

Chamkaur town point to the existence of an ancient town at that site;

(b) if so, what is the estimated age of that ancient town; and

(c) whether there is any difficulty in carrying out a proper excavation at that place, if so, what is that difficulty?

THE MINISTER FOR EDUCATION AND NATURAL RESOURCES AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH (MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD) :

(a) Yes.

(b) 2000 B.C.

(c) Yes, the congestion of modern buildings in the area.

STATEMENT RE STARRED QUESTION No. 434

THE DEPUTY MINISTER FOR HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI B. N. DATAR) : With your permission, Sir, I shall confirm what I stated a little while ago subject to correction, regarding starred question No. 434.

Locally recruited persons who were drawing Andaman Special Pay on 22nd January 1951 are still drawing this allowance. This has not been withdrawn from them. Only persons recruited locally after 22nd January 1951 are not eligible to this special pay.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

MINISTRY OF FINANCE (REVENUE DIVISION) NOTIFICATIONS

THE DEPUTY MINISTER FOR FINANCE (SHRI M. C. SHAH) : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of each of the following papers under section 38 of the Central Excises and Salt Act, 1944:—

- (i) Ministry of Finance (Revenue Division) Notification No. 1-Central Excise, dated the 8th January, 1954.
- (ii) Ministry of Finance (Revenue Division) Notification

No. 3-Central Excise, dated the 11th February, 1954.

(iii) Ministry of Finance (Revenue Division) Notification No. 6-Central Excise, dated the 28th February, 1954.

(iv) Ministry of Finance (Revenue Division) Notification No. 7-Central Excise, dated the 19th February, 1954.

[(i) to (iv) placed in Library. See No. S-112/54.]

THE APPROPRIATION (No. 2) BILL, 1954—continued.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up further discussion on the Appropriation Bill.

SHRI T. BODRA (Bihar): Mr. Chairman, in the Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1954, I find that the hon. Finance Minister has set apart 4 crores 36 lacs and 95 thousand rupees for the tribal areas, and this sum is expected to be spent over 8 lacs of tribals who are spread over 16,000 square miles. It may be argued on behalf of the Government that a larger sum could not be voted for paucity of funds. But at the same time, can we afford to ignore the tribal areas? I beg to remind the House, that this area has got its own strategic and political importance. In October 1953, there was an unfortunate incident at Achingmori in the Tagin area in which a small party of civil officials and Assam Rifles was set upon by tribesmen. Some persons were killed and several held as hostages; arms and ammunition were also lost. Three columns were later sent to the area and they successfully completed their mission by January 1954 and there were casualties on both the sides. Our Finance Minister must have kept in view the loss of officials, arms and ammunition which might be valued at more than 4 crores of rupees.

[Shri T. Bodra.]

After all, what are the reasons behind all these? Why is there a separatist tendency in the tribals? Why does the administration of the tribal people appear baffling to the Government of India? I am myself a tribal and in my opinion, I can very, well ventilate the grievances of the tribals. The tribals are not less patriotic than any other Indians. They are the flesh of flesh and bone of bones of Mother India but there is discrimination against them. We have a feeling that the tribals or aboriginals appear to be not wanted anywhere. Aboriginal leaders, lawyers, advocates, magistrates, judges and officials who are acquainted with the manners, customs, languages, and culture of the tribals are not wanted anywhere here in India. Even the British Government never shot down the tribals on flimsy grounds but here, unfortunately, we are shot down in the Tribal and the Scheduled Areas. Now, do the tribals exist to be treated as animals, fit to be shot down, or do they exist there as full-fledged Indians with all the rights and opportunities which are open to other Indian members who are much more advanced than the tribals? We, the tribals will stand to safeguard the interests of Mother India in times of war and in times of any other emergency but today when we aboriginals want bread, will you give us stones? When we aboriginals cry hoarse for equal chances and opportunities in life to develop ourselves in our own way, will you slam the door against us?

I would like to point out that a provision of Rs. 15,19,400 has been included in the Budget Estimates for the year 1954-55 for the mental hospital, Kanke, Ranchi, where there are less than 300 patients. When this sum of over Rs. 15 lakhs can be set apart to be spent on insane persons, is it not surprising that the Government should think of spending Rs. 55 only on a member of the Tribal Area, simply because he happens to be a tribal, simply because he is not vocal, simply because he is back-

ward, illiterate and unsophisticated? Rs. 4 crores is too meagre and inadequate a sum for ameliorating the conditions of tribals so far as their educational, public health, medical, village roads and other problems are concerned. A tribal is tired of vain promises and pious wishes given to him from time to time from the Press, the platform and in conferences and discussions. He wants himself to be treated as one of the sons of India and the moment the aboriginal finds actions of discrimination and shabby treatment, he gets very much depressed and becomes the most fierce fighter for separation and this separatist tendency has been shown during the last general elections of 1951 in all the Scheduled Areas and the Tribal Areas. A cursory glance at the report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes will prove that except that many of the States were visited, and road mileage covered, and travelling allowance made, nothing concrete has been done so far. Five Regional Assistant Commissioners were appointed but for the tribal candidates the doors of these appointments were closed, not for lack of suitable candidates but perhaps the policy of the Government was not to take the tribals in high offices. Is this not discrimination?

I would also like to refer to the conference of the 7th, 8th and 9th June 1952, concerning Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas which was inaugurated by the President and addressed by the Prime Minister and the Home Minister, and attended by the Chief Secretaries of the various States. Many useful discussions were held and recorded but they are yet to be honestly implemented. We the tribals look up for the honest implementation of Government schemes but to our utter disappointment we find all our hopes dashed to pieces. You can gain the confidence of the tribals on the first day when you look like a good missionary coming to our salvation, but the moment we the tribals find in you that you do not want to practise what you preach, that you speak something, write something and do something, you lose our confidence;

the Government should take note that it has lost the confidence of the tribal and to regain that confidence will be a thousand times more gigantic than the Damodar Valley Corporation or the Kosi project and certainly it will be much more expensive too.

Appropriation of such meagre funds will result in the political murder of the tribals. Take the example of the census. In 1941 the tribal population was 248 lakhs but in 1951 it is only 167 lakhs. In ten years' time the tribal population instead of showing an increase of 10 per cent, on the total, appears to have died out to the extent of 81 lakhs. That means that the tribal population is being wiped out at the rate of eight lakhs per year. As a consequence of this, the tribals have lost 8 seats in Parliament and 81 seats in the State Assemblies and who cares to be responsible for the loss of 81 lakhs of tribals within a short period of ten years?

Now, let us take education. Education plays a great part in the building of a nation and it is only the educated people who can be the most effective people. As the tribals are uneducated, they are not getting due representation anywhere in the map of India and in the great many Government schemes of their own country. Provisions for scholarships are made by the Government of India for the tribals but they never reach the students. For example, take the case of Ursuline Convent, Ranchi. The Catholic Church which has been working among the tribals in the Scheduled Area of Bihar, started college sections for girls' education in the Ursuline Convent, Ranchi, providing first class buildings, professors and teaching, but the State of Bihar did not like this action of the missionaries. The Patna University refused to grant affiliation to it. The girl students of the First Year class who had secured admission in July 1953 and had applied for the Government of India scholarships, were not given any scholarships perhaps on the ground that these girls had secured admission in the Catholic Mis-

sion College. As a result of this whatever money was sanctioned by the Government must have lapsed on 31st March 1954.

I would also draw the attention of the Government to the Report of the Ministry of Education for 1953-54 in which under the heading Inland Scholarships for the Scheduled Tribes it is mentioned that 117 cases are reported pending on the flimsy ground of want of information, which information could have been had on a mere writing of a D.O. letter to the State Government concerned. And how many Scheduled Tribe candidates have been awarded overseas scholarships? Just now *my* hon. friend has stated that more than 3,000 students are already studying abroad. And how many of them are Scheduled Tribe candidates? Perhaps the figure is negligible.

Again I protest against giving Government aid to Adimjati Sewa Sangh which is a non-official body. I come from Bihar and I know that this Adimjati Sewa Sangh is not acting in the interests of the tribals but they are sowing the seeds of enmity and hatred between the Christian and non-Christian tribals. Certainly this is not the intention of the Government of India. My feeling is that the Government of India should provide adequate sums for the welfare and administration of the tribals and should implement their schemes honestly so that the tribals may not demand special privileges and concessions after the period of ten years is over.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI (Nominated): Sir, I am sorry to say that the Appropriation Bill does not reveal the principle or the scheme on the basis of which these appropriations are made; and therefore, it is very difficult to judge whether these appropriations are properly made with reference to any priority of national needs. In this connection I should like to say that the statement of appropriation should clearly show the percentages of the

[Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji.] total revenue earmarked for different Ministries and departments. In this connection I wish to bring to the notice of the hon. the Finance Minister the excellent practice adopted in the budget of the United Kingdom Government which shows what percentage of the total revenue is appropriated by different Ministries. For instance, on Defence, and National Debt, the appropriation is to the extent of 9 s. in the £; Defence proper amounting to a little over 6 s., and National Debt being a little over 2 s. Similarly, as regards education; you have got clearly an account of the percentages of the total revenue allotted to all these nation-building Departments. Therefore, I say in the absence of any such scheme or principle, it is very difficult to judge properly the efficacy of the various appropriations made. I am prepared to show this to the Finance Ministry if they want it, that is to say, the way in which the appropriations are shown in the United Kingdom budget.

