ी कार्यवाही करने से हिचकेगी नहीं।

[For English translation, see Appendix VII, Annexure No. 106.]

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY (Orissa): Sir, if this Budget is any indication of our future progress, then it can safely be said that the poor man in this country has nothing to expect from the Finance Minister or from the Government he represents. This is the fourth Budget and also the fourth year of the Plan. But what are our achievements? The Finance

[Shri S. N. Dwivedy.] Minister has nothing very much to say that in the coming year we are going to make a very rapid progress. Therefore, he has tried to paint a rosy picture by comparing our achievements since 1947. If you see the concluding portion, you will find a description of the difference between our position in 1947 and our position today. But he has not indicated as to what would happen after a year. Let him tell us in spite of the comparisons that he has drawn, whether or not today the average income of the citizens of our country has gone down. It is worse than what it was in 1946. Is there any proposal to show that in the coming year income of the poor man is going to increase even by a pie? It is not so. I therefore feel that the condition today is deplorable and it will be worse still year after year. For the real development of this country not only the apparatus of production should be improved, but I feel that the property rights should also be changed. Unless you do that, it is impossible to register any improvement, as has been provided in this fourth year of the Plan. Although there has been some improvement in production in some sectors, employment opportunities are shrinking. The purchasing power of the people has gone down. There is no immediate chance of improvement. The cost of living of the ordinary man is not going to be reduced. Prices, you claim, have been stabilised, but they are not going to be reduced also, and people naturally have no savings. So, I feel that there is no scope for any progress whatsoever, and what is more, there are additional burdens thrown on the people by these new taxation proposals. Therefore I say that this Government, whenever it comes forward with any proposals, always keeps an eye on maintaining the *status quo* without in any way affecting the richer sections of the population. If you are so reluctant to do anything by way of imposing any further taxation on your friends, the richer sec-

tions of the community, why can't you at least try to change your administration to a certain extent? Why can't you do away with the Privy Purses of the Princes? Why not remove the glaring inequalities in the salaries of your officials? That way, you could easily have effected a saving of about Rs. 8 crores. Instead of that for a sum of Rs. 12 crores, you are taxing the poor man who is already in a very wretched conditions, and over and above that, as we all know, you are maintaining Governors and Rajpramukhs all over the States. It is no secret, as is evident from the experience of all these years now, that these posts are being utilised: mostly for some political purposes. Otherwise, I do not find any other utility for them. These posts form almost a rehabilitation department, if you only look at the appointments, for the defeated or rejected candidates, who have been rejected here and there by the people. You take Travancore-Cochin. Friends must have seen in the papers that an Anglo-Indian gentleman has been nominated to the Assembly, who was previously a member of the Congress Party in the dissolved Assembly. Although the Rajpramukh has done it by using his own discretion vested in him under the Constitution, convention demanded that he should have waited for the Government to be formed there and then on the recommendation of that Government he should have nominated the person, but he has overlooked that convention in order to see that the Congress Party, which has failed to get a majority there, which is thinking today as to whether to form a government or not in that State, could be buttressed.

SHRI O. SOBHANI (Hyderabad): On a point of order, Sir. How is all that relevant to the Budget?

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY: He has done it only to support and strengthen the Congress Party there. I make the charge, Sir, here that these Rajpramukhs are being utilised only for political purposes, and so there is no

use spending such huge amounts on these dignitaries. The Finance Minister's appeal to the people to save money and give it to the Government for development projects will fall on deaf ears. I agree that the common man should also contribute towards the development of this country, but austerity should come from all sections. But you always try and encourage the richer people and tax the poor and ask them to sacrifice what little they have got in their pockets for development purposes, and at the same time you maintain a top-heavy administration which you are not going to change in any way. Therefore it is not possible for the poor man to contribute for these purposes.

There is another curious aspect of this Budget. The Finance Minister comes and tells us that the money provided for the welfare of the tribal people has not been spent. It is not that there has been a procedural defect and red tape and all that. It is not that alone. I want to know whether, when the Centre grants money to the provinces for all these various schemes, they also see that a proper machinery has been set up in the States to give top priority to this sort of work? In the States this is completely ignored. People go in their own way. You go to any State, and you do not find that any money provided for publicity or for some other purposes which feed Congressmen and rehabilitate them, is unspent. It is never so, but when it comes to a question of money provided for the development of poor people, for the tribal sections of the population, you find that money is unspent. This is a very curious development. It is perhaps natural on the part of this Congress Government.

Then I would come to another aspect. I am perfectly certain that the appeal of the Finance Minister would fall flat on the people, because the common people have no savings to

contribute for the development of the country today. There has been recently a new development in the international situation. We do not know when American aid on which this country entirely depends for the implementation of the Five Year Plan would be stopped. The Finance Minister himself has admitted that the States have not been able to augment their resources and to play their part in raising finances for the implementation of this Five Year Plan. I think the time has come when you have to re-examine your whole financial position.

It is good that the Prime Minister has come out with a statement regarding Kashmir. He appears to have left his previous hesitancy. It has been a reversal of the policy of the Prime Minister. As you know, the Praja Socialist Party has, from the very beginning, been advocating a policy of active neutrality and of getting together all friends in Asia and other countries who are in favour of peace, not war. The Prime Minister has today realised how halting, how slippery, was his path. I would go further and ask him whether it is not possible for him to withdraw the Kashmir question from the U.N.O., whether it is legally possible or not. The Kashmir Constituent Assembly has given its verdict in favour of India, and that should be accepted as the final decision of the people of Kashmir and no plebiscite should be entertained. I want the Prime Minister to make a forthright declaration that we accept this verdict as the opinion of the people of Kashmir and say that this question has been solved once and for all. If that is done, then we would say that there is some strength in the Prime Minister's declaration. If such a declaration is made, it will make the people who create dissensions amongst us and indulge in the policy of divide and rule, understand that the Indian people would not tolerate any interference or domination whatsoever.

TShri S. N. Dwivedy.]

Having said this much about Kashmir, I want to point out one or two things. We are glad that the steel plant is to be located in Orissa, but at the same time I would urge upon the Finance Minister to see and provide more money in the Budget so that, when the steel plant is established, subsidiary industries also are developed and people get more employment opportunities. The Hirakud Dam would have been completed by the time the steel plant is located and starts working. The electric energy which it will produce will not be sufficient to provide energy for all the industries that are to be developed. There was the subsidiary dam proposal which was abandoned and for which machineries were already purchased and they are lying idle. I would therefore urge that the subsidiary dam in the Hirakud Project should immediately be revived and work should progress and money should be provided for in the Budget for that purpose.

Lastly, in the Explanatory Memorandum, against the Department of Information and Broadcasting, some money has been provided for improvement of certain broadcasting stations. As far as I remember, when the Information Minister, Dr. Keskar visited Cuttack, he gave a promise that the Cuttack Radio Station would be improved and a 10 K.W. transmitter would be given to that station. But in the Budget, in the Explanatory Memorandum that has been given to us, there is no mention of it and I would be satisfied if the Minister would tell us that the money has been provided for this particular improvement.

(Time bell rings.)

I will finish my speech with this. SHRI R. P. N. SINHA (Bihar):

श्री आर० पी० एन० सिन्हा (बिहार) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने १६ साल धारा-सभाओं

में बिताये, बहुतेरे बजट देखे, पर कभी भी बजट पर बहस के बाद उसमें हेर फेर होते नहीं देखा। फिर भी हमें अपने विचार प्रकट करने हैं, इसलिए मैं दो-एक बातें कहूंगा।

पहली बात मुझे फ्लड्स (floods) बाढ़ के मुतल्लिक कहनी है। पिछले साल बिहार में बहुत जोर की बाढ़ आई और गवर्नमेंट ने तीन चार करोड़ रुपया लोगों की रिलीफ (relief) के लिये दिये। हर साल कुछ न कुछ बाढ़ आया करती है, और हर साल गवर्नमेंट को रिलीफ के ऊपर बहुत खर्चा करना पड़ता है। लेकिन बाढ़ क्यों आती है, इस सम्बन्ध में गवर्नमेंट ने अभी तक सोचने की कोशिश नहीं की। मैंने पूर्व में अनेकों बाढ़ आते देखीं पर पहले जो बाढ़ आया करती थीं, उनसे अब कहीं ज्यादा भयंकर बाढ़ आती हैं। इसका कारण मैंने बहुत लोगों से पूछा, बड़े बूढ़े जनों से भी। उन्होंने बताया कि इस तरह की बाढ़ पहले कभी नहीं आया करती थी। खास कर पिछले साल बिहार में जो बाढ़ आई तथा उसने जो भयंकर रूप धारण किया वह पहले कभी नहीं देखा गया था। उन जगहों में, उन गांवों में, जहां कभी बाढ़ का पानी नहीं जाता था वहां भी पानी भर गया। कारण इसका स्पष्ट है। जितनी प्रमुख नदियां हैं, गंगा, यमुना, गोदावरी, कोसी इत्यादि उनकी सतह धीरे धीरे सिल्टेड (silted) होते होते इतनी ऊंची हो गई है कि बाढ़ का पानी आने पर नदी का गर्भ जल को नहीं रख सकता और पानी का फैलाव ज्यादा हो जाता है। परिणाम यह होता है कि बाढ़ के कारण क्षति तो होती ही है, इसके अलावा वर्षा-काल के बीतते ही उन नदियों का गर्भ ऊंचा होने के कारण उसमें जल की इतनी कमी हो जाती है कि स्टीमर (steamer) वगैरा का चलना भी मुश्किल हो जाता है। मसलन पटना में कई सालों से देखा गया है कि जाड़े या गर्मी के दिनों में जब तब स्टीमर फंस जाती है और उनको

सर्विस (service) डिस्टर्ब (disturb) हो जाती है। कलकत्ता में हर साल हुगली नदी में ड्रेजिंग (dredging) कर के नदी के गर्भ से मिट्टी काट कर उसे नीचा किया करते थे। मगर इधर कई सालों से यह आपरेशन (operation) नहीं हुआ था और इसकी वजह से इस वर्ष जो बाढ़ आई उससे कलकत्ता के मैदान में भी, जैसा कि उपाध्यक्ष महोदय को स्वयं मालूम होगा, पानी आ गया था, जो पहले कलकत्ते में कभी नहीं आया। इन सब बातों को देखते हुए यह जरूरी मालूम होता है कि जहां जहां नदी का गर्भ ऊंचा हो गया हो, उसकी सतह की मिट्टी काट कर नीचा किया जाय। और मुल्कों में इसके लिए ड्रेजिंग आपरेशन हो रहे हैं। अभी मैंने अखबार में पढ़ा था कि पैसिफिक में सेलिनस क्रूज नामक बन्दरगाह को गहरा करने के लिए मैक्सिको की गवर्नमेंट ने २० लाख डालर खर्च करके ड्रेजिंग मशीन खरीद की हैं। इसी तरह से और जगहों में भी ड्रेजिंग आपरेशन हो रहे हैं जिसकी मदद से समुद्र में जो बन्दरगाह हैं उनकी गहराई में कमी होने पर उन को और गहरा करने के प्रयत्न किये जा रहे हैं ताकि जहाजों के चलने में कोई दिक्कत न हो। तो मेरा गवर्नमेंट से यह सुझाव है कि वह इस समस्या पर विचार करे तथा गंगा, यमुना, कोसी, गोदावरी इत्यादि जितनी भी बड़ी नदियां हैं, उनमें ड्रेजिंग मशीन का प्रयोग कर के उनकी तह को ज्यादा गहरा किया जाय, ताकि मामूली वर्षा होने पर भी बाढ़ का जो भयंकर रूप हो जाता है वह न होने पाये।

दूसरी बात मुझे पोस्टल रेट्स (postal rates) के सम्बन्ध में कहनी है। इस सम्बन्ध में मेरा खयाल है कि कुछ लोगों ने माननीय श्री शाह से बातें की थीं और उन्होंने यह आश्वासन दिया था कि वे उस पर विचार करेंगे। पता नहीं उसका क्या हुआ। मगर

इस साल का बजट देखने से यह प्रतीत होता है कि इस पर गवर्नमेंट ने कुछ खास कार्यवाही नहीं की। शायद, शाह साहब को पता होगा, और हमारे अर्थमन्त्री साहब को पता होगा कि ब्रूसेल्स में सन् १९५२ में जो पोस्टल कांफ्रेंस हुई थी उसने एक रेजुलेशन (resolution) पास किया था और उस रेजुलेशन को युनिस्को ने अपने सारे मੈम्बरों के पास भेजा था और कहा था कि वे अपने अपने यहां न्यूजपेपर्स (newspapers), मैगजीन्स (magazines) और किताबों पर से पोस्टल रेट्स (postal rates) को घटायें। हिन्दुस्तान में इधर दो साल के भीतर जो पोस्टल रेट्स बढ़ाये गये, वे १०० परसेंट (per cent) होते हैं। जिसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि पब्लिक बिज़नेस (public business) पुस्तक-प्रकाशन को बेतरह क्षति हुई है। इसे पुस्तक प्रकाशक तो अनुभव करते ही हैं मगर जो पुस्तक प्रणेता, आथर्स (authors) हैं, उनके पुस्तकों की बिक्री में कमी आ गई है और वे भी क्षतिग्रस्त हैं। खास तौर से भारतीय भाषाओं की पुस्तकें कम दाम की होती हैं और उनकी बिक्री में पहले से कहीं ज्यादा कमी हुई है। भारतीय भाषाओं में पुस्तकों की एवरेज प्राइस (average price) १४ आने प्रति पुस्तक है और उस पर पोस्टेज (postage) १२ आने लगते हैं। इसलिए देहात के लोग जो खास कर वी० पी० से पुस्तकें मंगाने हैं या बुकसेलर्स (book sellers), उन्होंने किताबों का मंगाना कम कर दिया है। और ऐसा मालूम होता है कि करीब पचास प्रतिशत बिक्री में कमी आ गई है। एक उदाहरण मैं यह देता हूँ कि एक बुक पैकेट (book packet), जो लन्दन से दिल्ली को भेजा जाता है, उसमें करीब आठ आने खर्च पड़ता है, मगर वही बुक पैकेट अगर दिल्ली से आगरा जाता है तो उसमें एक रुपया खर्च होता है। तो इस तरह से

[Shri R. P. N. Sinha.]