My next point is this. I am concerned more with the provision for Education and also one item of Defence. I will first take up the Defence budget.

I think that the conditions of defence and security in the world are materially changing whereas these appropriations do not recognise the change, the radical change in the political atmosphere due to the Pak-American military alliance. This military alliance is meant to increase the military strength of Pakistan and therefore, we in India must review-afresh the conditions of our security and defence. I should like to say this, though it is hardly relevant in the context of the question before the House, that American opinion is not to arm Pakistan against India. But apart from the American assumption as to the aid, we have repeated utterances made by the Pakistan Prime Minister and other authorities to the effect that the immediate purpose of this military aid of America would be that it will ease very much the solu-

tion of the Kashmir problem. This statement has been repeated time and again, and again quite recently, the Chief of the Azad Kashmir State made a declaration in Dacca to the effect that certainly this military aid would be of very great help to Pakistan for obtaining an easy solution of the Kashmir problem. So, what I mean to say is this, that despite the assurances given by the American Government that this strengthening of the military position in Pakistan will not be ioperating against India, despite all these assurances, I think that we must take the worst view of 1 politics and prepare for the worst because the real fact might be as described by the responsible Ministers of Pakistan. I therefore, think that some change in our own military budget should be made with reference to the main issue that confronts the country.

And then, again, as regards the assurance of the American Government that the military aid of America will not be used by Pakistan against India, I should like to say this, that the words 'defence' and 'offence' may be variously interpreted, and the line of division between offence and defence is very vague. Who is going to judge whether any operation undertaken by the Pakistan Government is directed against India or not? The intervention by America to decide that will be construed as a specific infringement of Pakistan's sovereignty. Therefore, I do not think that it is such a very easy matter to decide that any action undertaken by Pakistan is an operation not aimed against India. I would only like to discuss, in this connection, our appropriation for the Navy. I am afraid that the Navy as an important limb of the overall defence forces of our country has been neglected. It is given only a paltry sum of Rs. 12 crores in a military budget of over Rs. 200 crores. I find from facts and figures that the Pakistan Navy is almost equal to the Indian Navy although the Indian Navy is charged with the much more formidable task of defending a very extensive coast-line. The Indian Navy

consists of one cruiser; Pakistan also has one cruiser; and therefore they are quits on this account. Then, India has three destroyers as against Pakistan's- three destroyers. But, we have three destroyers on loan; of course, loaned and old destroyers have their own value. I am not a military man and I do not know of what use will these destroyers really be in an emergency, these that we have got on loan. Then we have five frigates as against Pakistan's four frigates. We have six mine-sweepers against Pakistan's four mine-sweepers. We have one survey vessel and Pakistan also has got one survey vessel. Therefore, from the point of equipment, India is practically approximating to the naval equipment of Pakistan. The real reason for the imperfect development of the Indian Navy is that the British during their days depended on their own Navy and did not care to build up the Indian Navy as such. Now, we have to think of rapidly building up our National Indian Navy. The first requisite for such a start is the training of the naval personnel. Unless this task is undertaken in a responsible manner much headway cannot be made for this training course means a period of five to six years; and, therefore, I am anxious that the training of the naval personnel should be undertaken almost at once because it takes much time for the training. Then, there should be ample provision for replacement. Almost all the ships of our Navy are absolutely out of date. Our Navy should be modernized and the budget should make adequate provision for such modernization.

Then, at least there should be at least one aircraft carrier to give a Navy its central strength. Now, I understand that full five years are required to train persons for manning an aircraft carrier; there are so many technical subjects to be learnt in a period of five years; and this period will be required for manning and training up the naval personnel for running the aircraft carrier. The utility of an aircraft carrier is this. It can carry forty to hundred aircraft

and operate as a mobile airfield. The United States of America has at least fifty aircraft carriers and the United Kingdom has twenty; and we have yet to think of building up one.....

PROF. G. RANGA (Andhra): Building up one, or purchasing one?

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKER-JI: I am not sure which. Then, there is another point. The Indian Navy must be a two-ocean Navy because it has to guard not merely the western coast—the Arabian Sea—but also the coast of the Bay of Bengal. And, therefore, I say that for both these requirements—namely, the building up of the Indian Navy and its modernization, the provision made in the budget is, in my opinion, hopelessly inadequate and poor especially under the present changed conditions of defence and security. Our budget must move with the times and must not be a stationary budget; and I feel that the Finance Ministry are not taking a dynamic view and a more realistic view of the situation. If they cannot do it, let them consult others; let the whole scheme of defence be recast and better appropriations can then be made.

Now, as a person who is deeply interested in Education, I have to quarrel with the provision made for Education in the budget. Of course, I know that Education is a State concern and is not therefore very much the responsibility of the Central Government. A very fundamental fact in educational development is that education must be made to depend more and more upon the principle of individual treatment; and, on this subject, I am glad to say that I am fortified by you, Sir, as Chairman of the University Commission; and, therefore, the fundamental principle of education that you with so much ability and vision have emphasized is this that all education must depend more and more upon the principle of 'individual treatment' and not on the principle of mass production in education or mechanized education.

[Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji.] Now I will give you some instances. In the best days of India's intellectual history there was the University of Nalanda. Of course the term for university then used was *Mahavihara*. The Nalanda University counted 8,500 post-graduate students hailing from foreign countries in the past like Korea, Manchuria, China, Tibet and so on. This university counted on its rolls 8,500 post-graduate scholars who were taught by 1,510 teachers on the basis of the proportion of teacher to taught as of 1:6. Of course this is not the occasion on which I can expatiate upon the academic glories and achievements of this ancient university which stand to the credit not merely of India but also to the credit of the whole world, because this university was the maker of civilisation of so many foreign countries. Now modern educational thought is also turning towards this fundamental issue in education. You have heard of the famous Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the most important technological institution of the world. Now this institute of Boston has 1,171 professors to teach 4,874 students, and these professors teach 900 different technological subjects in schools, and the proportion of teacher to taught is 1 : 5, whereas in the technical institutes of India there are hardly more than 100 technical subjects taught. The American technological institution is teaching more than 900 subjects.

Now I will mention another instance. The Reed College of Oregon in the U.S.A. has limited itself to the admission of 600 students only who are to be taught by 60 teachers on the basis of the proportion of 1 : 10. And it is now acknowledged that this Reed College of Oregon, based upon the principle of individual treatment in education, has produced more scientists and Rhodes scholars than those produced by the universities of Chicago, Columbia or Ohio, in its atmosphere of complete freedom, coaxing out of the individual the utmost within him. Therefore, the same an-

cient ideal for the making of man, the ideal of personal touch between the teacher and the taught, is operative in these modern institutions.

Then I have to refer to another instance. It is that of the Phillips Academy at Exeter in the State of New Hampshire. Now an ex-student of this school made a very large donation on the condition that it would provide for one teacher for every ten boys, *i.e.* to prevent mass production in education, lest "numbers swamp humanity". I therefore plead that it is time that we radically change our fundamental ideas of education, for after all the entire future of our nation will depend upon how the younger generations are being built up. Every individual, every young man, is a sacred asset, and we must make the most of this asset by means of educational methods which should be more effective in their scope and treatment.

Now I once more repeat that henceforth the Finance Ministry should make their budget figures more intelligible and more understandable in their proper significance by applying the scheme to which I have referred, the scheme by which the appropriations for different Ministries should be shown in the light of the percentage they bear to the total revenue. If we had these percentages before us, we would have been able at once to claim far greater appropriations and revenue for really more important nation-building departments in the order of priority to be fixed by the Cabinet subject to the approval of Parliament. And therefore, it is for Parliament and the Cabinet to decide beforehand the principle, on the basis of which these various appropriations are to be made as between the different Ministries. Thank you.

SHRI S. MAHANTY (Orissa): Mr. Chairman, I wish to confine my remarks only to two Ministries, namely, the Ministry of Irrigation and Power and the Ministry of External Affairs. Before I proceed to offer my criticisms for ... at they are worth relating to v of Irrigation and Power,

I wish to record my sincerest appreciation of the Minister in charge of Irrigation and Power and of his most able Deputy, whose initiative, sincerity and drive have really gone a great way in improving the conditions in most of our river valley projects which I have come across. I wish to state publicly that they would serve as a model for the other Ministries of the Government of India. They do not stand on a false sense of prestige; they are amenable to criticisms for whatever they are worth and they try to improve things.

But having said that much, I do not wish to create the impression or the illusion here in this House that all is well with the Irrigation and Power Ministry. I take strong exception to the procedure which has been adopted by that Ministry in keeping many important reports of Inquiry Committees pigeon-holed *ad infinitum*. In this context I wish to invite the attention of this House to two very important reports which relate to the Irrigation and Power Ministry, namely the D.V.C. Report—of Mr. P. S. Rau—and the Champekar Report which relates to Hirakud. As was stated yesterday, the Government seems to suffer from some sort of psychological complex of not having made up its mind once and for all and then pursuing a decision. In the beginning, when D.V.C. was constituted, it was thought fit that an autonomous corporation should be created. Now the Rau Committee Report has disillusioned the Government about autonomous corporations. I can say that if ever the P. S. Rau Committee Report is published, it will really disturb the public mind very violently. But the Ministry thought it fit to sleep over that report though nearly one year has elapsed. This also raises another fundamental issue. The Minister for Irrigation and Power is not here, but I am sure that all these things would be communicated to him and he would take the earliest opportunity of explaining them.

PROF. G. RANGA: But is there anyone taking down notes here in this House?

MR. CHAIRMAN: The reporter is there; the newspaper reporters are there. *(Interruptions)*. Shrimati Lakshmi Menon is there.

PROF. G. RANGA: It is all bad in, this House.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: Sir, I was speaking about the P. S. Rau Committee Report. In the meantime, the gentleman who was the Chairman of D.V.C. Inquiry Committee has been appointed as the Chairman of D.V.C. This raises a very fundamental issue, because we know that Mr. Rau, in his report, made many pertinent and valuable suggestions. The very fact that the Government have appointed him as the Chairman of the Corporation—without, of course, letting us know to what extent his recommendations have been accepted—creates the impression that the Government are in a mood to accept all his recommendations. Otherwise a man with any amount of self-respect would not accept the chairmanship of a Corporation about which he had many adverse remarks to offer.

The P. S. Rau Committee Report, if I remember correctly, made one very pertinent recommendation that a Corporation should not be allowed to operate in an extremely autonomous manner as the D.V.C. has done. Therefore the P. S. Rau Committee suggested that Parliament should also have some sort of control, that the Government should also have some sort of control, on the affairs of a Corporation. Now, if you remember correctly, whenever in this House we try to raise any matter regarding any Corporation or any other autonomous body, we are told not to open our mouths on the subject, because it is an autonomous body. Now, what happened about the D.V.C? You know that the scandal about the case J of an excess payment of Rs. 1,50,00,000 ! to a contractor in Konar. We want ! to see that report. Why is the Minister for Irrigation and Power holding up that report? Secondly, about the Champekar Committee Report. That Committee has also reported that false

[Shri S. Mahanty.] muster-rolls were being maintained as a result of which a few lakhs had gone into the pockets of a set of unscrupulous persons. I would like these reports to be placed before public scrutiny as early as possible. Government should take care not to pigeon-hole such valuable reports and keep this country and this Parliament in dark about matters which are really vital from the country's point of view.

Now, I will come to the External Affairs Ministry. The affairs of this Ministry have created the impression that the foreign affairs are exclusively and solely the concern of a few debonair politicians sitting in air-conditioned chambers. If I may say so, foreign policy is not a metaphysical subject; nor is it an esoteric subject. It should be understood by the people at large, by the men in the street, if it has got any sense at all. Alas, the days of William Pitt the Younger are gone. We are living in a democratic country, and our policies and programmes should be under public scrutiny at all times. The impression should not be created and I take strong exception to the fact that the External Affairs Ministry is functioning in a sole and exclusive manner.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar): What is that manner?

SHRI S. MAHANTY: I do realise the peculiar set of circumstances under which our foreign policy was formulated. I am not unappreciative of the fact that our Foreign Minister had to function under very difficult circumstances. Therefore, I am half in mood to excuse him for all his lapses, but, the fact remains to be said that the difference between a wise man and a fool is that the fool learns from his own experience, while the wise man learns from others' experience. We must try to learn from others' experiences without waiting to learn from our own experiences. Now, in this context.....

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Where do you place yourself?

SHRI S. MAHANTY: I am coming to the question of Indo-Pakistan relations. I am not one of those fanatics I who always show the closed fist. I do not believe in the method of closed fist. I do not believe that we should retaliate against every gesture of foolishness that may come from the other side. In the long run, such things do not pay, and the history of mankind is there replete with instances where such closed fist methods have resulted in misery all round, but at the same time, I do urge that there should be a certain amount of firmness in pursuing our policy. This House will be interested to learn the *modus operandi* which the Americans in particular adopt in trying to interfere in Indo-Pakistan relations and to which we have easily allowed ourselves to be taken in. Their *modus operandi* has been like this: Always they have introduced themselves as the third party in Indo-Pakistan relations. They realise too well that India and Pakistan are twins of hatred. Thus they have made a confused situation worse confounded. In this context, I would draw the attention of the House to the Canal Water Dispute between India and Pakistan. The other day the Prime Minister was pleased to say something about the Canal Water Dispute. He made a very important observation which contradicted his earlier statements elsewhere. At one place he said that Mr. Lilienthal of T.V.A. had visited India, written some article in some American journal and that the Chairman of the World Bank was induced to accept the recommendations of Mr. Lilienthal. He wrote a letter to the Prime Minister of India and the Prime Minister of Pakistan and that is how the World Bank came into the picture of the Canal Water Dispute. But if you refer to the answers given by him to questions in this House, you will find that he said that the article of Mr. Lilienthal was not a "correct article". I am quoting him *ad verbum*. Therefore, I ask: If the Government of India was aware of the fact that the suggestions of Mr. Lilienthal were not worthwhile,

why did they accede to the request made by the World Bank? This is how the World Bank and the Americans have appeared on the scene as the third party. It has been suggested that their report is a matter of public security. It is all bunkum. I do not believe in that interpretation of public security. The published report is that the World Bank has recommended that India should pay a compensation of Rs. 60 crores to Pakistan in connection with this dispute. You know, Sir, that in the last year's budget provision had been made for India to realise Rs. 18 crores from India's loan to Pakistan. This has not been realised. This year we have made a provision for Rs. 9 crores. That will never be realised too, and the Pakistan Government will ultimately adjust the loan against the compensation which has been awarded by the World Bank.

Now, I have already illustrated one instance of how the Americans introduce themselves on the scene as the third party. Now take the Kashmir issue. I am not appreciative of the attitude of the Government of India in connection with the Kashmir issue. I do not care whether Kashmir goes to India or it goes to Pakistan or it goes to hell.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Don't say that.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: I withdraw. Or whether it goes to heaven. The point is that no consideration should weigh with us so as to make the Kashmir issue hang in a political vacuum. I am not talking now as an Indian, but as a man. Now, the Kashmir problem cannot remain in a political vacuum *ad infinitum*. If you want Kashmir, give some sort of ultimatum to the Security Council—fix a definite date—and tell the Security Council that, if the Kashmir problem is not solved by that date, the case will be withdrawn from the Security Council, particularly in view of the fact that the Kashmir Constituent Assembly has unequivocally expressed itself for Kashmir's merger with India.

Now, let us go back to the genesis of this Kashmir question. Here, I invite the attention of this House to a very authoritative book written by Mr. Campbell-Johnson, the Press Attache to Lord Mountbatten. Mr. Campbell-Johnson was not a layman. He was very much in the picture. He was one of the most intimate associates of Lord Mountbatten. He has delineated in that book the circumstances under which the Kashmir issue was referred to the Security Council. In the particular chapter wherein he has mentioned about the Kashmir issue, he has also stated that the Indian delegates bungled the Kashmir issue in the Security Council. They could not face the Pakistan charges in the Security Council.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

Thereafter, various hair-splitting interpretations have gone on and in the end, so far as I understood the Kashmir issue, the quantum of military forces on both sides of the cease-fire line has been the controversial point on which the whole of this issue has been hinging. In the meantime various factors have come into operation. The first is the American military aid to Pakistan. I need not repeat that the American military aid to Pakistan has completely changed the picture. That the American military aid to Pakistan will go to augment the military forces of Pakistan needs hardly any mention. Therefore, the final agreement for the induction of a Plebiscite Administrator in April 1954, if my premonitions are correct, is not going to come about. Therefore, what will happen? Are you going to allow those people to live in a political vacuum? I ask you to consider this. How would you like as a people to live in a political vacuum, in a political no-man's land? Certainly, no self-respecting man would have liked it and certainly I also feel that you should not allow them to live in a political vacuum *ad infinitum*. Therefore, what other alternative is left for you? Either

[Shri S. Mahanty.] there must be a solution or the case should be withdrawn and the cease-fire line should be frozen. I take exception to the hush-hush method of dealing with this question. Whether we lose it or gain it, from the larger point of view it is of no consequence, but there is a human aspect to it. | There is a political aspect to it and I must humbly urge that we should not act in a manner which will create the impression that we have been buffoons on the international political scene.

MAJ.-GENERAL S. S. SOKHEY (Nominated): Mr. Chairman, the subject that we are dealing with at present is of such vital importance that I would like to invite the attention of the House to some fundamental aspects of the question. I think we all can appreciate that our most important and urgent need is to improve the standard of living of our people. We have seen the recent report of the International Monetary Fund which said that the standard of living of our people had begun to deteriorate since before the war and now is one of the lowest in the world. That is the problem which we must meet. At the same time, the previous speaker told us that we must have adequate defence for our country. It is perfectly obvious in the case of defence that we cannot provide adequate defence by buying aircraft carriers, guns, planes etc. from other countries. It is physically and economically impossible. What is more, so long as we are dependent upon other countries for the supply of these armaments, we are not a free people. In the world in which we live today, anyone giving us the needed equipment is going to dictate terms; no matter how much we may say, "with no strings tied to it" but the strings are always there jutting out from every nook and corner. We must take adequate notice of that. Therefore to attend to our defence alone, it is a matter of imperative necessity that we should, within as short a period of time as possible, give the country basic industries to enable ourselves to make all the armaments

in the country itself. There is no alternative. We cannot delay it because it spells disaster for our freedom and independence in the world in which we live today. If we can understand this basic need of basic industry, we will understand that the same thing is needed to improve our prosperity and to give our people's better existence. Now it has been said over and over again that the only way to increase the wealth of the country is to industrialize and industrialize rapidly. Industrialization cannot be done by buying machines for production from outside the country. It is exceedingly uneconomical to do so. The only way to do it is to produce the means of production in the country itself. So whether we look from our point of view of raising the standard of living or from the defence point of view, we come back to the same problem that we must give the country basic industries in as short a time as possible to enable the country to make all the machinery of production itself in the country and also all the armaments. This is the situation.