हिन्दुस्तान का जो बुक पेकेट्स का पोस्टल रेट है, वह संसार के सभी देशों से कहीं ज्यादा पड़ता है। अमेरिका में कहा जाता है कि बुक पेकेट्स का रेट सबसे ज्यादा है, मगर तुलना करने से यह पता चलता है कि हिन्दुस्तान के जो बुक पेकेट्स आदि के रेट्स हैं, वे अमेरिका से भी ६० परसेंट ज्यादा पड़ते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान का यह पुराना आदर्श रहा है, हमारी हमेशा से यह नीति रही है कि ज्ञानवर्द्धक जितनी चीजें हैं, उनको प्रोत्साहन दिया जाय। वेदों ने भी कहा है "तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय"। पर आश्चर्य है कि हमारे अर्थ मन्त्री, जो स्वयं पंडित हैं, और शाह साहब भी बड़े विद्वान हैं, योग्य पुरुष हैं, वे इस ओर क्यों ध्यान नहीं देते कि किताबों या मैगज़ीन्स या अखबारों की बिक्री पर इसका कैसा बुरा असर पड़ रहा है। बुक पोस्टल रेट्स को इतना बढ़ा रखना समझदारी की बात तो नहीं मालूम पड़ती है। मगर मैंने सुना है कि शाह साहब की इस विषय पर कुछ बातें लोगों से हुई हैं और उन्होंने आश्वासन भी दिया है। मेरा खयाल है इस से तीस या पैंतीस लाख रुपये गवर्नमेंट को आय होती है जो कोई बड़ी रकम नहीं है।

तीसरी बात इन्कमटैक्स (income tax) के मुताल्लिक कहती है। इन्कमटैक्स के रेट्स के मुताल्लिक मेरी कोई शिकायत नहीं है क्योंकि इस बात से किसी को कोई मतभेद नहीं कि इन्कमटैक्स की दर कम है। यह ठीक है कि इन्कमटैक्स उन लोगों पर अवश्य लगना चाहिए जिन्हें इन्कम होती है। किन्तु मैंने ख़ास कर बिहार में देखा है कि इन्कमटैक्स एससमेंट (assessment) में जो धांधली की जाती है, उससे गवर्नमेंट की इन्कमटैक्स के जरिये आमदनी पैदा करने की जो मंशा है वह इन दी लॉंग रन (in the long run) आखीर में पूरी नहीं हो पाती। मैंने देखा है कि बहुत से ज़मींदारों ने ज़मीं-

दारी चले जाने के बाद बिज़नेस शुरू की, पर उन लोगों के साथ इस तरह का व्यवहार किया गया कि उनमें से ६० परसेंट लोगों ने बिज़नेस छोड़ दी। एक कहावत है :

"Kill the goose that lays the golden egg".

वह नीति इन्कमटैक्स वालों की चल रही है। इसके अलावा जो बड़े बड़े व्यापारी हैं, उनके पास तो बहुत से तिकड़म हैं, वे निकल जाते हैं, लेकिन जो आनेस्ट (honest) ईमानदार व्यापारी हैं वे तबाह होते हैं। और इन्कमटैक्स के जो आफिसर हैं, वे जहां तक मंने देखा है— मुझे इसका कुछ तज़ुर्बा ज़रूर है, बिहार में और कलकत्ता में—वे बड़े व्यापारियों को पकड़ने की चेष्टा में नहीं रहते बल्कि जो मध्यम श्रेणी के व्यवसायी, व्यापारी हैं, उन पर ही निगाह डालते हैं। मुझे यह नीति कुछ समझ में नहीं आई। मैं नाम तो नहीं लेना चाहता, मगर कलकत्ता में ऐसे बड़े व्यापारी हैं जो लाखों पैदा कर के भी कभी नहीं पकड़े गये। मेरे एक मित्र बतला रहे थे कि बम्बई में एक व्यापारी हैं, उन्होंने ६० लाख रुपये पैदा किये, लेकिन एक पैसा इन्कमटैक्स नहीं दिया।

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY:

श्री एस० एन० द्विवेदी : कांग्रेस को चन्दा देते होंगे।

SHRI R. P. N. SINHA:

श्री आर० पी० एन० सिन्हा : प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी को देते हैं।

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY:

श्री एस० एन० द्विवेदी : आप उसका हिसाब भी रखते हैं ?

SHRI R. P. N. SINHA:

श्री आर० पी० एन० सिन्हा : तो गवर्नमेंट से मेरा यह निवेदन है कि वह इन्कमटैक्स के रेट चाहे जो कुछ भी रखे मगर

प्रोपर (proper) एससमेंट होना चाहिए, घांघली नहीं होनी चाहिए। दूसरी बात यह है कि जो इन्कमटैक्स के आफिसर्स हैं, उनकी जो अनडिस्क्लोर्ड इन्कम (undisclosed income) है, उसके सम्बन्ध में भी जांच होनी चाहिए। पिछले साल में प्लेन (plane) से जा रहा था, तो मेरे साथ एक साहब बैठे जो बिहार में एक इन्कमटैक्स आफिसर हैं और उनसे मेरी बातें होने लगीं। मेरी निगाह उनकी अंगुलियों पर गई, तो मैंने उनके हाथ में दो हीरे की काफी कीमती अंगूठियां देखीं।

THE DEPUTY MINISTER FOR FINANCE (SHRI M. C. SHAH): Tell me the names and I will enquire into the matter.

SHRI R. P. N. SINHA: I will tell you but not here.

श्री आर० पी० एन० सिन्हा : तो मैं नहीं समझ सका कि जो शरूट डाई सौ रुपया बेतन पाता है वह इस तरह की कीमती चीजों का इस्तेमाल कैसे कर सकता है। इसका मतलब है कि—मैंने सुना भी है—कि उनके पास काफी अनडिस्क्लोर्ड इन्कम है। इसका पता अगर गवर्नमेंट लगाये तो मेरा ख्याल है इस सम्बन्ध में कई रहस्यपूर्ण बातों का पता लग सकता है।

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA:

श्री एच० पी० सक्सेना : कहीं इमीटेशन (imitation) तो नहीं था वह हीरा ?

SHRI R. P. N. SINHA:

श्री आर० पी० एन० सिन्हा : इस समय हमारे शाह साहब भी मौजूद हैं, और मैं समझता हूँ कि वे इस सम्बन्ध में विशेष दिलचस्पी ले रहे हैं। उन के इन्कमटैक्स डिपार्टमेंट में जो घांघली हो रही है उसको रोकने के लिए वे कोशिश करेंगे और उसमें जो डिशानेस्ट (dishonest) आदमी हैं उनको हटा डालेंगे।

बस मुझे इतनी सी ही बातें मर्ज़ करनी थीं।

[For English translation, see Appendix VII, Annexure No. 107.]

SHRIMATI SHARDA BHARGAVA (Rajasthan):

श्रीमती शारदा भार्गव (राजस्थान) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, श्रीमन्, मैं सबसे पहले तो अर्थ मन्त्री जी को, जिन्होंने सदन में इतना सुन्दर बजट पेश किया है, बधाई देना चाहती हूँ। मुझे आश्चर्य हुआ जब कि कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने इस बजट को "डैफिसिट फाइनेंस बजट" (Deficit Finance Budget) कह कर क्रिटिसाइज (criticise) किया और साथ ही हमारी एक बहिन ने यह भी कहा है कि : "I believe in cutting my coat according to cloth" जहां तक महिलाओं का घर से सम्बन्ध है, हमको ऐसा करना चाहिए। मगर मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि पब्लिक फाइनेंस (public finance) और प्राइवेट फाइनेंस (private finance) में बड़ा अन्तर है। जहां तक प्राइवेट फाइनेंस का प्रश्न है, हमारे पास जितना पैसा है उसके अनुसार ही हमें खर्च करना चाहिए और पब्लिक फाइनेंस में हमें यह देखना पड़ता है कि देश की जरूरत क्या है, उसी के अनुसार अधिक और कम हम को खर्च करना पड़ता है।

जब सरकार के पास देश को उन्नत करने के लिए पैसा नहीं होता और देश की आवश्यकतायें अधिक होती हैं तो या तो जनता पर टैक्स लगा कर उस कमी को पूरा किया जाता है और या बजट में डैफिसिट होता है। अब हमारे देश में जनता पर अधिक कर लगाया नहीं जा सकता और देश का उत्थान काल है अतः रुपया अधिक चाहिए। इस दशा में डैफिसिट बजट नहीं बन सकता है। प्रश्न यह

[Shrimati Sharda Bhargava.]

है कि जो रुपया अधिक खर्च हो रहा है वह किस मद पर खर्च किया जा रहा है और किस प्रकार किया जा रहा है, उस से सचमुच देश की जनता को फायदा पहुंचने वाला है या नहीं यह विषय विचारणीय अवश्य है जैसा कि गोपालकृष्ण गोखले ने कहा था :

"The increase need not necessarily be a matter of regret or alarm. Everything depends on this matter, on the nature of the purpose for which the expenditure has been incurred and the results produced by such outlay of public money."

तो मैं समझती हूँ कि डैफिसिट फाइनेन्स से डरने की कोई बात नहीं है। हमारे जो अर्थ मन्त्री जी हैं उन्होंने देश के हित को सबसे पहले सामने रख कर ही इस तरह का डैफिसिट बजट बनाया है। उनकी योग्यता की तारीफ तो इंग्लैंड के चान्सलर आफ एक्सचेंजर ने भी की है। मैं यह बात फिर कहना चाहती हूँ कि हमारा बजट डैफिसिट होते हुए भी इसके द्वारा देश की जनता को लाभ पहुंचने वाला हो तो इसका डैफिसिट होना हानि की बात नहीं है। हां, एक बात मैं अर्थ मन्त्री जी से अवश्य कहूंगी, जिस का मुझे बहुत दुख है, वह यह है कि विधान में यह निश्चित हो चुका है कि १५ वर्ष की अवधि के बाद देश का सब राजकाज राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी में ही होगा। मगर सरकार की ओर से ऐसा कोई प्रयत्न नहीं किया जा रहा है जिससे हिन्दी १५ वर्ष बाद अपने स्थान पर प्रतिष्ठित हो जायेगी। यह कार्य १५ वर्ष बाद एक दम करने से सफल नहीं होगा, इसके लिए योजना, प्लान (plan) बनानी होगी, तब ही १५ वर्ष बाद हिन्दी अंग्रेजी का स्थान ग्रहण कर सकेगी। मगर ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि सरकार की ओर से हिन्दी भाषा को अपने प्रतिष्ठित स्थान में लाने के लिए कोई भी कदम नहीं उठाया जा रहा है। अगर सरकार का हिन्दी के