If we look to the economic policy of our Government, as propounded by the Finance Minister, it seeks to achieve success through linking it with the sterling area. He thinks that it is a sort of rock to which we can hang on for swimming through our troubles. But it is a very flimsy support indeed. We all know that there is great concern about an American depression. There are indications—everybody admits it—that there is a recession of business in America and it may become a very serious depression, and in connection with that the Finance Minister seeks to protect the country by what he calls 'linking with the sterling area'. I want to point out to the House that this is no protection at all because the improvement in the balance of payments that took place in the sterling area during 1953 was not due to anything that the sterling area itself did but according to the 1953 Report of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, the improvement was due to three separate factors: The growth of extraordinary

external distastefulity by U.B.A., the maintenance of a high level of business activity in the U.S.A. and the continuing improvement in the terms of trade which has not set in motion a cumulative contraction in overseas demand. If the improvement in the sterling area situation was due to these factors, obviously if a depression comes, the sterling area can do nothing to protect itself and if India is linked up with the sterling area, India cannot do anything to protect itself.

The second basis on which the Finance Minister chooses to safeguard India's interests is to improve the balance of payments, of the sterling area. As regards the question of balance of payments, I think this House should clearly understand that this is a very serious problem and we must understand the implications of it to our own country. First of all, we must understand that the sterling area by itself is not the Commonwealth area; the two are not co-extensive. In the sterling area, Canada plays no part. Similarly, Australia and South America which are being developed very largely by American funds are not members of it in the complete sense of the term. So the sterling area really means the United Kingdom and its colonial territories—some 46 of them, and Pakistan, India and Ceylon. Thus the balance of payments problem really concerns the United Kingdom alone. And what is the story? The United Kingdom, even before World War I had begun to fail to pay for its imports by its exports. Even in 1913, exports from the United Kingdom failed to pay for as much as 38 per cent, of its imports by exports and she met these charges by invisible incomes such as home charges, interest on investments abroad and so on. And from 1931 with the American depression, this invisible income became so small that England failed to pay fully for its imports with the result that between 1931 and 1938, England had a deficit of balance of payments of £270 millions. And things have become still worse since World War II and from 1945 to 1951 the

United Kingdom has had a deficit of payment to the extent of one billion seven hundred and seventy pounds. This indicates that here is a situation which is steadily getting worse and it is getting worse because in the opinion of the Economic Commission for Europe, the United Kingdom has failed so far to create a new pattern of economic relations harmonising its needs and interests with those of other areas. The American aid has tended to obscure the need and weaken the purpose to seek more basic changes and so to perpetuate a pattern of world trade that could endure unsupported. So the United Kingdom peeps on its course of parasitism without any sign of repentance. And we as a people are linked up with this state of affairs.

Another thing that the Finance Minister is tying the country to is the convertibility of sterling. This is another attempt which cannot be successful. The sterling was a stable currency during the nineteenth century because the United Kingdom had full control of the economics of the world. Since World War I, England has lost this control and the pound-sterling has been wafted about by world forces over which U.K. has had no control. In 1931, with the American depression, the first devaluation of the pound took place. Then again, in 1949, when the American recession did not even deepen into a depression the pound had to be devalued again, and if American depression comes along again, as it is very likely, the pound will have to be devalued still further. Therefore, linking India's interests with a currency of that type is the most injurious thing to the interest of the country.

10 A.M.

The third thing on which the Finance Minister depends is foreign economic aid. I think we should clearly understand what this economic aid implies. If we look into the Finance Minister's Budget speech, Part A, on page 9, we find that we have received from foreign countries Rs. 45 crores as economic aid. This sum includes the economic aid of various types—I am not refer-

[Maj.-Gen. S. S. Sokhey.] ring to loans—I am referring to economic aids under Point Four, from the United Nations, Colombo Plan, Rockefeller Foundation and so on. During the same period, that is to say, in 1953, the Finance Minister tells us that we sent out in quantity, the same amount of raw materials as we did in 1952, and yet for these exports we got Rs. 125 crores less. And the major part of our export of raw materials went to the United Kingdom and the United States of America. So these two countries, between them, had an economic aid from us of Rs. 125 crores. During the same period, our sterling balance rose from Rs. 706 crores to Rs. 723 crores. That is to say, we gave England a forced loan of Rs. 17 crores. Thus, these two countries, the United Kingdom and U.S.A. between them got an economic aid from us of Rs. 142 crores and they were very kind in return to give us economic aid of Rs. 45 crores. I think we should clearly understand the significance of this economic aid business. This can be illustrated further if we go back a little. In 1952 we got Rs. 159 crores less for our exports than in the previous year. Thus we gave an economic aid to the United Kingdom and the United States of America of Rs. 159 crores, and we received in return an economic aid of Rs. 52 crores. This business is so transparent that we should understand the full significance of it.

There is another side to it which is equally important. When the United Nations Organisation was formed, it had two main objectives. One was to maintain and preserve the peace of the world, to permit nations to carry on their peaceful pursuits. And secondly, the United Nations, under the Charter were to collaborate to improve and to develop the economic resources of the world, to give people a better life. Under this second requirement, the United Nations immediately organised "The Extended Programme for Technical Aid to the Undeveloped Countries". Member-nations of the United Nations are per-

fectly free to contribute as much as they like to this fund and it was going to be used collectively for the development of the undeveloped countries. Since the United States of America and the United Kingdom are members of the U.N. one has to ask oneself the question why is it that these nations do not contribute all they can, to the U.N. but have started independent projects like the Point Four Programme, the Colombo Plan and so on? We should apply our mind to understand the significance of this^ In the case of the U.N. programme all the member nations take part in the deliberations and so on and it is not possible for any nation to use the United Nations, theoretically speaking at least for any political advantage.

These countries started unilateral aid programmes with the definite object of getting political advantage thereby;. America started the Point Four Programme and immediately the imperialistic nation, U.K., started the . Colombo Plan. We should understand what these political advantages are and what they mean. Look at the Pakistan-U.S. Pact. Pakistan went to America for economic aid and she had to pay the price of allowing that country to have bases in Pakistan and mortgaged its freedom and independence.

What is our situation? We are depending on the sterling area and the convertibility of the sterling and so on. All these things are utterly unsuitable for us to build our economic life on. What is the remedy? The important thing is that we should be able to exchange our raw material which we export for basic equipment to build up basic industries in India. If our raw materials bring Rs. 776 crores one year that is in 1951, and Rs. 556 crores in another year, that is in 1952, and Rs. 336 crores in the third year, that is in 1953, obviously no planned economy can be built on that basis. If we are to have a planned economy we should be assured in advance that we would be able to get the needed equipment to carry on our plan of development according to

schedule. We must arrange to exchange our raw materials for basic equipment for the basic industries on a barter basis; we should make up our mind as to what kind of equipment we want and should approach the nations that can supply that equipment and come to a barter arrangement with them on a long term basis preferably for five years. It may be that we may not have enough of such raw materials—and in that case the remedy is to increase the production of raw materials but barter is the only way to get equipment on schedule to permit ourselves to carry through a plan of development. The only countries which are likely to trade on barter basis are U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Hungary, etc. We should try the whole world and make arrangements to our advantage.

I have shown that the only way for our country to be able to go through a plan of development is to carry trade through on the basis of barter. This raises the second question automatically that the State should have sole monopoly of import and export and the State must become the total exporter and importer because under that condition two things result, that the goods can be delivered against the deliveries of equipment we want and secondly unnecessary imports would be avoided which at present are wasting lot of our resources. Also, under the barter arrangement the Government, by becoming the sole exporter, can get the best terms against a number of competing firms in capitalist countries and trade with socialist countries more effectively.

Now, this brings me to the third point. If we are going to arrange our trade on a barter basis we must have State monopoly of exports and imports. This demands that the production of exportable commodities must be under proper control. At present I understand more than 80 per cent, of tea, jute, mineral ores, etc., that we export are being produced by firms which are British or are controlled by British interests. The House does not need to be told that we cannot afford

to leave the production of exportable commodities in the hands of any foreigners whatsoever. We should wake up to this fact. Here is an occasion which demands immediate action and we have really no difficulty; we have large sterling balances. So far, the sterling balances have been of very great advantage to the United Kingdom; they have kept their investments in India; they are getting their interests, their profits and so on undiminished to our great disadvantage and it has been rightly said that the sterling balances is the biggest hoax perpetrated on our people. Now, I would suggest that since we are going to depend for sometime to come on tea, jute, mineral ores and so on, we should take control of their production ourselves and we should liquidate our sterling balances to buy out the British interests in these industries.

Here is the whole problem; if I may repeat, we must develop heavy basic metallurgical and chemical industries to enable the country to make its own means of production and arrangements as soon as possible. This is the very minimum necessity for our country. To be able to do so, we should arrange to exchange our exports on a barter basis for basic equipment that we need to build basic industries in our country. To be able to do so effectively, this barter should be carried out through the agency of State monopoly of exports and imports and, in order to make this still more effective, the production of commodities that we are going to export, which are at present mainly our raw materials, should not be allowed to be produced or in any way controlled by any foreigner whatsoever. We are in a position to buy these foreign interests out with the sterling balances.

I would ask the Finance Minister and the Government to think afresh. We are still carrying on as the Britishers were doing; we still believe that the functions of the Government are just to govern and not to give a lead. The times that are coming are going to inflict terrible economic hardships. The capitalist world of which

[Maj.-Gen. S. S. Sokhey.]

we are a part is going to be affected materially and seriously by the business depression of the United States of America. We see in the papers that everybody is talking about this so-called recession. The facts are that since July 1953 till now, American production has fallen by 10 per cent, and its retail sales have dropped by 20 per cent.; still more significant is the fact that steel production in the United States from the middle of last year to today has fallen from 113 per cent, of capacity to 66 ■ 6 per cent, of capacity. An important single factor for measuring the economic condition of a country is the State unemployment. In December last, an Economic Conference met in Washington consisting of 300 economists, Government and academic, to look into the threatening recession. They came to the conclusion that it was nothing more than "an orthodox recession" and that there was no danger of its becoming a serious slump. At that time the figure for unemployment stood at 2,300,000 and the conference expressed an opinion that the volume of unemployment may increase during the next two months by half a million a month. If we look at the figures today—it is perfectly true that there is a great deal of confusion in the figures of unemployment—two facts emerge: one of them is that in March unemployment has not decreased; as a matter of fact, it is increasing. If we take the latest figures, the unemployment figure is standing somewhere near four million, and what is more, the figure of partially employed people has increased from 8 million to 11 million. Looked at any way, there is an indication that unemployment is still increasing. Some authorities are asserting that the conditions today are practically the same as in 1929 and they may, and are very likely to, bring about by the end of this year a serious depression. Some competent observers say that since the United States Government has failed to make certain changes in the system of taxation in their present budget, there is no way of preventing

their present recession becoming a serious depression and that depression is going to wipe out a major part of the western world and ourselves with it because we are linked up with it. Therefore it is the time now—there is still time—for our Finance Ministry to think again, think afresh, because there is another part of the world which will not be affected by the depression. According to the United Nations Economic Survey of Europe since the war the Eastern European Democracies and the Soviet Union have built up an expanding economy which is independent of the capitalist economy and will not be affected by the American depression. We should harness this expanding economy for our own purposes. We have to work for the well-being of 365 millions who are suffering from extreme poverty. We must see whether we cannot safeguard the interests of our people by linking up with or making use of the stable economy and I would urge upon the Finance Ministry to study the question. There is no doubt that with the American depression, which I personally feel cannot be prevented, the whole of the western world will suffer from extreme hardship. It demands that we investigate the matter and see whether we cannot make use of the stable part of world economy, the expanding economy of one-third of the world's people, an economy which is expanding at a rapid pace to safeguard the interests of the people and I would urge our Finance Minister to waste no time in looking into the matter in the interests of the people.

Thank you. Sir.

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ KAPOOR (Nominated):

श्री पृथ्वीराज कपूर (नामनिर्देशित) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं जहाँ इस बिल (Bill)
का समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ
उसके साथ ही मेरा यह भी अनुरोध है कि
हम कोई ऐसी सुरत हाल पैदा करें, जिसमें

कि हम तमाम नेशन (nation) की वलथ (wealth) का स्टॉक (stock) ले सकें। यानी हमारे देश में कितना धन है, कितनी शक्ति है, कितना इल्म है इत्यादि का स्टॉक ले सकें। इन सब चीजों की रक्षा के लिये हम एक अलाहिदा मिनिस्ट्री (Ministry) एक अलाहिदा पोर्टफोलियो (Portfolio) कायम करें, जिसका काम यह हो कि वह पता लगाये कि हमारे देश में इस तरह की चीजों का कितना स्टॉक है, किस तरह से उनको इस्तेमाल किया जाता है, कितना जाया होता है और उसको किस तरह से जाया होने से बचाया जा सकता है। भले ही आप इस मिनिस्ट्री का नाम 'मिनिस्ट्री आफ इकोनॉमी' ('Ministry of Economy') या 'मिनिस्ट्री आफ यूटिलिटी' ('Ministry of Utility') रख सकते हैं।

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh):

श्री एच० पी० सक्सेना (उत्तर प्रदेश): 'मनी सेविंग मिनिस्ट्री' (Money Saving Ministry) रख दिया जाय।

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ KAPOOR:

श्री पृथ्वी राज कपूर : मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि हमारे देश में धन स्वरूप जो भी चीजें हैं, जैसे इल्म है और दूसरी चीजें, इन पर हम जो कुछ भी रुपया खर्च करते हैं, वह जाया न होने पाये। आज हम देखते हैं कि इतना पैसा इन चीजों पर खर्च किया जा रहा है फिर भी काम पूरा नहीं हो पाता है। हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे देश में जनता कि जो अवस्था है, उस पर जो व्यय किया जाता है उसका अच्छे से अच्छा उपयोग किया जा सके ताकि जनता की हालत जो २०० वर्ष पूर्व थी जब कि हम गुलाम थे, उससे अच्छी हो जाय और देश में जो धन शक्ति है उसका भी अच्छी से अच्छी तरह उपयोग किया जा सके।

10 CSD.

आज हम देखते हैं कि हम अपनी पुरानी बातों को जो कि धन स्वरूप हैं, भूलते ही चले जाते हैं। हमारे आकाश में तन, मन, धन, और प्राण सब मिले हुए हैं। मगर हम इन चीजों का इस्तेमाल करना नहीं जानते हैं। हम अपनी पुरानी बातों को भूल चुके हैं। आज हम अपने बच्चों को सूर्य में जाकर खेलने के लिए नहीं कहते जिससे कि शक्ति हासिल की जा सकती है। वेदों में भी इन चीजों का उपयोग करने के बारे में कहा गया है। इन चीजों का ज्ञान न होने के कारण हम, इस अमूल्य धन रूपी शक्ति को जाया करते चले जा रहे हैं। एक जमाना था जब पहली वर्षा होती थी- तो लोग उस वर्षा के पानी को इकट्ठा कर लेते थे और रोगों को दूर करने के लिए उसका इस्तेमाल करते थे। आज हम टी० बी० (T. B.) की बीमारी से निजात पाने के लिए करोड़ों रुपया खर्च कर रहे हैं फिर भी हम उसमें कामयाबी हासिल नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। अगर हम अपनी पुरानी चीजों को इस्तेमाल करने के लिए एक मिनिस्ट्री बना दें तो हम बहुत सा धन बचा सकते हैं और यह चीज एजुकेशन मिनिस्ट्री (Education Ministry) के मातहत हो सकती है। इसी तरह से हर एक मिनिस्ट्री में इस तरह का डिपार्टमेंट (Department) होना चाहिये जो कि अपने मातहत कामों को देखे कि जो कुछ काम किया जा रहा है, उसको जनता की भलाई के लिए कहां तक ज्यादा से ज्यादा उपयोगी बनाया जा सकता है। इस तरह के बीसों रूप हैं जहां पर हम उचित ध्यान देकर बहुत सा उपयोगी कार्य कर सकते हैं।

'आर्ट आफ लिविंग' (Art of living) यह भी एक बहुत बड़ा काम है, अगर इस पर

[Shri Prithviraj Kapoor.]

अच्छी तरह से ध्यान दिया जाय तो इस में बहुत सुधार हो सकता है और आज कल जनता इस पर जो फिजूल का खर्च करती है वह बचाया जा सकता है। कहने का मतलब यह है कि अगर हम हर एक मिनिस्ट्री में इस बात का प्रबन्ध कर दें कि उस विभाग के मातहत जितनी चीजें आती हैं उनके बारे में यह जानने की कोशिश करें कि हमारे देश में कौन कौन सी शक्तियां हैं जिनका अभी तक उपयोग नहीं किया गया है और जो हमारे सामने नहीं आई हैं, अगर हम उन तमाम पुराने तजुबों को इकट्ठा करें और उन का उपयोग करें तो इससे देश की जनता को बहुत लाभ पहुंच सकता है। देश के हर तबके में इस तरह का धन छिपा हुआ पड़ा है जिसको हम अभी तक इस्तेमाल नहीं कर पाये हैं। जैसे वर्षा का जल है। इस जल को पीने से रोग दूर हो जाते हैं, यह बात हमारे देश के पढ़े लिखे लोगों को अभी तक मालूम नहीं है। हां कुछ पुराने जो लोग हैं उनको अवश्य यह बात मालूम होगी। हमारे देश की युनिवर्सिटियों से जो लड़के निकलते हैं उनको इस तरह की बातों का बिलकुल भी इल्म नहीं होता क्योंकि उनको इस तरह की बातें वहां पर नहीं बतलाई जाती हैं। अगर सरकार की ओर से इस तरह की कार्यवाही की गई तो इस समय जनता की भलाई के लिये जो कुछ भी किया जा रहा है उसका और ज्यादा फायदा हो सकता है।

पिछले दो सौ वर्षों से हमारा ध्यान बाहर की ओर ही जाता रहा है। हम हर चीज को बाहर के नुक्ते नजर से देखते हैं। कल हमारे किसी मित्र ने डिफेंस (Defence) के बारे में जिक्र किया था और उसमें नेपोलियन का नाम लिया था। हम लोगों के दिमागों में बाहर की ही हवा बैठ गई है। हम लोग अपने देश के वीरों का नाम और उदाहरण क्यों