प्रति यही व्यवहार रहा तो यह उम्मेद नहीं मालूम होती कि १५ वर्ष बाद अपने देश का राजकाज राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी द्वारा चला सकेंगे। मैं इस सदन में देखती हूँ और सुनती हूँ कि कुछ सदस्य अंग्रेजी में भाषण इसलिए करते हैं कि हमारे कुछ भाई इस सदन में ऐसे हैं, जो कि हिन्दी भाषा को नहीं समझते हैं। मगर आज तक किसी भाई ने यह भी स्थल किया कि बहुत से ऐसे भाई भी हैं जो कि अंग्रेजी भाषा से अनभिज्ञ हैं। इस तरह की दासता की भावना जो हमारे दिमागों में बंटी हुई है वह एक विपरीत चीज है। हमारे दिलों में यह भावना बंटी हुई है कि अंग्रेजी जानने वालों की (जो हिन्दी नहीं जानते हैं) ज्यादा परवाह की जानी चाहिए। यह भावना गलत है और इसको हमें अपने दिलों से दूर कर देना चाहिए। हम सब लोग विधान द्वारा चुन कर यहां पर आये हैं। विधान में सदस्य के लिए अंग्रेजी जानना आवश्यक नहीं माना गया है। अतः सदस्य के लिए अंग्रेजी जानना अनिवार्य नहीं है। फिर जो अंग्रेजी नहीं जानता उसके तो, जो अंग्रेजी में कहा जाता है, समझ में ही नहीं आता, फिर सदन की सब कार्यवाही उसके लिए खतरा है। अतः उस की परवाह न करना विधान को न मानना है। विधान में तो किसी भी प्रकार की एजुकेशन (education) क्वाली-फिकेशन (qualification) के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा गया है, तो यहां पर इस तरह का भेद-भाव करना उचित मालूम नहीं देता। केवल अंग्रेजी में ही हर तरह से कार्य हो, बजट भी जो हो वह भी अंग्रेजी में ही हो, उसका ट्रांसलेशन (translation) तक हिन्दी में न किया जाय और केवल हिन्दी जानने वालों की कोई परवाह न की जाय, यह उचित प्रतीत नहीं होता। मुझे इस बात का बहुत ही दुख है कि जो व्यवहार हिन्दी के प्रति किया जा रहा है वह राष्ट्रभाषा को अपने उचित स्थान पर ले जाने के लिए अपर्याप्त है।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपना जो अभिभाषण दिया था वह उन्होंने पहले हिन्दी, जो कि हमारे देश की राष्ट्रभाषा हो चुकी है, उसी में दिया था। हमारे माननीय रेलवे मन्त्री जी ने भी अपना बजट जत्र प्रस्तुत किया था तो उन्होंने पहला जो भाषण दिया था वह भी हिन्दी में ही था। यदि हमारे माननीय अर्थ-मन्त्री जी भी अपना भाषण राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी में ही देते तो कितना सुन्दर होता। पर उन्होंने तो हिन्दी का अनुवाद छपवा कर बटवाने तक की आवश्यकता नहीं समझी, इसका बड़ा दुःख है। आशा है कि माननीय मन्त्री जी इस बात को भविष्य में ध्यान में रखेंगे और आगामी अधिवेशन में बजट भाषण को हिन्दी में ही तैयार करेंगे। इस प्रकार के कदम उठा कर, आशा है, सरकार राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी को अपने गौरवपूर्ण स्थान में पहुँचाने के लिए भरसक कोशिश करेगी।

दूसरी बात मुझे शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में कहनी है। मैं जानती हूँ कि शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में इस सदन में कई बार कहा जा चुका है, कहा जा रहा है। पर केवल कहा ही गया है, कुछ हुआ है या हो रहा है, सो कुछ नहीं दिखाई देता। आज मैं देखती हूँ कि इन पांच वर्षों के अन्दर, जब से हमारा देश आजाद हुआ है, शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में कोई विशेष प्रगति नहीं हो सकी है। इससे पहले यहां पर अंग्रेज थे और उन्होंने हमारी शिक्षा के अन्दर जो कुछ भी किया वह किसी से छिपा नहीं है, परन्तु इन पांच वर्षों में जैसी हम को उन्नति करनी चाहिए थी, वह आज देखने को नहीं मिल रही है। वैसे तो कहा जा सकता है, और हमारे शिक्षा मन्त्री जी भी कई बार कह चुके हैं, कि शिक्षा की मद में इतना रुपया खर्च किया जा रहा है, यह किया जा रहा है, इतना रुपया बढ़ा दिया है, इतना रुपया घटा दिया है, बहुत से स्कूल और पाठशालाएं खुल गयीं और हमने बहुत से विद्यार्थियों को शिक्षित कर

दिया है, परन्तु वास्तव में वह शिक्षा, शिक्षा नहीं है जो अपने चरित्र को उन्नत न कर सके। हमारे वह विद्यार्थी जो कि स्कूल और कालिजों में पढ़ते हैं उनको वहां पर ठीक से शिक्षा मिले और उनमें पैरों पर खड़े होने की सामर्थ्य हो, उनके अन्दर स्वावलम्बन हो, तभी तो हम कह सकेंगे कि सरकार सचमुच शिक्षा को और विशेष ध्यान दे रही है।

अभी कुछ दिन पहले यहां सदन में हिन्दी पर बोलते हुए हमारे माननीय मित्र श्री आंकारनाथ जी कह रहे थे कि देश में जितने भी बड़े लोग हैं वे अपने बच्चों को अंग्रेजी स्कूलों में ही शिक्षा के लिए भेजते हैं। पर आपने कभी यह भी सोचा कि अंग्रेजी स्कूलों में क्यों भेजते हैं। सिर्फ अंग्रेजी पढ़ाने के लिए वहां पर भेजते हैं, ऐसी बात नहीं। मैं भी अपने बच्चों को अंग्रेजी स्कूल में भेजती हूँ, मगर इसलिए नहीं भेजती कि वहां पर जाकर वे अंग्रेजी शिक्षा को ग्रहण करें बल्कि इसलिए भेजती हूँ कि वे वहां डिस्प्लिन (discipline) सीख सकें। हमारे हिन्दी स्कूलों में जो टीचर्स होते हैं, हेडमास्टर होते हैं, उनको इस बात का ज्ञान नहीं होता कि हमारे बच्चे, जो कि भविष्य में देश के नेता बनेंगे, उनको किस प्रकार की शिक्षा दी जानी चाहिए, किस प्रकार का डिस्प्लिन उनको मिलाना चाहिए, वे इस तरह ध्यान ही नहीं देते। अक्षर जान असली शिक्षा नहीं कही जा सकती। पर हमारे स्कूलों में तो सब विद्यार्थियों को पढ़ना लिखना भी आ जाय तो बहुत समझों। इसका कारण यह है कि हमारी जो वर्तमान शिक्षा प्रणाली है वह दोषपूर्ण है, जब तक उसमें आमूल परिवर्तन नहीं किया जाता, तब तक सुधार की आशा नहीं की जा सकती।

इसके साथ ही साथ मुझे यहां पर यह भी बात कहनी है कि हमारे विद्यार्थी वर्ग में अनुशासनहीनता की भावना बढ़ती जा रही है।

[Shrimati Sharda Bhargava.]

आज हम देखते हैं कि देश के विभिन्न भागों में कहीं पर हड़ताल होती है तो कहीं पर स्ट्राइक (strike) किये जाते हैं। कभी हमने इस विषय पर गम्भीरतापूर्वक विचार किया कि इसकी जड़ में क्या है? अक्सर यह कह दिया जाता है कि यह राजनैतिक पार्टियों का मामला है। ठीक है, अन्त में यह राजनीति बन जाती है परन्तु मेरा यह मानना है कि यह शिक्षा के दोष से ही प्रारम्भ होता है। मगर इसके मौलिक दोषों और कारणों की ओर कोई ध्यान नहीं देता। विद्यार्थी छोटी सी बात को लेकर ऊधम मचाना प्रारम्भ कर देते हैं और अनुशासनहीन हो जाते हैं। वे यह सोचते हैं कि चलो अगले साल पास हो जायेंगे। इस साल यदि पास भी हो गये तो आगे कोई रोजगार फौरन तो मिल ही नहीं जायगा। इसलिए वे बाद में राजनैतिक पार्टियों के बहकावे में आ जाते हैं और नेतागिरी में पड़ जाते हैं।

मगर इन सब चीजों का मुख्य कारण यह है कि हमारी जो वर्तमान शिक्षा प्रणाली है वह दोषपूर्ण है। मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि इस प्रणाली को सुधारने में धन की आवश्यकता नहीं है जितनी कि इस बात की कि जो पैसा इस वक्त सरकार शिक्षा के कार्यों पर खर्च कर रही है, उसका सच्चे अर्थों में सदुपयोग हो। आज हम देखते हैं कि अंग्रेजी राज्य के समय से जो शिक्षा प्रारम्भ हुई थी उसका जनदस्त अस्तर है कि जब विद्यार्थी स्कूल और कालिजों से निकल कर आते हैं, तब वह अपने सामने अन्धकार से युक्त वातावरण देखते हैं। उनको कोई चीज नहीं दिखाई देती कि वह क्या करें, क्या न करें। इसका कारण यह है कि उन्होंने कोई शिक्षा ऐसी नहीं पाई जो कि उनको स्वावलम्बी बना सके, जिससे अपने पैरों पर खड़े हो सकें।

मैं अपने राजस्थान का जिक्र करना चाहती हूँ। वहाँ पर जयपुर में महाराजा कालेज है जो ५०० लड़कों के लिए बना था। अब उसमें ५ हजार लड़के पढ़ते हैं। लड़कों की पढ़ाई की व्यवस्था के लिए अब अलग लगभग १०० अध्यापक और एक प्रिंसिपल है, जब कि प्रारम्भ में १७ अध्यापक थे। वहाँ पर पढ़ाई शिफ्टों (shifts) में की जाती है। केवल मात्र अध्यापक पढ़ाने के घंटों में ही पढ़ाने को कालेज में आते हैं। न वह लड़कों से कोई अन्य बातें कर सकते हैं न कहीं बैठ कर कोई और प्रोग्राम (programme) बना सकते हैं क्योंकि उनके घंटों के बाद दूसरे अध्यापक या कहिये दूसरे विभाग के शिफ्ट का समय हो जाता है। अतः उस विभाग के विद्यार्थियों और अध्यापकों के लिए फौरन कालेज के कमरे खाली कर देने पड़ते हैं। जिस प्रकार कहा जाता है कि किसी कंजैस्टेड (congested) स्थान पर रहने से मनुष्य का स्वास्थ्य खराब हो जाता है तो फिर यहाँ ऐसा कंजैश्चन होने से विद्यार्थियों का मानसिक विकास क्या हो सकता है। और मानसिक स्वास्थ्य खराब होने से लोग ह्लास की ओर ही अप्रसर होंगे। एक डिपार्टमेंट (department) के अध्यापक यदि दूसरे डिपार्टमेंट के अध्यापक के पास जाते हैं तो वे एक दूसरे को नहीं पहिचानते। जब इस तरह की हालत है तो यह सहज ही अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है कि वहाँ पर किस तरह की पढ़ाई होती होगी।

कामर्स (commerce) एक टेकनिकल (technical) विषय है, परन्तु आर्ट्स कालेजों (arts colleges) में कामर्स आर्ट्स के साथ ही पढ़ाई जाती है। फल यह होता है कि कामर्स के ग्रेजुएट भी आर्ट्स की ही भांति कालेज से निकल कर नौकरी की तलाश में लग जाते हैं। राजस्थान में प्रोफेशनल (professional) तथा

टेकनिकल कालेजों की बहुत आवश्यकता है। वहाँ कामर्स आर्ट्स कालेज में ही पढ़ाई जाती है। होना यह चाहिए कि कामर्स में मैडिकल (medical) तथा इंजिनियरिंग (engineering) की तरह प्रैक्टिकल ट्रेनिंग (practical training) देने की भी व्यवस्था हो, ताकि कामर्स पढ़ने के बाद विद्यार्थी सचमुच कोई व्यवसाय कर सके। पटना यूनिवर्सिटी में कामर्स ग्रेजुएट को तीन मास की प्रैक्टिकल ट्रेनिंग देने की प्रणाली है। अतः वहाँ के ग्रेजुएट की मांग टेकनिकल विभागों में बढ़ रही है। १९३२ में सर तेज बहादुर सप्रू की अध्यक्षता में unemployment की जांच के लिए एक कमेटी बनी थी। उस कमेटी ने कहा था कि "B.Coms. are bekams"। यानी आज कल की जो बी. काम. की शिक्षा है वह लोगों को बेकाम बनाती है। अर्थात् उस कमेटी की मंशा यह थी कि बी. काम. की जो पढ़ाई है वह टेकनिकल शिक्षा है, पर उस प्रकार दी नहीं जा रही है। अतः बेकार है। परन्तु आज २५ वर्ष बाद भी शिक्षा की वही दशा है और बी. काम. पढ़ कर लोग बेकाम ही रहते हैं।

महाराजा कालेज में कामर्स में १००० से भी अधिक लड़के पढ़ते हैं। राजस्थान सरकार के मुख्य सचिव के आदेश पर वहाँ कामर्स कालेज बनाने के ऊपर विचार करने के लिए दो वर्ष पहले एक कमेटी बनी। वहाँ के मुख्य सचिव, मुख्य मंत्री, शिक्षा मंत्री सब चाहते हैं कि चूंकि महाराजा कालेज में इतनी अधिक संख्या में लड़के हो गये हैं इसलिये इसके कामर्स विभाग को अलग कर के एक अलग कामर्स कालेज बना दिया जाय। परन्तु बहुत कुछ चाहते हुए भी कुछ नहीं कर पाते। बिल्डिंग (building) नहीं है और नई बिल्डिंग बनाने के लिए पैसा नहीं है। अतः भारतीय सरकार को इस विषय में राजस्थान सरकार की मदद करनी चाहिए ताकि जिन विद्यार्थियों