नहीं लेते? नेपोलियन के बारे में मैंने बहुत पढ़ा है और मेरे दिल में प्यार भी है। मगर हमारे देश में बहुत से ऐसे वीर हो गये हैं जिनका नाम यहां पर आसानी से लिया जा सकता है। राणा प्रताप हमारे देश के इतिहास में बहुत ही नामी वीर माने जाते हैं। इस तरह से शिवाजी, गुरु गोविन्द सिंह और द्रोण जैसे वीर हमारे देश के सामने मिसालें पेश कर गये हैं। हमें अपने देश के जनरलों का नाम लेना चाहिये, जिन्होंने कई तरह की लड़ाईयां लड़ी हैं और जिनके लिये हमारे दिल में प्रेम है। आज हम अपने जनरलों को भूल जा रहे हैं और इस तरह से उन्होंने इस देश को धन स्वरूपा जो कुछ भी दिया है, उसका इस्तेमाल नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। हमको इस तरह की तमाम चीजों को, शक्तियों को इकट्ठा करके अच्छे से अच्छा उपयोग करना चाहिये और हर डिपार्टमेंट में जो वेस्टेज (wastage) होता है उसको बचाना चाहिये।

अब मैं डिफेंस का जिक्र करना चाहता हूं। हमारे देश की सेना में जो सोलजर (soldier), लेफ्टिनेंट (lieutenant) और कर्नल (colonel) हैं, वे बेहतरीन किस्म के हैं, और उनका मुकाबला किसी देश की सेना से किया जा सकता है। यह कहा जाता है, कि हमारी सेना के पास सामान कम है, अच्छे किस्म के और नये हथियार नहीं हैं, दूसरे देशों की सेनाओं के मुकाबले में कम हथियार हैं। लेकिन इस बात का भी खयाल रखा जाना चाहिये कि हमारे देश के पास जितना पैसा है उसी के हिसाब से उसके पास हथियार भी है। आज जो मुल्क हाईड्रोजन बम (hydrogen bomb) तैयार कर रहे हैं उनके आधे मूल्य के बराबर हमारा डिफेंस का खर्चा आता है। अब हमारे सामने सवाल यह आता है कि जो कुछ भी हम डिफेंस में खर्च करते हैं उसका अच्छे से अच्छा इस्तेमाल किस तरह से किया

जा सकता है। जब हमारे पास फौज को देने के लिये इतना ही धन है, इससे ज्यादा नहीं दे सकते, तो हम यह सोचें कि इस धन का बेहतर से बेहतर इस्तेमाल किस तरह से किया जा सकता है। अगर डिपार्टमेंट इस बात की तलाश करे तो यह कभी दूर हो सकती है।

हमारी सेना में जो सोलजर और अफसर हैं उनकी तनख्वाह कम होने की वजह से उनको अपना रहन सहन का मिथार कायम रखने में बड़ी दिक्कतों का सामना करना पड़ता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उनको ज्यादा तनख्वाह दी जाय, मगर यह नहीं हो सकता है तो उनके ऊपर जो पुराने जमाने से बन्दिशें चली आ रही हैं उनको दूर किया जाय। पुराने जमाने में जो अंग्रेज अफसर होते थे उनकी हैसियत जनता के दिमाग में एक अफसर की होती थी मगर आज हमारे जो अफसर हैं वह जनता के ही आदमी होते हैं और उन को जनता के बीच में ही काम करना पड़ता है। जनता के दिमाग में अब वह पुराना रूप उनके लिए नहीं रह गया है। मगर इस के साथ ही साथ इन सोलजरोँ और अफसरों को पुराने कायदों को मानना पड़ता है, जिसकी वजह से उनको काफी तकलीफ हो रही है। उनके ऊपर इन पुराने कायदों का जो बोझ है उसको जल्दी से जल्दी दूर किया जाना चाहिये।

आज हालत यह है कि जब कभी भी हमारे सेना के अफसर बाहर कभी ड्रामा (drama) बगैरा में जाते हैं तो उनको अच्छी से अच्छी सीट में बैठना पड़ता है क्योंकि उनको अपनी इज्जत का खयाल रखना पड़ता है। इसी तरह जब वे रेल द्वारा इधर से उधर जाते हैं तो उनको फर्स्ट क्लास (first class) और सेकेंड क्लास (second class) में ही बैठ कर जाना होता है। इन लोगों

के ऊपर पुरानी बन्दिशें इस तरह से लगी हुई हैं कि उनको अपनी पोजीशन (position) का खयाल करना पड़ता है। मगर आज जब हमारा देश आजाद हो गया है, तो जनता और उनके बीच में किसी प्रकार की दीवार नहीं होनी चाहिये। उनके ऊपर जो पुराने कायदों की बन्दिश लगी हुई है, वह जल्द से जल्द दूर की जानी चाहिये।

मेरे दिल में अपने देश के अफसरों और सोलजरोँ के लिये प्रेम है, इसलिये नहीं है कि उनके पास बन्दूक है, पिस्तौल है और वह अच्छी तरह से लड़ सकते हैं, बल्कि इस लिये है कि वह हमारे देश के पहरेदार हैं, हमारे देश की रक्षा करने वाले हैं। मैं काश्मीर गया और अपनी आंखों से देखा कि हमारे सोलजर और अफसर किस तरह से वहां पर बर्फ में रहते हुए देश की रक्षा का काम कर रहे हैं। मैं पूना में क्वीन मेरीस होम फार रिहैबिलिटेशन आफ डिसेबिल्ड सोलजर्स (Queen Mary's Home for rehabilitation of disabled soldiers) को देखने के लिये गया था। कर्नल वमु मेरे साथ थे और उन्होंने मुझे एक नौजवान मद्रासी लड़के को दिखाया जिसकी एक टांग खराब हो गई थी। जब मैंने उस नौजवान लड़के से पूछा कि तुम्हारी टांग कहां और किस तरह से खराब हुई, तो वह नौजवान लड़का जो कि आर्टिफिशियल लिम्ब (artificial limb) लगाये हुये था, एकदम खड़ा हो गया और हंस कर कहने लगा "आइ लास्ट इट इन काश्मीर"। (I lost it in Kashmir) तो मैंनिसार हो गया। इस तरह से हमारे सेना के आदमियों में देश प्रेम भरा हुआ है और देश की रक्षा करने के लिये तरह तरह के कष्ट सहन कर रहे हैं।

[Shri Prithviraj Kapoor.]

हमारे बहुत से सिपाही फिरोजपुर बॉर्डर (border) में पड़े हुए हैं और देश की रक्षा कर रहे हैं। आप सब लोगों को मालूम होगा कि सतलुज अक्सर अपना बहाव बदलती रहती है, हमारे सिपाहियों को आधे घुटने पानी तक रात दिन देश की रक्षा के लिये रहना पड़ता है। मेरे कहने का मतलब है कि सतलुज जब अपना फैलाव करती है तो एक जजीरे के समान वहां पर दृष्य हो जाता है; वहां पर यह हंगामा हो जाता है। हमारे पड़ोसी भाई जिनको आदत पड़ गई है, अक्सर कुछ न कुछ करते ही रहते हैं। मेरा मुद्दा पाकिस्तान से है, वह कुछ ऐसी बात करते रहते हैं जिससे हमारे सिपाहियों को वहां पर खड़ा रहना पड़ता है, पानी में खड़ा रहना पड़ता है। हमारे सिपाहियों के साथ पुलिस के सिपाहियों को भी खड़ा रहना पड़ता है।

आज हम इसलिये अपने सिपाहियों को प्यार करते हैं क्योंकि वे देश की रक्षा के लिये हर तरह का कष्ट सहन कर रहे हैं। मगर हमको उनकी मौजूदा तकलीफों को दूर करना चाहिये। आज हम देखते हैं कि उनको पुराने कानूनों को मानना पड़ता है जिससे कि उनको काफी परेशानी होती है। जब यहां पर संसद् के अन्दर कोई भी मेम्बर (Member) चाहे जिस तरह के कपड़े पहन कर आ सकता है तो उनके लिये भी इस तरह का कायदा होना चाहिये कि वे सफर करते वक्त या ड्रामा देखते वक्त जिस क्लास में चाहें जा सकते हैं। इसी तरह से उनकी तनखाह के बारे में पे कमीशन (Pay Commission) ने एक चीज मुकर्रर कर दी है। जब आप उनको ज्यादा तनखाह नहीं दे सकते हैं, जिसको वे लोग भी महसूस करते हैं और किसी प्रकार एहतजाज नहीं करते हैं तो यह हमारा फर्ज हो जाता है कि

उनके लिये हर किस्म की सहूलियतें पैदा करें और उसके ऊपर जो बोझ और बन्दिशें हैं उन्हें हटा दें, जैसे ट्रैवलिंग (travelling) की बन्दिश है, कहीं अगर उसे जाना होता है तो उसे किस्म किस्म के खर्चे उठाने पड़ते हैं, जो कि उसे बहुत खल जाता है। देश प्रेम के बीसियों मिसाल हम देना चाहते हैं, मगर हम यह नहीं देखते कि उनको जरूरी सुविधायें न दे कर हम उनका देश प्रेम कुचल रहे हैं।

THE DEPUTY MINISTER FOR DEFENCE (SHRI SATISH CHANDRA):