को टेकनिकल शिक्षा मिल सकती है, उन्हें तो इससे वंचित न रहने दिया जाय।

में राजस्थान यूनिवर्सिटी की प्रारम्भ से सदस्या रही हूँ और अब सिडीकेट (executive) की भी हूँ। वहाँ भी टेकनिकल विषयों में प्रैक्टिकल ट्रेनिंग देने के महत्त्व पर विचार होता रहा है पर पैसा न होने से सब योजना बेकार हो जाती है। अतः मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि या तो राजस्थान यूनिवर्सिटी को आर्थिक मदद मिले तो वह टेकनिकल विषयों को पोस्ट ग्रेजुएट (post-graduate) कक्षा में पढ़ाने का भार ले ले अथवा राजस्थान सरकार के पास जो घनाभाव है और जिसके कि कारण राजस्थान इतना पिछड़ा हुआ है, इसके लिए सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट को उसकी मदद अवश्य करनी चाहिए। मैं सब बच्चों को बराबर प्यार करती हूँ लेकिन यदि कोई बच्चा कमजोर होता है तो उसके ऊपर मैं का विशेष स्नेह होता है और वह उस का अधिक खयाल रखती है। राजस्थान में [Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair.] रोज ही डाकुओं का संकट बना रहता है और हमारी राजस्थान गवर्नमेंट डाकुओं को भगाने और पकड़वाने में पूर्ण सफल रही है यह तो सब को विदित ही है। मैं उसके कार्य की सराहना करती हूँ, परन्तु इस पर राजस्थान सरकार को बहुत खर्चा करना पड़ता है। राजस्थान एक बोर्डर (border) प्रान्त है। अतः मिलिट्री (military) तथा पुलिस में ही राजस्थान सरकार का इतना खर्चा लग जाता है कि वह अन्य मदों में बहुत कम खर्च कर पाती है और मैं समझती हूँ कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट (Central Government) को जितनी मदद राजस्थान गवर्नमेंट को करनी चाहिए उतनी मदद वह नहीं कर रही है। अगर सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट मदद करे तो वहाँ की शिक्षा प्रणाली बहुत कुछ सुधर सकती है। मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि वहाँ कामर्स कालेज बनाने

[Shrimati Sharda Bhargava.]

की स्कीम बनी हुई है और सब चाहते हैं कि वहाँ महाराजा कालेज को दो कालेजों में विभाजित कर दिया जाय, अर्थात् एक टेकनिकल कालेज कामर्स के लिए हो जाय और एक आर्ट्स की शिक्षा के लिए। लेकिन वहाँ की सरकार लाचार है क्योंकि उसके पास पैसा नहीं है। मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि अगर आप कोई शिक्षा प्रणाली चलाना चाहते हैं तो वह प्रणाली इस तरह की होनी चाहिए जिससे कि जो भारत के भावी नागरिक हैं, भारत के भावी कर्णधार हैं वे अपने जीवन में सफल हों, ऐसा न हो कि शिक्षा पाने पर भी उनका दिमाग परेशान ही रहे और वे आगे कुछ न कर सकें। अगर उनका दिमाग इस प्रकार विकृत हो जायगा तो वे आगे जाकर क्या करेंगे? एक बार यू० पी० के राज्यपाल ने कहा था :—

"Teachers did not develop the art of entering into the heart of the students and the result had been bad; colleges had become factories for producing graduates, smart young men and women who were ill-equipped for future life."

The Governor said that if the students lost their sense of right and wrong they would stand before the world as naked brutes and the very foundation of culture on which the greatness of India depended would be destroyed.

तो मेरा कहना यह है कि जब ये सारी बातें हैं और ऐसा भी नहीं है कि गवर्नमेंट इन सब बातों को जानती नहीं है, तो फिर मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि गवर्नमेंट क्यों नहीं कोई ऐसी योजना बनाती जिससे कि शिक्षा में सुधार हो सके। मैं इस सम्बन्ध में एक प्रस्ताव लाने वाली थी और यदि हो सका तो लाऊंगी, शायद अगली बार में आ सके, कि एक कमेटी इस प्रकार की बना दी जाय जो कि इस बात की जांच करे कि आखिर क्या कारण है जो कि विद्यार्थियों में इतनी अनुशासनहीनता आ

गई है। समिति यह पता लगावे कि इतनी अनुशासनहीनता क्यों आ रही है, उसको कैसे रोका जाय। यदि हम इनकी अनुशासनहीनता नहीं रोकते तो मेरा कहना है कि फाइव ईयर प्लान (Five Year Plan) या डेवलप-मेंट प्लान (development plan) कोई भी सफल नहीं हो सकता। किसी भी देश के लिए शिक्षा सबसे महत्व की चीज है। उस पर ही किसी प्रकार की योजना की सफलता निर्भर है। अच्छी शिक्षा की योजना होने पर ही अन्य योजनाओं में कामयाबी मिल सकती है अन्यथा नहीं। इसलिए हमारे लिए शिक्षा को बहुत ऊँचे स्तर पर ले जाने की बड़ी आवश्यकता है।

अब आप होस्टलों (hostels) की व्यवस्था के बारे में देखिये। जयपुर में एक होस्टल है, जो कि ६० विद्यार्थियों के लिए बना था और उसमें इस वक्त ४०० विद्यार्थी रहते हैं। फिर भी विद्यार्थियों के लिए कमी रहती है। तब बहुत से विद्यार्थी सड़ी गलियों में छोटे छोटे अन्हरे कमरों में रहते हैं, जिनमें कि ठीक से रोशनी भी नहीं पहुँचती; क्योंकि वह किराया अधिक नहीं दे सकते। फिर आप समझें कि ऐसे स्थान पर रह कर क्या पढ़ाई हो सकती है। इस सम्बन्ध में मेरा एक सुझाव है कि ये जो सरकारी कालेजों में बहुत सारे पोस्ट ग्रेजुएट क्लासेज चल रहे हैं उनको खत्म कर दीजिये और इन के खर्च वाला धन युनिवर्सिटी को दे दिया जाय ताकि युनिवर्सिटी होस्टल बना सके और उस में विद्यार्थियों को रख सके। मेरे विचार में यदि युनिवर्सिटी पोस्ट ग्रेजुएट क्लासेज की शिक्षा का भार अपने ऊपर ले ले तो बहुत अच्छा हो। इस तरह से वह अच्छे कालेज भी खोल सकती है और पढ़ाई का भी अच्छा इन्तजाम कर सकती है, तथा जो सचमुच पोस्ट ग्रेजुएट क्लास में पढ़ने योग्य विद्यार्थी हैं उन्हीं को भरती करेगी।

(Time bell rings.)

तो पोस्ट ग्रेजुएट क्लासेज़ सब यूनि-वर्सिटियों में ही शामिल कर लिए जाएं। अगर ऐसा हो जाय तो बहुत कुछ मुधार यहां की शिक्षा में हो जायगा। यूनिवर्सिटी में जब इस प्रश्न को लाया जाता है कि वह ऐसा कर ले तो यहां यही दिक्कत पेश आती है कि उसके पास पैसा नहीं है। इसके साथ साथ मेरा यह भी कहना है कि राजस्थान में, विशेषकर जयपुर में बिल्डिंग बहुत कम हैं। इसलिए यह आवश्यक है कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट प्रयत्न कर के उसको बिल्डिंग बनाने के लिए आर्थिक सहायता दे।

चूंकि समय बहुत कम है, एक तरह से बिलकुल नहीं रह गया है, इसलिए मैं एक दो बहुत खास खास बातें कह कर बैठ जाऊंगी। मुझे एक बात यह कहनी है कि राजस्थान में फ़ैमिली प्लानिंग के लिए भी कोई कार्य नहीं हो रहा है। इसलिए सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट का जो स्वास्थ्य विभाग है उसको चाहिए कि वह वहां के लिए भी कोई योजना बनाये, इतने पिछड़े हुए एरिया के लिए इस प्रकार की कोई योजना होना बहुत आवश्यक है।

फ़ॉरेन पालिसी (foreign policy) के बारे में भी मुझे कोई खास बात नहीं कहनी है और उसके लिए समय भी नहीं है, क्योंकि उपाध्यक्ष महोदय ने घंटी बजा दी है, और वह ज्यादा से ज्यादा मुझे एक दो मिनट देंगे। मुझे इस सम्बन्ध में इतना ही कहना है कि अमेरिका ने पाकिस्तान को जो मिलिट्री एड (military aid) देने का निश्चय किया है वह बहुत गलत है। क्या ही अच्छा हो कि जो बड़े कन्ट्रीज़ (countries) हैं, जो अपने को समुन्नत समझते हैं और जो यह चाहते हैं कि दूसरे देशों को समुन्नत बनाया जाय और पिछड़े हुए देशों को सहायता दी जाय, उनको मिलिट्री एड देने के बजाय यह चाहिए कि और किसी प्रकार

से धन से या और चीजों से देशों की सहायता करें। वे यदि दूसरों को सहायता देते समय विश्वबन्धुत्व का ध्यान रखें तो यह उनके लिए और समस्त जगत के लिए बड़ी ही लाभ की बात होगी। यही हमारे भारतवर्ष के लोगों का विचार है। मिलिट्री एड देकर दूसरे देशों को बन्धन में जकड़ना और फिर यह कहना कि हम शान्तिप्रिय हैं, यह गलत चीज़ है। जितने भी हम भारत के लोग हैं, सब का यही विचार है और पब हमारे नेता पंडित जवाहर-लाल का इस सम्बन्ध में समर्थन करते हैं।

(Time bell rings.)

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सिर्फ एक मिनट और चाहती हूँ। यह एक मिनट मैं इसलिए लेना चाहती हूँ कि मुझे वीमन नेशनल सेविंग्स ड्राइव (Women National Savings Drive) के सम्बन्ध में कहना है। चूंकि मैं उस से सम्बन्धित हूँ इसलिए यह जरूरी है। हमारे अर्थ मन्त्री महोदय ने वीमेन्स सेविंग्स ड्राइव की तारीफ की है कि औरतों ने सेविंग्स में बहुत काम किया है। मैं आपसे कहना चाहती हूँ कि हम लोग अब भी इस काम को कर रहे हैं और राजस्थान में मैं इस काम के लिए मंत्रिणी हूँ। इस वजह से मुझे इस बात का अनुभव है कि उसमें कितनी दिक्कतें पड़ रही हैं। रेड टैपिज़्म (red tapism) की वजह से हमारा काम बहुत देर से होता है। इस सम्बन्ध में लिखा भी गया था, मालूम नहीं कि उसका जवाब दिया गया या नहीं, मुझे खबर नहीं है। जो एजेंसी (agency) देने का सिस्टम (system) है वह इतना कम्पलीकेटेड (complicated) है कि उसकी वजह से चार चार, पांच पांच महीने एजेंसी दिलाने में लग जाते हैं। रसीद बुक जो जा रही है, उनके सम्बन्ध में भी मुझे कुछ सुझाव देना है।

(Time bell rings.)

[Shrimati Sharda Bhargava.]

ابھ چूंک समय नहीं है इसलिए यदि फिर कभी समय मिलेगा तो इस के बारे में फाइनेस मिनिस्टर साहब के सामने सुझाव रखूंगी, या उन को इस सम्बन्ध में लिख कर भेज दूंगी कि इस के कारण क्या कठिनाइयां पड़ रही हैं।

[For English translation, see Appendix VII, Annexure No. 108.]

SARDAR BUDH SINGH (Jammu and Kashmir):

سردار بدھ سنگھ (جموں و کشمیر) :

ڈپٹی چیئرمین صاحب - آنریبل پرائم منسٹر صاحب نے جو حال میں یکم مارچ کو بیان دیا ہے پاکستان کو امریکی فوجی امداد دینے کے بارے میں جس نتیجہ پر وہ پہنچے ہیں اسکے لئے جموں اور کشمیر کا بچہ بچہ اُسے صحیح اور درست سمجھتا ہے اور انکو سپورٹ (support) کرتا ہے اور ہم انکو یقین دلاتے ہیں کہ اسکے نتائج کا مقابلہ کرنے کیلئے ہم ہر قربانی و خدمت کرنے کیلئے تیار ہیں -

یہ بجٹ (Budget) جو کہ پہلے بنایا گیا تھا وہ آج کے حالات میں بنایا گیا ہوتا تو اسکی آج دوسری ہی حالت ہوتی - فالڈینس منسٹر صاحب نے مہربانی کر کے ڈیفینس (defence) کے بجٹ میں کچھ اضافہ کیا ہے لیکن اگر وہ بجٹ آج بنایا گیا ہوتا تو اسمیں اور بھی اضافہ کرتے - شکر کی بات ہے اور ہمیں اس بات کے لئے اطمینان ہے کہ اس ڈیفنس کے بجٹ میں کوئی کمی نہیں کی گئی ہے بلکہ اضافہ ہی کیا گیا ہے - لیکن میں یہ کہتا ہوں کہ حالت اس

قسم کی نازک ہے اور چاروں طرف جنگ کے بادل اُسطرح چھائے جا رہے ہیں کہ اس بجٹ پر پھر سے نظر ثانی کرنا مناسب ہوگا -

اس سلسلہ میں میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہمارے یہاں اسوقت عارضی طور پر تمپوری (temporary) طور پر سڑکیں بنائی گئی ہیں - مٹی کی آٹھ سو میل لمبی خام سڑکیں ہیں ان کو پختہ بنانے کی از حد ضرورت ہے - یہ بارٹر (border) کے ساتھ ہیں اور سرحدی لائن (line) پر ہیں اور حالت یہ ہے کہ آج فیصلہ ہو گیا کل فیصلہ ہو اور آگو خوش قسمتی سے فیصلہ ہو بھی گیا تب بھی ہمیشہ بارٹر پر اپنی اصلی سرحد پر ملٹری (military) دھیکھی ہی کیونکہ وہ ایک سرحدی علاقہ ہے اسلئے میری گزارش ہے کہ ان سڑکوں کو پختہ بنایا جائے - وہاں کی چھاونیاں اور سڑکیں سب پختہ ہونی چاہئیں اور یہ عارضی انتظام اب تک جو کیا جا رہا ہے اسکی اب ضرورت نہیں رہ گئی ہے - اب اسے مستقل اور پختہ کرنا ہے - اب یہ سوال پیدا ہو سکتا ہے کہ عارضی سلسلہ کیوں ختم کیا جائے - اسکے بارے میں میں کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ وہاں کی کانستٹی (Constituent Assembly) جو کہ تمام ملک کی نمائندہ ہے سینٹ پر سینٹ (cent per cent) نمائندہ ہے اس نے اچھی طرح سے سوچ سمجھ کر اپنے تمام مفاد کو مد نظر

رکھ کر گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا کے ساتھ
 الصاق کر لیا ہے۔ اس نے خوب اچھی
 طرح سے سوچ سمجھ کر یہ قدم اٹھایا
 ہے کیونکہ یہاں ایک سیکولر (secular)
 اور ڈیموکریٹک اسٹیٹ [Democratic
 State] قائم ہے اور ہر مصیبت نے
 وقت گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا نے اور اسکے
 نیتوں نے کشمیر کے لوگوں کی مدد کی
 ہے اور یہ رائے و فیصلہ الصاق کا تمام
 جموں اور کشمیر کے لوگوں کی متفق
 رائے و آخری فیصلہ ہے۔ اب میری
 سمجھ میں نہیں آتا کہ رائے شماری کا
 مسئلہ کیوں سامنے آ رہا ہے۔ اور
 کشمیر کا مسئلہ لٹک رہا ہے۔ پھر
 بھی ہمیں اپنے پرائم منسٹر آف انڈیا
 پر اور انکی فارن پالیسی (foreign
 policy) و سیاست دانی پر ناز ہے اور
 ہم اس پر کوئی اعتراض نہیں کرنا
 چاہتے۔ ہمارا اس پر کوئی اعتراض ہو
 ہی نہیں سکتا۔ وہ ایک بڑے آدمی
 ہیں اور ایک بڑے عظیم الشان ملک کے
 پرائم منسٹر ہیں وہ جو پالیسی یہاں
 چلا رہے ہیں اس کے لئے انہیں ہر
 طرف سے تائید حاصل ہو رہی ہے۔
 لیکن پھر بھی ہمیں جلدکی زندگی اور
 موت کا سوال ہے اور جن کو ہر وقت
 خطرہ رہتا ہے ان کو بھی یہ حق ہے کہ
 وہ وقت پر کہہ سکیں کہ وہ کیا چاہتے
 ہیں۔ اس کے متعلق ہماری عرض
 یہ ہے کہ ہم نے جس وقت سنہ ۱۹۴۷
 میں الصاق کیا تھا اس وقت کوئی
 شرط قائم نہیں کی تھی۔ لہذا

ماونٹ بیٹن نے خود یہ شرط لگائی کہ
 ہماری یہ خواہش ہے کہ جب حملہ آور
 وہاں سے واپس کئے جائیں اور وہاں
 امن و امان ہو جائے تو پھر ان سے
 پوچھ لیا جائے کہ وہ کیا چاہتے ہیں
 تو رائے لینے کے کئی طریقے ہو سکتے
 ہیں۔ ہم پرائم منسٹر آف انڈیا
 جیسی عظیم الشان ہستی اور گورنمنٹ
 آف انڈیا کے دوسرے ملکوں کے ساتھ
 بات چیت کے راستے میں کھڑے نہیں
 ہونا چاہتے۔ سابقہ حالات میں
 انہوں نے انٹرنیشنل (international)
 صورت میں جو راستہ اختیار کیا وہ
 ٹھیک تھا اور وہ اسکے لئے تائید کے
 مستحق تھے۔ لیکن اب موجودہ فضا
 کو دیکھنا ہے اور سوال پیدا ہوتا ہے کہ
 جب چہ سازے چہ سال سے یہ
 مسئلہ سیکورٹی کونسل کے سپرد کئے
 ہوئے ہیں جو کہ تمام ملکوں میں
 اطمینان اور امن رکھنے کا دعویٰ رکھتی
 ہے تو اس نے ان سازے چہ سالوں
 میں جو کچھ کیا ہے وہ آپ کو معلوم
 ہے اور ہم بڑے مایوس ہو گئے ہیں۔
 ہمارے دل میں شکوک پیدا ہو گئے
 ہیں کہ ان سے کوئی انصاف کی
 گنجائش نہیں ہو سکتی۔

سنہ ۱۹۴۷ میں جب ہم نے
 الصاق کیا تھا اس وقت جموں اور کشمیر
 کے پورے ملک کا الصاق کیا تھا۔ لیکن
 بدقسمتی سے جب پاکستانی حملہ ہوا
 تب جو کچھ عظیم جانی و مالی
 نقصان ہم کو پہنچا وہ تو پہونچا ہی

^Sardar Budh Singh.]

مگر اسکے ساتھ ہی ساتھ ہمارا ایک حصہ بھی حملہ آوروں کے جابرانہ قبضہ میں ادھر رہ گیا۔ ہم گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا کے شکرگزار ہیں اور یہ ہماری خوش قسمتی ہے کہ گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا نے ہماری آڑے وقت مدد کی لیکن ہمکو افسوس ہے کہ ہمارے ایک حصہ پر پاک-بتان کا قبضہ و دخل ہے۔ بھارت کے بہادر فوجی جب حملہ آوروں کو اپنے ملک سے باہر کر رہے تھے تو وہ شاطر چالاک سامراجی جو کہ اپنے مطلب کا حل چاہتے تھے وہ وہاں آ گئے اور فوراً ہی سیڑفائر (cease-fire) کر دیا۔ تب سے سیز فائر لائن کی تلوار ہماری گردن پر لٹک رہی ہے اور نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ جب دشمن کی توپیں اور بندوکتوں اور فوجوں کھڑی ہوں اور پانچ سو میل میں لڑائی کیلئے تیار ہیں۔ اور اب جو امریکہ پاکستان کو مدد دے رہا ہے اسکو فوجی امداد پہنچا رہا ہے اور اسکے ساتھ جو یہ کہا جاتا ہے کہ اسطرح سے کشمیر کا معاملہ حل ہونے میں آسانی ہو جائیگی اور معاملہ جلدی حل ہو جائیگا تو اسکے صریحاً معنی کیا ہیں یہ کہ جنگ سے و آرا دھمکا کر کشمیر کو حاصل کیا جائے ہم سب اچھی طرح سمجھ سکتے ہیں۔ گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا اور ہم چاہتے ہیں کہ پاکستان آباد رہے اسکی اقتصادی حالت بہتر ہو اور ملٹری بھی اچھی ہو لیکن یہ طریقہ کہ وہ ایک-بلاک

(bloc) میں شامل ہو جائے غلط ہے۔ اور یہ اسکے لئے اور ہندوستان بلکہ ایشیا کیلئے خطرناک ہے اسکا نتیجہ یہی ہوگا کہ اگر کوئی حملہ ہوگا تو وہ پہلے کشمیر پر ہوگا.....

6 P. M.

پھر کیا ہوگا۔ ہندوستان کیا بلکہ ساتھ کے سارے ملکوں میں آگ پھیل جائیگی۔ تو میں پرائم منسٹر صاحب سے پزورر اپیل کرتا ہوں کہ جو ہمارے علاقے دشمن نے قبضے میں رہ گئے ہیں وہ واپس لئے جائیں اور وہاں ہمیں ریاست کی اصلی سرحد پر اپنا ڈیفنس مضبوط کرنا چاہیئے۔ میں آپ کو بتانا چاہتا ہوں کہ اب دشمن کی بہت بھاری پاور (power) اور طاقت بن رہی ہے کیونکہ امریکہ کی فوج ہوائی جہاز، روپیہ اہمونیشن (ammunition) اور انکو چلانے والے آدمی انکی مدد میں آ رہے ہیں۔ میں یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اگر آپ نے پلیبسی سائٹ (plebiscite) کا یہ جو وعدہ کیا ہے ان شرائط کے ساتھ کہ جسوقت امن ہو جائے، حملہ آور چلے جائیں، ریڈرس (raiders) پوری طرح سے نکل جائیں، ریفریوجیز بس جائیں، امن ہو جائے علاقہ واپس مل جائے، نظم و نسق گورنمنٹ جموں و کشمیر کا پوری ریاست پر ہو جائے تو یہ کبھی ہونیوالا نہیں ہے اور نہ وہ ان شرطوں کو کبھی پورا کرنے والے ہیں۔ لیکن گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا و شری جواہر لال

نے ہم کشمیریوں سے جو وعدہ کیا ہوا ہے کہ ہم ایک ایک انچ زمین دشمن سے واپس لے لیں گے وہ پورا نہیں ہوا اور اب تک اپنا وہ علاقہ جو استیثت کا چوتھائی حصہ ہے جسکا رقبہ ۲۷ ہزار مربع میل ہے اور وہاں رہنے والے دس لاکھ آدمی اور کروڑوں روپیچے کے جنگل پاکستان کے قبضہ میں ہیں اور ان پر وہ جبراً اور زبردستی قابض ہیں پھر یہی ہم ان سے سمجھوتہ کرنے کی باتیں کر رہے ہیں - میں نہیں سمجھتا کہ دنیا کے کس لا (law) کے اندر کس اخلاقی قانون کے اندر کون سی سمجھوتہ کے اندر یہ لکھا ہوا ہے کہ جو ڈاکو ہیں قاتل ہیں، جنہوں نے قتل و خون کا بازار گرم کیا ہوا تھا کروڑوں روپیچوں کا مالی اور جانی ہمارا وہاں عظیم نقصان کیا ہے تو اتنی دشمنی کے بعد بھی ہم ان کے ساتھ رائے شناری کی بات کریں اور سمجھوتہ کی امید رکھیں - پانچ سو میل کے بارڈر کی لائن پر جب چار میل سے تھائی سو میل تک دشمن ہمارے ملک کے اندر گھس آیا ہوا ہے تو اول اسے باہر نکال کر اصلی ریاست کی سرحد پر ہمیں ڈیٹیلنس لائن مضبوط کرنی چاہئے - ہم نے ۲ جون کو ریزولوشن * (resolution) پاس کیا تھا کہ ہمیں اتھارٹی سبھا سے کوئی انصاف کی امید نہیں اس پر کوئی اعتبار نہیں کیونکہ اس میں غیر ملکوں کو شریک کیا جا رہا ہے جو کہ وہاں

ہماری ساری حکومت کا خاتمہ کرنا چاہتے ہیں اور اپنے فوجی اڈے بنانا چاہتے ہیں، فوجیں لانا چاہتے ہیں۔ امریکی مبصروں (observers) کے متعلق تو ہم کو پہلے سے ہی کافی شبہات تھے اور کئی دفعہ کہہ چکے ہیں کہ ان کو وہاں نہیں رہنا چاہئے - بلا شبہ یہ غیر جانبدار نہیں ہوں - ہر ودیشی فوجی افسر کا یہ ایمان اور فرض ہوتا ہے کہ وہ اپنے ملک کے مفاد حاصل کرنے کے لئے تمام قسم کی کوشش و باتوں کریں - وہ ہر سرحدی مقام کا نقشہ لیتے ہیں اور انہوں نے تمام ملک کے حالات کا نقشہ لے لیا ہے - اور اب ایسے حالات سامنے آ گئے ہیں کہ ہمارے پرائم منسٹر صاحب نے بھی کہا ہے کہ اب وہ لوگ غیر جانبدار نہیں رہے ہیں انکا وہاں رہنا مناسب نہیں ہے تو اسکے لئے بھی مخالف سمت سے شور ہوتا ہے - عجیب صورت ہے کہ ہم صحیح سے صحیح اور اچھے سے اچھا مشورہ اور صاحب جوئی کی جو باتیں کہتے ہیں اسکو بھی پاکستانی حاکم اور اسکے حمایتی سامراجی ماننے کے لئے تیار نہیں ہیں - جس ملک سے پانچسو میل بارڈر پر توہیں اور بندر تھیں سنبھالے پاکستانی فوجیں تیار کر رہی ہیں جیسا کہ ہمارے پرائم منسٹر صاحب بھی اس سلسلہ میں کہہ چکے ہیں کہ اس طرف فوجیں آ رہی ہیں، سامان آ رہا ہے اور تمام قسم کے سازوسامان آ رہے ہیں تو ایک

[Sardar Budh Singh.]