उप रक्षा मंत्री (श्री सतीश चन्द्र) : जब ड्यूटी (duty) पर कोई आदमी ट्रैवल करता है तो उसका सब खर्चा सरकार बरदाश्त करती है।

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA:

श्री एच० पी० सक्सेना : मगर आप एंटरटेनमेंट (entertainment) की बात कर रहे थे।

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ KAPOOR:

श्री पृथ्वीराज कपूर : मैं यह अर्ज कर रहा था कि जरा आप खोज करें, तो आपको यह बात मालूम हो जायेगी कि जब वे ट्रैवल करते हैं तो मान लीजिये कि वे फर्स्ट क्लास में बैठते हैं, तो अगर वे बीबी बच्चों के साथ हों तो उनको थर्ड क्लास (third class) में नहीं ले जा सकते। अगर वे छुट्टी में जाना भी चाहते हैं तो उन्हें हिचकिचाहट होती है। आप इस चीज की तहकीकात कीजिये, तलाश कीजिये और अगर आप इसे गलत कहते हैं तो कहिये, मैं इंसिस्ट (insist) नहीं कर रहा हूँ। मगर मेरे बहुत से सम्बन्धी देश की फौज में काम करते हैं और उनके मुताल्लिक मेरी काफी जानकारी है, वे अगर कहीं जाना चाहते हैं तो हिचकिचाते हैं। पुराने जमाने में भी एंटरटेनमेंट की एक रबिज थी, जो हायर क्लास (higher class)

के मुस्तहक थे उनको उस ब्लास के लिये पैसा मिलता था। मगर आज हमारा मुल्क उन्हें रुपया नहीं दे सकता। उन्हें इस बात का एहसास है, लेकिन उनके सामने ये बन्दिशें नहीं रहनी चाहियें। ये बन्दिशें क्या हैं, एक पुराना कन्वेंशन (convention) चला आ रहा है कि

SHIR J. S. BISHT (Uttar Pradesh):

श्री जे० एस० बिष्ट (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
ये कन्वेंशन तो रूस में भी है।

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ KAPOOR:

श्री पृथ्वीराज कपूर : मेरा रूस से कोई ताल्लुक नहीं, रूस का मैं कोई साक्षीदार या रिश्तेदार नहीं हूँ। मैं रूस के साथ अपने मुल्क का मुकाबिला नहीं कर रहा हूँ। वे जो मर्जी हो शौक से करें, मगर मैं अपने घर की बात कह रहा हूँ। हमारे यहां और स्वरूप है उन के यहां और स्वरूप है। पुराना रबैया जो मुल्क में था वह आज नहीं है, आज हमारे यहां मेम्बर खाली धोती कुर्ते पहन कर संसद् में बैठते हैं। माफ कीजिये मुझे यह कहना पड़ेगा, कि रूस में अब भी जो हुकूमत है वह मिलिटरी (military) के जोर पर है और वहां फौज को डरा धमका कर कब्जे में रखा जाता है। मगर हमारे यहां और ही स्वरूप है। हमें अपनी घरती से चली आई हुई चीजों को ग्रहण करना है, हमें इससे वास्ता नहीं कि अमेरिका क्या करता है, रूस क्या करता है। अपने घर में जो चाहें अपनी खिचड़ी अलग पकायें, वह उन्हीं को मुद्दारिक हो। हमारा काम है कि देश की हालात को, सर्कमस्टेंसेज (circumstances) को सामने रख के अपने धन को लगायें और उसी के मुताबिक देश को एक सांचे में ढालें।

मैं नें यह प्रार्थना की थी कि इन सब चीजों के लिये एक अलाहिदा डिपार्टमेंट ही बना दिया जाय जिसके सुपुर्द यह काम हो कि देश के अन्दर कौन कौन सा धन है, कौन कौन सी चीजें हैं जिनके बारे में हमें पता नहीं, जैसे कि नैचुरल रिसोर्सेज (natural resources) के लिये हमारी मिनिस्ट्री है, वह इस चीज की तलाश करती है कि जमीन के अन्दर कहां कहां क्या पदार्थ हैं, जो कि हमारे देश का धन है। तो यह जो सारा धन है वह आज हमारी आंखों से लुप्त है, वह धरती में है, लेकिन नज़र नहीं आ रहा है और बरबाद पड़ा हुआ है।

इसी तरह हमारी हेल्थ मिनिस्ट्री (Health Ministry) का काम है कि वह लोगों की सेहत ठीक करने के उपाय तलाश करे, अस्पताल बनाये। टी० बी० के मरीज इतने बढ़ रहे हैं, उनके लिये ज्यादा से ज्यादा अस्पताल खोलने की ज़रूरत है। हमारे बम्बई में कई डाक्टर (doctor) हैं जो बड़े बड़े अस्पतालों में (free) काम करते हैं, वही डाक्टर जो कि "फार दी सेम आपरेशन" (for the same operation) चार्ज (charge) करते हैं पांच सौ, एक हजार या दो हजार रुपया। लेकिन सवाल यह है कि अस्पताल कम हैं, डाक्टर तो हैं और उनके अन्दर सहानुभूति भी है

MAJ.-GENERAL S. S. SOKHEY:

मेजर जनरल एस० एस० सोखे : डाक्टर भी कम हैं।

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ KAPOOR:

श्री पृथ्वीराज कपूर : डाक्टर बहुत हैं लेकिन उन पर मुहर नहीं लगी है। खास तौर पर हमारे एलोपैथिक (allopathic) डाक्टरों पर सरकार ने मुहर लगा दी है। आयुर्वेदिक हमारा चिकित्सा का पुराना

[Shri Prithviraj Kapoor.]

तरीका और आसान तरीका है लेकिन हम उसे नहीं जानते और न समझते हैं। मैं कहता हूँ कि हमारे यहां डाक्टर हैं, आप उन्हें तलाश तो कीजिये, हमारे यहां हकीम हैं, वैद्य हैं होम्योपैथ (homoeopath) हैं।

मैं आपको एक किस्सा बताता हूँ कि एक मरीज था जिसके बारे में बम्बई के डाक्टरों की राय थी कि वह बच नहीं सकता और कहा कि भले ही जर्मनी के डाक्टर उसका केस (case) अपने चार्ज में ले तो लें मगर हम गारंटी (guarantee) नहीं ले सकते। अंत में एक होमियोपैथ डाक्टर ने कहा कि मैं इसे ठीक कर सकता हूँ, और उसने यह करके दिखाया। मगर सवाल यह है कि उस डाक्टर पर मुहर लगती है या नहीं। हमारे देश में इसी तरह की बहुत सी चीजें हैं जिन पर हमने मुहर नहीं लगाई। हमारे देश का धन क्या है? एक आदमी अपने घर में जाता है, वह अपने बच्चों से हंस कर लिपटता है, उन्हें प्यार करता है। ये बच्चे हमारे देश का धन हैं। हम असली धन को छोड़ कर उस धन के पीछे घूम रहे हैं जिसके ऊपर हाय हाय चल रही है।

हमें अपना रिश्ता अपनी देश की संस्कृति और सम्यता से, जो पुराने जमाने से चली आ रही है, जोड़ना है। हमने बाहरी किताबें बहुत पढ़ी हैं मगर अपने देश के बारे में नहीं जानते हैं और न उन पर फ़रुष करते हैं, हमें नैपोलियन का नाम याद रहता है, लेकिन शिवा जी का ध्यान नहीं आता। बड़े बड़े रेडियो (radio) हमारे कानों में गूटरू शू की आवाज करते हैं मगर उन में भी हम वही छाप देखते हैं। हमें अपना सम्बन्ध देश की धरती से जोड़ना होगा, हमें सब से पहले यह देखना होगा कि हमारे देश में कितना धन है। हमें और सरकार का जो डिपार्ट-

मेंट होगा उसे जनता में उन बातों का प्रचार करना होगा जो उसे करनी चाहियें, एजुकेशन (education) दे कर, फिल्मों के द्वारा, या रेडियो के जरिये। आखिर में जनता ही गवर्नमेंट (Government) है, जो काम जनता करना चाहती है उसके लिये उसे गवर्नमेंट की इमदाद की जरूरत होती है। गवर्नमेंट का काम है कि वह जनता को रास्ता दिखा दे। जनता को तो अपने पांव पर खड़ा रहना ही होगा इससे यह होगा कि जो पैसे की लपेट है, हर बात में गवर्नमेंट से रुपया मांगना, यह चीज हट जायेगी।

बच्चों का बिल आपके सामने है और उसमें काफी अच्छी और सुन्दर बातें हैं। उसमें दोनों स्वरूप में डेलिक्वेंट चिल्ड्रेन (delinquent children) और नेग्लेक्टेड चिल्ड्रेन (neglected children) को लाया जा रहा है। अब हमें उसमें दी हुई बातों के लिये प्रचार शुरू कर देना चाहिये, गवर्नमेंट भी कर रही है अभी तो वह पार्ट सी स्टेटों (Part C States) में इसे लागू कर रही है और वह इससे दूसरे स्टेटों को प्रेरणा देगी जिससे वे भी आगे बढ़ेंगे। मैं पूना में गया था। वहां एक नागरिक संगठन समिति है और उसमें एक देवी काम करती है, डा० मिसेज निम्बकर, उनकी अवस्था ५० के करीब होगी। बच्चों को छोटे छोटे स्लम्स (slums) से लाया जाता है, जिस में से हो कर हमारे जैसे आदमियों के लिये घुसना मुश्किल हो जाय। वे बड़े स्नेह और प्यार से नहलाये जाते हैं और बड़ी देख रेख के साथ उनकी परवरिश की जाती है। डा० निम्बकर इस देश का धन हैं, यही वजह है कि पूना के लोग उन के सर पर हमेशा हाथ रखते हैं। ऐसे ही व्यक्ति हमारे देश के असली धन हैं।