طرف تو جنگ کا دور دروزہ جاری دکھنے کے ان کے ارادے ہیں جو صرفاً تباہی و بربادی کا پیش خیمہ ہیں اور پھر ہر بات میں جھوٹ فریب غلط بیانی ہے۔ کوئی اخلاقی و آئینی پابندی نہیں تو ایسی فضا میں سمجھوتہ کا کہاں تک امکان ہے اور دوسری طرف اہلسا ہے ضابطہ آئین و اخلاقی پابندی ہے اور سچائی ہے ؟ صلح جوئی اور امن کی خواہش و کوشش ہے۔ یہ ٹھیک ہے کہ ہم اخلاق - انسانیت اور اچھے کریکٹر (character) کو و سچائی کو قائم رکھنا چاہتے ہیں۔ ہم وعدے کے پیچھے چلنا چاہتے ہیں۔ لیکن ہمارے ساتھ جو گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا نے وعدہ کر رکھا ہے کہ وہ ہماری ایک ایک انچ زمین دشمن سے واپس لے لیگی موجودہ حالات میں سوال پیدا ہوتا ہے کہ وہ کب لیگی اور کب سے لیگی یہ معلوم نہیں ہوتا۔ قبل اس کے کہ دشمن ہمارے اوپر چھا جائے جو ہمارے چوتھے حصہ ملک کے اندر گھسا ہوا ہے اور ہمارے اوپر آگ برسائے۔ میں بڑے ادب سے کہونگا کہ ہمارا جو رویہ زیادہ دیر انتظار کرنے کا ہے وہ ٹھیک نہیں ہے۔ سب سے پہلے یہ ضروری ہے کہ آپ پاکستان سے کہیں کہ آپ اپنی جگہ سرحد پر جائیے؟ ہم آپ کو اپنے ملک میں مزید عرصہ دہلے نہیں دینا چاہتے وہاں اپنی سرحد پر جو مرضی ہو کیجئے۔ اب ہمیں دھائی سو میل تک اپنے ملک میں

انکو نہیں دہلے دینا چاہیئے۔ ملک میں جب جنگ ہوتی ہے تو اس سے وہاں کے لوگوں کو جو اقتصادی مالی نقصانات ہوتے ہیں اسے پورا کرنے کا کام ڈیفینس کا ہے۔ ڈیفینس (Defence) ایکسٹرنل افیئرس (External Affairs) اور کمیونیکیشنز (Communications) یہ سب ایک ملک کے لئے روح رواں ہیں اور ان کے بغیر ملک آزاد و محفوظ و زندہ نہیں رہ سکتا ہے۔ تو میں یہ اپیل کروں گا کہ ان تینوں محکموں کو استقدر مضبوط ہونا چاہیئے کہ پہلے تو ہمارے وہ علاقے جو دشمن کے قبضہ میں ہیں واپس لے دئے جائیں اور جو ڈیفینس لگا ہوا ہے اسے ریاستی سرحد پر لے جا کر اسکو اور مضبوط کریں۔ میں نے چائنا اور ریشیا کی حد اپنے ملک سے ملی ہوئی دیکھی ہے اور میری آنکھوں کے سامنے اسکا نقشہ پورا ہوا ہے انکو ناراض کر کے ان سے ملکہ مور کر ان کے برخلاف ہو کر امریکہ سے سازباز کر کے پاکستان نے اپنے اٹے اور ہم سب کیلئے سارے ایشیا کیلئے جنگ کی آگ کا سامان پیدا کر دیا ہے۔ تو ہم کبھی بھی ایسی غلطی کرنے کو تیار نہیں ہیں۔ کیونکہ ان دونوں ہلاکوں کے درمیان جنگ میں ہم پس جائینگے۔ سچ جائیں گے اور کوریا سے بھی بدتر ہماری حالت ہو جائیگی اگر ہم انتظار کرتے رہے کہ کب ایسا بھیانک وقت آتا ہے۔ ہمیں موجودہ فارن پالیسی پر قائم رہتے ہوئے اپنے

آپ کو ہر پہلو میں مضبوط و محفوظ رکھنا ہے -

عجیب تماشہ ہے کہ پاکستان سے کوئی نہیں کہتا کہ دیکھو اس نے کشمیر پر ظلم کیا ہے - حملہ کیا ہے اور اب تک امریکہ نے اور اقتصادی سہا نے پاکستان کی اس بات کی مذمت نہیں کی کہ اس نے بین الاقوامی قانون توڑا ہے۔ حالانکہ انکا بھیجا ہوا جج سر ڈکسن کہہ چکا ہے کہ پاکستان نے بین الاقوامی قانون کی خلاف ورزی کی ہے یہ کس قدر بے انصافی ہے - لہذا ہمیں اپنے پرائم منسٹر پر پورا بھروسہ ہے، یقین ہے اور ہم لوگ انکے بیان پر اور سچائی و بے خوفی پر خرس ہیں - اس وقت انڈیا کا بچہ بچہ اور تمام جموں اور کشمیر کا بچہ بچہ یہ چاہتا ہے کہ جس طرح سے بھی ہو یہ فیصلہ تسلیم و منظور کیا جانا چاہیئے جو کہ کشمیر دستور ساز اسمبلی نے کشمیر کا ہندوستان کے ساتھ الحاق کیا ہے یہ الحاق آئینی، مضبوط اور قطعی ہے اور کشمیر کے سب علاقے واپس لئے جائیں - اسوقت تک ہماری حالت عجیب رہی ہے کہ ہم غیر یقینی حالت میں بہتکتے رہے - لیکن پھر بھی ہم نے کافی صبر و انتظار کیا - آخر الحاق کا قطعی پختہ اور آئینی فیصلہ کر کے غیر یقینی حالت کا خاتمہ کیا اور جیتے جاگتے ہندوستان کا ہی پلہ پکوا ہے - کانگریس گورنمنٹ نے اور اسکے لیڈروں نے جتنی یہ ساری

ہمدردی دکھائی اور ہمارے ساتھ بہترین سلوک کیا ہے اور اب بھی وہ اور ساری پارٹیاں، تمام ہندوستان ہماری مدد کو تیار ہے ہم اس کے لئے ان کے شکرگزار ہیں اور جب ہم سب کے سب ایک زبان ہو کر کہہ رہے ہیں اور یقین دلا ہے ہیں کہ الحاق کا فیصلہ قطعی ہے - سو چکا ہے تو ہمارے پرائم منسٹر صاحب کو بھی آئینی طور پر اسے ماننا پڑتا اور دنیا کو بھی ماننا پڑتا کہ اب ہمکو فیصلہ کر دینا ہے کہ اب کوئی کشمیر میں ایمرجینسی (emergency) نہیں ہے اور کوئی اب رائے شماری نہیں ہوگی یہ سب پاکستان کا تھونگ ہے - اب حالات قطعی بدل چکے ہیں - وقت آ رہا ہے کہ میں پرائم منسٹر صاحب کو متوجہ کروں کہ وہ اپیل کریں اس ملک کے جتنے دولت مند سرمایہ دار لوگ ہیں وہ جتنا روپیہ ہو سکے بچت میں داخل کریں اور گورنمنٹ دھن پانہ لوگوں سے باقاعدہ روپیہ وصول کرے - فائیننس منسٹر صاحب نے لوگوں سے نہایت شریفانہ اپیل کی ہے کہ روپیہ بچا کر گورنمنٹ کو دیں - اب دولت مندوں سرمایہ داروں کو خود سوچنا چاہیئے کہ اگر ملک محفوظ و مضبوط ہے اور آزادی قائم رہی تو سب کچھ ہے اس لئے انہیں دل وسیع کرنے چاہیئے اور تھیلیوں کے منہ کھول دینے چاہیئے - جو پانچ سالہ اسکیم چل رہی ہے اس میں کروڑوں روپیہ خرچ ہوگا -

[Sardar Budh Singh.]

لیکن جو اسکے نیچے کام کرنے والے مزدور
ہیں، بھوکے اور ننگے ہیں انکی جان
بچانے کے لئے بھی انتظام رہنا چاہیئے۔
گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا کو اور فائنڈنس
منسٹر صاحب کو چاہیئے کہ وہ
مزدوروں کی حالت کو سدھارنے کے لئے
ایک کمیشن بٹھائیں۔ وہ دیکھے کہ
اسٹور عالیشان مکانات، ریلوں پل
اور پراجیکٹس کا کام بنانے والا مزدور
کیوں اب تک غریب نادار و دکھی ہے۔
غرضیکہ غربت و بیکاری کا کیسے خاتمہ
کیا جا سکتا ہے۔

اب سوال یہ پیدا ہوتا ہے کہ اگر
ہمیں آزادی کو قائم رکھنا ہے اور جنگ
کی جو آگ کشمیر میں لگانے کی
تہیاری کی جا رہی ہے اسکو دور کرنے
ہے کیونکہ اس کا اثر سارے ایشیا و
ہندوستان پر پڑیگا تو ہمیں پورے
فورس (force) پوری طاقت کے ساتھ
اور پوری ہمدردی سے جتنی بھی مالی
امداد ہو سکتی ہے اپنے ملک
میں مہیا کرنی چاہیئے۔ ہم دشمن
سے نہیں قوتے؟ جنگ سے نہیں قوتے؟
البتہ مخالفین کی طرف سے اندرونی
کڑ بڑ پیدا کرنے کا خطرہ ہے جسے روکنا
ہے۔ اس کا علاج ملک کی اقتصادی
حالت کو سدھارنا ہے۔ حقیقت یہ
ہے کہ ہمارے ملک کی حالت اسوقت
ایسی ہے کہ بہت جلد غربت و بیکاری
دور ہونی چاہیئے۔ جسکے لئے کوشش
کی جا رہی ہے۔ اس لئے میں

فائنڈنس منسٹر صاحب سے اپیل کرتا
ہوں کہ جموں و کشمیر میں انڈسٹری
(industry) کیلئے، تعلیم کیلئے
سڑکیں اور ریل وغیرہ بنانے کیلئے
کمپنٹی پراجیکٹ اور پانچ سالہ اسکیم
کے لئے کھربانے کیلئے ریویو جیوں کو
امداد دینے انکو بسانے کیلئے زیادہ سے
زیادہ جتنی بھی امداد ہو سکتی ہے
ضرر دیں۔ لفظی حساب کتاب اور
بلیٹین کی باتوں سے وہاں کی ترقی
نہیں ہو سکتی ہے۔

(Time bell rings.)

م لوگوں نے یہ قطعی فیصہ کر رکھا
ہے کہ چاہے ہماری جانوں چلی جائیں
لیکن ہم ہندوستان کا ساتھ نہیں
چھوڑیں گے۔

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your
time is up.

[For English translation, see Appendix
VII, Annexure No. 109.]

SHRI SARDAR SINGH (Rajasthan): Mr.
Deputy Chairman, I see that the treasury
benches are almost empty. I see that during
the Budget debate, which is probably the most
important debate of the year, not a single
Cabinet Minister is present and only one
Deputy Minister is present; and, of the
Members of the Congress Party who are in an
overwhelming majority in this House, not
more than ten or twenty of them have been in
attendance in the House during the greater
part of this debate. It is a pity to see that the
Members of the Congress Party have taken the
proceedings of the Budget debate as nothing
more than a meaningless formality. I am sorry
to see this state of affairs.

I regret that I cannot join the chorus
of fulsome adulation in which

hon. Members have been indulging in ■congratulating the Finance Minister ,on his Budget. I also wonder if there is really very much sense in offering criticism since from the very attitude of the Congress Party there seems to be no intention on their part of paying any attention to any criticism which we might offer.

Nevertheless, Sir, I think it is my -duty to say that I read this Budget ■with a sense of great deal of dis appointment and, if I may say so, of frustration. Disappointment and frustration because the criticisms which have been offered in this House before this year— if I may say so, they have been offered on more than one occasion—have been ignored com-These criticisms it seems have gone in through one ear and gone out through the other.

Now what are the broad facts about this Budget, Sir? We have been told by the Finance Minister that for the last year the deficit financing proposed was of the order of Rs. 140 crores. Now, in actual practice the loans etc. which were raised amounted only to something like Rs. 80 crores. And if you add to that the surplus on the revenue account which is Rs. 8 crores. it means that there has been a shortfall in the deficit financing to the tune of a little over Rs. 50 crores. These are the figures which the Finance Minister has given, and I of course take the figures which he has given. Now I would like to ask this question. In a country which we are trying to build up, where you have got plans and where there is all this grandiose talk of community projects and all the rest of it, why is it that there has been a shortfall in the estimates which you yourselves had provided? It means that you have not, for some reason or other, been able to spend what you yourselves have said you would spend. Now, -what are the reasons? T(ie reasons, I think, are quite plain. You have

I got, Sir, three shortcomings. You have a lack of planners, you have a lack of projects, and you have a lack of managers. By managers I mean the administrators and the technical experts who would run these schemes. Now, when I say that you have got ;a lack of planners. I do not intend to cast any reflection on the members of the Planning Commission. You have got undoubtedly very able men in the Planning Commission, but a handful of men, however brilliant, cannot be expected to do this terrific job. And let us make no mistake about it; it is indeed a terrific job. It is no good our planning in small terms and in moderate terms. And that is unfortunately what has been happening, because the position is this. You have got plenty of money to spend, and yet you find that you are not able to absorb that money in the building up of our country. Now, why is that so? It is quite plain, Mr. Deputy Chairman, that your planning experts are not sufficient really to be able to cope with the job. You havf not got the projects; they have no been worked out, with the resul that when you find that you art in a position to do certain things, you suddenly find that there is a lack ol projects. Now, the same thing is true with regard to the actual managers, the people who are running these projects. Often have I heard it said by Members of the Government, not only of the Central Government, but also by Members of the State Governments, that we have a dearth of personnel; we lack engineers; we lack technical experts, and all round it is always a question of men, men and men—we haven't got the men. This applies with particular emphasis, Sir, to Rajasthan. What is the Central Government doing in order to build 'io Rajasthan'

Mr. Deputy Chairman, I have spent considerable time in going through this Explanatory Memorandum, and I would crave the indulgence of the House to read certain items which will bear out my point. I turn. Sir,

(Shri Sardar Singh 3 to page 66 of this Explanatory Memorandum. The heading is "Industrial Development". Details of the provisions are indicated below. Item 1 is "Grants to the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research". Item 2, "Purchase of shares of the Company to acquire Hopkins & Co. (Travancore) Ltd."; item 3, "Corporation for Mineral & Sand Separation Industry"; item 4, "Indian Telephone Industries"; and then Salt works, Hindustan Shipyard Ltd., Penicillin Factory, Machine Tools Factory, and the list goes on and gives 33 items. These 33 items are all for the industrial development of the country, but there is not one item here which applies to Rajasthan. I turn the page and come to page 68. I am just turning the pages at random, but this would apply to any page in this Explanatory Memorandum. Here you find electricity schemes. There are eight. They cover Manipur, Tripura, Himachal Pradesh, Bhopal, Vindhya Pradesh, etc. but I fail to see any reference here to any work with regard to Rajasthan. However, I will not labour the point with regard to these particular lists.

Let us come to another section, a section which is very interesting, a section which is very important— section III, "Notes on Important Schemes". I turned to this section with a great deal of pleasurable anticipation since naturally I was anxious to know what it was that the Government had in view so far as Rajasthan was concerned. But what did I find, Sir? I found under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, khadi industries, cottage and village industries, development of handloom industry, handicrafts, silk industry, the Indian Iron and Steel Company, expansion of Mysore Iron and Steel Works; then I go to Calcutta, automatisation scheme; Bombay, expansion of telephone system; Delhi; Madras. Page (after page I turn over in a section which consists of some 30

pages but there is no mention of Rajasthan. Every important scheme that you come across seems to relate to Bihar, Uttar Pradesh or Punjab, while some pieces are thrown to Bombay, Bengal, etc. Is it because Rajasthan cannot plead its case at the Centre? What is the reason for this state of affairs, we have a right to know. I trust the Finance Minister will tell us why it is that, although it is now five years since the State of Rajasthan was formed and it is now three years since your Plan came into operation, with the exception of the Chambal Hydro Electricity Scheme, a scheme whose first part only will be completed during the first Five Year Plan—even there from the speed with which it is being implemented we do not know whether it is dead or alive—you have no other scheme for Rajasthan, whether it be irrigation, agriculture or industry. I can assure the Members of the Government here that we have developed a sense of disappointment, a sense of frustration in Rajasthan which it would be very difficult to describe adequately, which it would be very difficult for you to understand to the full unless you happen to visit Rajasthan. I would invite any Member of this House to go to Rajasthan and see things for himself. I hope they will accept the invitation.

Let me remind the members of this Government that the strength of a chain is the strength of its weakest link. You cannot afford to have lopsided developments. You cannot afford to build up this country in terms of certain States which you consider to be important and leave out other States which however unimportant by themselves—and I do not admit that Rajasthan is unimportant—form a part * of the whole picture. You have got to have an entire picture which is balanced in all its parts. May I further point out that with this latest turn in the situation—I refer to the American aid given to Pakistan—the importance of Rajasthan as a border State, as a Frontier State has grown

up considerably. It is only natural and it is only important that the Centre should therefore not forget the rights of Rajasthan and the interests which you serve in order to develop Rajasthan. Now I have no desire to go on hammering, away at this point of our developing Rajasthan but I say this because the representation of Rajasthan at the Centre is so weak, so often the case of Rajasthan goes by default. In your entire Ministry, you have only got one representative of Rajasthan, *i.e.*, a Deputy Minister. You have got one Parliamentary Secretary from Rajasthan and I think in the whole of your Secretariat organisation, you have got just one representative of Rajasthan who is at the Joint Secretary level. Now I do not say all this because I am in favour of having provincial representation or having representation on the basis of the States. That is not what I am advocating. But I do wish to rub it in.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Two minutes more.

SHRI SARDAR SINGH: But I do wish to rub it in that because Rajasthan has got so few people here who can talk and put the grievances of Rajasthan before the public, that is no reason why you gentlemen of the Congress benches should allow the case of Rajasthan to go by default. Therefore I say that I think the Government could have done very much more because apart from one item of Rs. 3,40,000 which they have very magnificently set apart for the purpose of investigation of industrial projects, apart from that, you have given us nothing and what I sincerely hope is—in fact if I may say so, Rajasthan can demand this as a matter of right—' that the Finance Minister should at least tell us why it is that you are not in a position to help us. We wish to work. People on our side have joined the Congress Government in Rajasthan. We recognize that unity is required in order to develop that place. Now we ask the Centre to come forward and help us and if you

cannot, then at least tell us why it is that you are not in a position to help us.

PANDIT S. DUBE (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman. I welcome the Budget but before I proceed to deal with certain details on the figures side, I wish to point out certain matters in connection with the Pakistan-American aid that is so much in the air at the present moment. America has assured us that she will take every step to see that Pakistan does not use the arms aid which America has given to her against India. But these are mere words. If America is really honest about it, if America is really sincere about it, then I propose that these points should be put to America definitely. One is that America must recognize that the accession of Kashmir to India is final. That must be insisted upon. We insist upon it that before this thing can possibly be considered as an honest statement of the position of America. America must in unequivocal terms say that it accepts the accession of Kashmir to India. And as a necessary corollary to this it should say that no help will be given to Pakistan until this Kashmir question is settled. Once we insist on this and the question is decided, then it does not matter what kinds of aid America gives to Pakistan. We have in the past, attempted to get into a no-war pact with Pakistan; but we have failed. We consider that if America is honest in its intentions, then America must see to it that Pakistan enters into a no-war pact with India. The policy of America is apparently to create a fringe of outposts against Communist expansion and it is with that view apparently—with that professed view—that she wants to make Pakistan as one of the bases from which America can fight Communist expansion. Now, if that is really so, I am quite willing. In fact, I would urge upon our Government to insist upon it that America gets bases in Pakistan and provides an army there. This army

[Pandit S. Dube.] will serve a double purpose. Not only will it see that Pakistan does not attack India but it will also serve the further and original intention of America, that of resisting any aggression from the Communist power. It is because these bases will serve this double purpose that I am in full agreement with the idea of Pakistan giving bases to America so that really speaking America will be in a position to help in the protection of the borders of India should there be any such necessity. Now that the whole thing is settled, now that the programme of American aid to Pakistan is settled, the only way we can find out a way out of the difficulty is to see that America respects the neutrality of India and takes all possible steps to prevent any possible attack by Pakistan upon India.

After having said that much, I now turn to another aspect of general consideration. My hon. friend Shri Sardar Singh just now stated that Rajasthan was left out of the consideration of the Central Government. I have a similar complaint to make regarding the State of Madhya Pradesh. They have in vain been looking for assistance from the Central Government in Madhya Pradesh. In fact, you may remember that there was a great deal of controversy regarding the steel plant which has now been finally settled and it is now to go to Orissa. But we are thankful in this respect that the Central Government has now taken upon itself the responsibility of investigating into the possibility of a second steel plant and it is hoped that the second steel plant will materialise in the not distant future. It is a great pity that these schemes for irrigation in Madhya Pradesh should have been knocked on the head. I may tell you, Sir, that when the Linlithgow Commission came round to Madhya Pradesh in the year 1926, a great engineer—Sir Ganga Ram—was one of the members of* that Commission and as we stood on the banks of the Narbada, at Hoshangabad and watched the waters of the

gushing forth—at Hoshangabad the Narbada is only about half a mile wide—Sir Ganga Ram said it was criminal on the part of the Madhya Pradesh to see all this huge volume of water flowing on without any use being made of it.

He said that in Punjab they had not allowed water to be wasted like this and he took us to task for not utilising the waters of the Narbada for the purpose of irrigating the northern districts of Madhya Pradesh.

Now, Sir, we have got two projects. One is Punasa on which the Madhya Pradesh Government has spent a considerable amount of money for investigation. There is another project, called the Tava project. The blueprints of both, I am told, are ready and I only hope that it may be possible for the Central Government to include one or the other of these projects in its programme—in the north of Madhya Pradesh. A similar project called Wainganga in the south of Madhya Pradesh is awaiting fulfilment and awaiting materialisation. I hope and trust that it would be possible for the Central Government to take some of these schemes in hand and not allow the waters to be wasted as is being done for the last so many centuries.

Sir, one important fact stands out in the case of this Budget and that important fact is a confession that we have not been able to spend what we budgeted for and that it is not possible to say whether we will be able to spend all that money. This confession is a remarkable fact because on this fact rest many things. Firstly, if the law of probability is at all effective then what has happened will happen. If you have not been able to spend money in the past for certain reasons—and there is nothing to show that those reasons have ceased to exist—then in all probability you will not be able to spend in the future also especially when the tempo of expenditure is rising to such

heights as is expected during the next two years. Therefore, it strikes me that if, on these considerations, there is just a possibility that the money may not be spent, then whatever money can be saved should surely go to prevent the imposition of further taxes. Taxes should only be imposed when it is absolutely necessary to do so and it has not been made out to my satisfaction that the country is in such a state that these taxes are absolutely necessary. These are, at the most, anticipatory taxes, anticipatory in the sense that supposing this thing happens we require these taxes to be imposed and supposing they do not happen then the taxes are there all the same. Look at it from this point of view. There is a statement that Rs. 18 crores are due from Pakistan and it is because Pakistan is not paying this Rs. 18 crores that we have got to impose part of these taxes. It is also said that it is expected that Pakistan will give Rs. 9 crores in the next year. Supposing Pakistan does keep up to this expectation and gives the Rs. 9 crores, is the hon. Finance Minister able to give us an assurance that there will be a proportionate reduction in the taxes or that the taxes which have been imposed on account of the non-payment of the dues by Pakistan will be refunded? I suppose not. Therefore I say, Sir, that these are problematical considerations and I am against problematical considerations. As a matter of fact, Sir, my own outlook with respect to the Five Year Plan is this that in this Five Year Plan we have bitten more than we can chew and I will further say that it is an entirely wrong procedure to have such a vast number of schemes dealt with in the first Five Year Plan. If we had been wiser—and the results have justified it—we could have followed Russia's example in a much more practical manner. As you will remember, Sir, Russia, insisted upon all the heavy Industries in the first Five Year Plan. Nothing doing with respect to any other matter. They set their jaws hard and their minds were firmly set

on this fact and they determined that "we shall do nothing whatever except increase our heavy industries" and when they increased the heavy industries they prepared the country for other developments. It was then only that other matters came to be taken in that country. With great respect I submit that we are having so many subjects as the list read out by Shri Sardar Singh showed and when the list is so very large it gives room to everybody to say: "You have not done this. You have not done that. You have not done much for health. You have not done much for education, this, that and all the other things," and you have got to defend your position with respect to each of the 200 or 300 aspects of our development. I would very much like the Central Government in the next Five Year Plan at least- to concentrate upon the vital things that are necessary for the development of the country. If heavy industry is vital then concentrate upon it. If, as a matter of fact, we have undertaken already certain jobs which we must finish, then finish those things and till then don't take other matters into consideration. For instance I am in perfect accord with Kumari Shoilabala Das who said that all this expenditure of money on social development is wasted though I would not say that it would be wasted in other circumstances. In the present circumstances of the country, in the present set-up of the country I submit that the Government has taken too wide a responsibility and too onerous a task upon its shoulders. That would be the case if we relegate the vital things to the background and try to spend money on every other consideration.

Sir, so many lakhs of people die of malaria in our country every year. Very well. You cannot stop this disease and you have not been able to prevent these deaths happening. You have not been able to prevent infant mortality. All right. Then

[Pandit S. Dube.] why not stop these measures for a couple of years more and see that the vital necessities for the development of the country are provided for before you undertake this kind of work?

Similarly with respect to education, it strikes me as somewhat curious that those people who are the products of this education, those people who are present in this Council and in the other House, all seem to cry against the very education which has sent them up to this high status. We were all brought up in a system of education which we ourselves say is rotten. It means that we are bad and that we have not the ability to understand what is good for our country and what is bad for our country. We seem to be people who are utterly incompetent because you are condemning the education which we received.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Whether that system is good or bad is not the point. The point is that we are to plan for the future by changing the present system of education.

PANDIT S. DUBE: Is it right for ourselves to say: "You are bad people. You are trying to find out still bad things for the future generation. You are incompetent to do so." Don't take up this excuse. It is not the education that is at fault.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your time is up, Mr. Dube.

PANDIT S. DUBE: I will speak just for one minute more.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have already taken more time, two minutes extra. All right.

PANDIT S. DUBE: I quite forgot about the time. I am only going to talk about one matter and that is that I hope that the Government has taken proper steps to see that the duties which it has imposed will be realised. We have seen in the past that whenever there was an agitation these duties had been waived or withdrawn.

The handloom industry has been freed from tax. The Calcutta Teachers' Strike gained what they wanted. The students of Allahabad gained what they wanted by strike and agitation. In the case of artificial silk Surat has stopped work. Ludhiana has threatened to stop work. I hope that the Finance Minister will stick to the taxes which he has imposed and not go back. Otherwise we will lose confidence in the method in which your taxes are imposed.

SHRI B. RATH (Orissa): I need not go into the condition of the country at present and the condition in which we find the Budget placed in our hands.

If we go through Part B of the speech, the Finance Minister starts with the reasons for the customs duty and import duty imposed already and then passes on and on till he again imposes excise duty on cotton cloth, on superfine at the rate of two pice per yard and on other varieties at one pice per yard.

Then we find he imposes different rates varying from Rs. 5 to Rs. 14 on soaps of different qualities and also on footwear. This is what he has to give this year as a present, so to say, to the middle class and common people of our country. There was a time when we were thinking that soap was a luxury, washing soap was a luxury, but that attitude has changed and I doubt, excepting a few, whether there will be many people who will say that these things today have not become necessities. I have heard one hon. Member from Bengal—I won't say Bengal, because he is coming from Calcutta which is not the whole of Bengal—coming forward here and saying that betel-nut is also a luxury, and I think if he takes that logic to the logical conclusion, then he may ask the people of Orissa also to give up rice saying that since one-fifth of the people of Orissa live on forest products, therefore rice is a luxury and as such it can be given

up. I am not of that brand and as such all that I know is that a vast majority of people—and nobody will deny it—use betel-nuts, and I feel that the Finance Minister has no right to impose so much of tax on betel-nut. Practically the price of betel-nut would be reduced to half if this tax had not been imposed. He wants to tax the poor in order to enrich himself and in order to save the mill-owners he wants to cut the duty on raw cotton which is imported and he wants to impose it on the finished goods so that he could collect the money from the consumers of our country- That is his way and the whole Budget must be understood in that way. Sir, this attack on the common people was started some time back and v/hen it becomes unbearable in the future, it will never be tolerated. We know the Government has machinery of its own to deal with intolerance. They have dealt with intolerance in Calcutta very recently when the teachers struck work. I am not going into the details of that, but what has been done? The Government had to concede some of their demands but in order to save face what have they done? I would submit that it is the Central Government that must be held responsible; it - is the Home Ministry which must be held responsible for the vast number of political and trade union workers of different parties being detained in Calcutta even today, the ground being that they sympathised with and supported the teachers' strike. I wonder whether the Preventive Detention Act was passed to put persons in jail because they sympathise with and support a certain section of the community which has been proved to be just, which has been proved to have a reasonable basis for their demands. If that is so, then sympathising with and supporting such people cannot be the ground for being detained under the Preventive Detention Act. I demand of the Home Ministry to come out with a clear statement whether the Bengal Government is justified in using the Preventive Detention

Act to put in 60 persons, besides the 300 who are already there, in prison on the plea that they supported and sympathised with the strike and for no other reason whatsoever. I demand an answer because the Home Ministry might say, "We have a Board; there will be charge sheets and the Advisory Board will consider their cases and pass judgments and then they will be released" but it is none of my business. I want to know if they are justified in detaining them under the Preventive Detention Act. Where is the question of giving a reply to the charge sheets? Where is the question of their cases being examined by the Advisory Board? I demand that the Home Ministry should immediately issue orders that persons in such cases must be released and see that such things do not happen in the future.

Secondly, Sir, I would like to bring to the notice of the Finance Minister one thing. I will not go into details. One of the M.L.As. of West Bengal Assembly while discussing the Budget brought it before the House how the great Birlas and Dalmias, Gujjarwalas and others have evaded paying income-tax and also cheated the Government by not paying sales tax. He has brought definite charges on the floor of the Bengal Assembly, but I am not going to repeat them. Certain newspapers have come out.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is what exactly you are doing.

SHRI B. RATH: I am not going into details, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do not mention any names.

SHRI B. RATH: It is a public statement because it has come out in the papers. It has been debated in the West Bengal Assembly. It has come out in all the papers.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Avoid names.

SHRI B. RATH: A section of the Calcutta newspapers has come to certain conclusions about the changes that have been made in the composition of the Income-tax Investigation Commission. There were three members in the Income-tax Investigation Commission, of whom two members—Mr. Nargolwala and Baini Prasad—have been transferred to other departments. Mr. Nargolwala has come to the Central Secretariat, and Mr. Baini Prasad has gone to the Labour Tribunal. And their places have been filled up by other persons one of whom was a judge in a case in which these sales-tax affairs of Birlas were being considered. That judge gave a judgment that Mr. Birla is liable to pay only Rs. 487, whereas afterwards, the Birla Paper Mills have themselves admitted that they have to pay much more. I would like to know whether the comments that have been made by the Calcutta papers are justified or not; whether it was right to transfer two members of the Income-tax Investigation Commission and replace them by two other members. It is for you to reply and I am not going to add anything more.

Now, Sir, the next question is with regard to the River Valley Project. I refer to the Hirakud Project because I am now in a position to prove that the Government of India has wasted a huge amount of money in certain respects with regard to the Hirakud Project. Some amount of money has been spent in getting machines and plants which cannot be used to their full capacity. I am still awaiting the reply of the Planning Minister—for the last two years—in regard to the capacity of these plants. Also, I would like to know from the Irrigation and Power Ministry as to what have been the modifications in the Hirakud Dam Project after the appointment of the new Chief Engineer. One modification is that the Power Channel of Spillway Work has been replaced by stone masonry work and the cement concrete work has been

abandoned except for the foundation portion. When such a modification—and it is a major modification—is made, how much MOTP money is going to be spent? If this modification were necessary, why should not the Irrigation and Power Ministry decide that this should be done, even earlier? So, whether the amount that has been wasted in the setting up of this plant will be deducted from the amount that has been spent in the Hirakud Dam Project, that is what I would like to know. And secondly, Sir, the other great modification that has been made is this. The whole work which was supposed to be done by the department itself has completely gone over to the contractors. With the coming in of the new Chief Engineer, almost all the work except the supervision work is being done by contractors. And as such what happens is that the workers are more governed by the contractors and they are getting still less wages. The question of providing them with houses or with medical facilities is no concern of the Government, and as such the workers are being left to the mercy of these contractors. And now when we make demands for the welfare of the labourers, the Minister comes and says that since they are under the contractors, Government cannot do much. And what about those who are working under the department itself? When we ask questions about them, the Minister says "Why did they not come to me with their demands" as if the Chief Engineer there is not a final and a competent authority in respect of their demands. It is always the weak side, the workers, who will be blamed. If they go to the Chief Engineer, it will be said "Why did they not go to the Minister?" And if they go to the Minister for Irrigation and Power, it will be said "Why did they not go to the Planning Minister, to the Prime Minister and to the President?" But my point is this. Why have the demands of the workers not been settled as yet? Their demands are known to the Minister. If I had a little more time, I could have shown

that the Minister definitely tries to see that the demands of the workers are not fulfilled. Why were the demands not settled when Mr. Kunwar Sain was the Chief Engineer? The demands are continuing since that time. Sir, I would suggest that instead of going into the merits of the case now, if the Government members are honest in their utterances, they should appoint a committee of two or three men to investigate into the affair and find out as to who is responsible for the burning of the land rover which is alleged to have been burnt by the workers. I can say that some big officers of the Dam project were present on the spot. Workers were on the, contrary beaten and some of them were killed. When they ran away, the land rover was burnt and an attempt is being made now to blame the workers. I would say that it is the other party and not the workers who will be held responsible for it.

And thirdly, Sir

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Two minutes more.

SHRI B. RATH: Why not give me five minutes more?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Two minutes more.

SHRI B. RATH: Then, Sir, I would say something about the uplift of scheduled tribes and scheduled castes, and the amount that is being spent.

I had the opportunity of visiting the Adivasi mela of my State where I found that articles manufactured by the students of Seva Ashrams were sold. And I thought that if that was the way how the scheduled tribes and scheduled castes people were going to be educated; long live our education. There are 32 Ashram schools and 575 Seva Ashram schools in which the total number of boys getting education is only 28,498, whereas the Adivasi boys between the age of 6 and 11 are about 3-6 lakhs. Only seven and a half per

of boys of the school-going age are getting education after five years of attempt, and how

many years will it take to give even elementary education to our Adivasi children? Then the question is in which language they will be taught, whether it will be in Oriya or in their own mother tongue, because, unless these children are taught in their own mother tongue, it is absolutely useless. No attempt is being made in my State—I do not know about the other States but the same thing might be happening there also as in Orissa—to encourage the education of the Adivasi children in their own mother tongue.

Secondly, these Ashram and Seva-shram schools, where are they leading us to? After passing out of these. Ashram schools, i.e., after passing the fifth standard, these boys will have no chance to study in the higher classes, because these schools and their curriculum are such that they will not fit in with the secondary education system. So, I would ask this House to honestly consider whether or not money is being wasted on these boys. This may give them some sort of vocational instruction, but these boys will not have the opportunity to get higher education. If that is all that we are doing now, then I would say that it is time that we reconsider and revise our whole programme, and see that more money is spent on them and better facilities are given to them.

SHRI CHANNA REDDY (Hyderabad) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I welcome this Budget which has got the characteristic of a nation-building Budget. I also congratulate the Finance Minister for having presented this Budget in a prudent and competent manner. This Budget, like our other previous Budgets, is mainly aimed at the completion of our stupendous Five Year Plan. Therefore it is necessary, to achieve this purpose, to mobilise the resources of our country. This sort of mobilisation can be carried out in three ways: namely, more of deficit financing; more of taxation and more of borrowing. First of all,

[Shri Channa Reddy.] I would like to deal with the problem of deficit financing. There is no room for criticising deficit financing because many experts are of the opinion that under the conditions we are now having, we can afford to have recourse to deficit financing without any fear of inflation. Moreover, I would like to remind the House that an eminent economist of our country has expressed the view that deficit financing is a safe and effective means of securing economic progress, provided it was applied at the proper time and in proper doses by a competent doctor. I am more than convinced that the hon

the Finance Minister is a competent doctor and his diagnosis and his doses will guarantee the economic progress of our country. Therefore I see no meaning in Mr. Rajah's criticism that the operation would be successful but the patient would die.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We will continue on Monday. The House stands adjourned till 2 P.M. on Monday.

The Council then adjourned till two of the clock on Monday, the 8th March 1954.