में कह रहा था कि सब तरफ प्रचार की आवश्यकता है। हमारे यहां शादी ब्याह में इतना खाना जाया होता है जिसकी कोई इतिहा नहीं। इसको रोकने के लिये लोगों को समझाया जाय कि देश का इतना अधिक धन जाया हो रहा है, जो कि किसी काम नहीं आ रहा है। हमारे देश में गोबर इतना अधिक जाया होता था, परन्तु इसे रोकने के लिये अग्रिकल्चर मिनिस्ट्री (Agriculture Ministry) बहुत काम कर रही है। पटना के पास एक गांव में किसी सोसाइटी (Society) ने यह काम शुरू किया है कि छोटी छोटी नालियां बनाली हैं जहां से गोबर मल-मूत्र वर्गों के एक स्थान में इकट्ठा होता है और वहां उसको सड़ा के खाद बनाई जाती है। इसी तरह के काम और जगह भी शुरू होने लगे हैं, छोटी छोटी संस्थाएँ उन्हें कर रही हैं। लेकिन फिर भी जरूरत है कि और तलाश की जाय और ढूंढ और खोज की जाय और ऐसे तरीके निकाले जायें कि वेस्टेज किसी भी रूप में होता वन्द हो जाय। हमें लोगों में नौलेज (knowledge) को, विद्या को फैलाना चाहिये जिससे कि हम देश का वह धन, जो कि अज्ञानता से आँखों से लुप्त है, वह हमारे सामने आ जाय।

तो जैसा कि मैं ने टी० बी० के भरीजों के बारे में पहले कहा कि उसका एक रूप यह है कि हर घर वाले इसका खयाल रखें कि बच्चों का छुटपन से ही स्वास्थ्य अच्छा रहे। हमारे यहां पहले क्या था कि सूरज के सामने जा कर गायत्री का मंत्र पढ़ते थे, तो यह कोई जरूरी नहीं है कि इस चीज को एक मजहब वाले ही मानें, सब मान सकते हैं। उसका मुद्दा कोई सिर्फ गायत्री का पाठ ही नहीं था बल्कि यह था कि सूरज की रोशनी, उसकी किरणें, उसकी रेज (rays) शरीर के अन्दर जायें और उसमें शक्ति पैदा हो। तो हमें रिलिजन (religion) से

बचा कर इस चीज का प्रचार करना है कि हम उसको किस रूप में लें, उसको इस तरह बता सकते हैं कि हेल्थ इस से अच्छी होगी और जो लोग टी० बी० की ओर जा रहे हैं उससे बच सकते हैं।

रेलवे मजदूरों से मेरा सम्बन्ध है, जो सेंट्रल रेलवे यूनियन (Central Railway Union) है उससे मेरा सम्बन्ध है। मैं ने देखा कि उनको शिकायत है कि उनको तनख्वाह कम मिलती है। ठीक है, मैं मानता हूँ कि तनख्वाह कम मिलती है लेकिन मैं ने उन से कहा कि छोटी छोटी सोसाइटी बना लो। होता यह है कि एक आदमी कमाता है और बहुत से लोग खाते हैं। तो ऐसी हालत में यह किया जा सकता है कि छोटी छोटी सोसाइटी बना लें जिससे कि सब लोग कुछ न कुछ काम कर सकें। आज डिफरेंस (difference) बहुत बढ़ गया है, कहने का मुद्दा यह है कि बड़ बड़े अफसरों की तनख्वाह बहुत ज्यादा है और छोटे छोटे आदमियों की, मजदूरों की तनख्वाह बहुत कम है। बहुत ज्यादा अन्तर है। फिर भी यदि हम चीज को ठीक से करें तो बहुत कुछ कर सकते हैं। मैं मानता हूँ कि इस बजट (Budget) से हम पैसा नहीं दे सकते, खैर, नहीं दे सकते तो न दें, लेकिन छोटी छोटी सोसाइटियों बना सकते हैं और वे लोग उन सोसाइटियों में काम कर सकते हैं, जो माल बने उसको उसके द्वारा बिकवा सकते हैं और पैसा बचा सकते हैं। बजट से पैसा न दें तो न दें लेकिन इस तरह से उनकी शक्ति को बढ़ा सकते हैं। इसके साथ साथ यह भी होगा कि जो उनके दिमाग का उपयोग नहीं होता है, जो वे बैठ कर चंडूखाने की गप्पें उड़ाया कर ते हैं वह न उड़ायेंगे और उन के दिमाग का उपयोग होने लगेगा। इसलिये मेरा कहना है कि इस तरह के तमाम

[Shri Prithviraj Kapoor.]

काम होने चाहिये, जो जो शक्तियाँ हैं, जो जो देश में चीजें हैं उनको जाँचें और तौलें और देखें कि हम उनका कितना उपयोग कर सकते हैं। जब इसको मालूम कर लें तो फिर लोगों में इसका प्रचार करें कि वे इससे फायदा उठावें और लोग उससे फायदा उठा कर अपने व्यक्तिगत धन को बढ़ा सकते हैं। अगर उनका व्यक्तिगत धन बढ़ता है तो उससे देश का धन भी बढ़ता है। इसी तरह अगर बीमारी से लड़ने की शक्ति बढ़ जाय तो डाक्टरों का बिल कम हो जाय और उनका धन बढ़ जाय। एक छोटी सी चीज है मूली का पत्ता, जिस को कि हम फेंक देते हैं। अगर हम उसको ही खावें तो वह हमें बहुत शक्ति दे सकता है। इसी तरह से और भी बहुत से वेस्टेज हम अपनी जिन्दगी में करते हैं। तो हमें आर्ट आफ लिविंग सीखना है, हमको यह मालूम होना चाहिये कि रहना कैसे है, जीना कैसे है, सांस कैसे लेना है और सब काम कैसे करना है। पहले हमारे देश में ये चीजें थीं, प्राणायाम था। आज उसको नहीं सिखाया जाता है, बहुत कम सिखाया जाता है। हाँ, आहिस्ता आहिस्ता इसकी संस्कारें बन रही हैं और इसको सिखाया जा रहा है। इसलिये मेरा कहना है कि हमें जिंदगी की लड़ाई लड़ने को तैयार होना चाहिये और अगर हम जिंदगी से लड़ना सीख लेते हैं, जिंदगी को अच्छा रखना सीख लेते हैं, उसके अच्छे रूप को सीख लेते हैं तो हमारी बहुत सी दिक्कतें हट जाती हैं। आज ये जो हमारी बहुत सी दिक्कतें हैं कि यहाँ से कर्जा लेना है, वहाँ से कर्जा लेना है वह नहीं रहेगी, क्योंकि अगर हम इस चीज को सीख लेते हैं तो हमारे देश का धन बढ़ेगा और सब दिक्कतें दूर हो जायेंगी। मेरा मुद्दा यही है कि वेस्टेज न हो और जितनी शक्तियाँ हैं उनको देश के उत्थान के लिये हारनेस (harness) किया जाय

हमारे यहाँ रिहैबिलिटेशन मिनिस्ट्री (Rehabilitation Ministry) में बहुत काम हुआ है। यह एक बहुत बड़ी समस्या थी, एक बड़ी कठिन समस्या थी। ऐसी चीज थी जिसकी मिसाल दुनिया में नहीं मिलती। मैं मानता हूँ कि इस सम्बन्ध में काम हुआ है और बहुत हुआ है लेकिन जो नहीं हुआ है वह भी बहुत महान है। उसका भी एक भयानक स्वरूप हमारे सामने है और वह बढ़ता जाता है। वे लोग देश की शक्ति हैं, देश के धन हैं तो मैं देखता हूँ कि देश का धन जाया हो रहा है, दिन ब दिन उनकी शक्ति कम होती जा रही है क्योंकि जो कुछ पैसा वह लेकर आये थे वह खत्म हो गया है या खत्म होता जा रहा है। जो सफेद पोश है वह माँग नहीं सकते हैं। तो मेरा कहना है कि अब सहायता का हाथ उन तक पहुँचना चाहिये। मुझे इसका शिकवा नहीं है कि वह पहुँच नहीं रहा है। वह पहुँच रहा है लेकिन काम की स्पीड (speed) को तेज करना चाहिये। 'वी केन एक्सेलेरेट दी स्पीड एंड वी केन एडवांस लाइक दैट'। (We can accelerate the speed and we can advance like that.) स्पीड तेज करने से काम ज्यादा हो सकता है। यह एक साधारण सी बात है कि गारेंटी पर लोन (loan) दिया जाता है क्योंकि अगर सरकार गारेंटी पर लोन न दे तो उसको रुपया भी वापिस न मिले और वेस्टेज हो जाय लेकिन गारेंटी पर लोन देने में भी एक बहुत बड़ी बात है। बात यह है कि अगर गारेंटी पर लोन देते हैं तो चन्द लोग जो कि मिल मिल कर गारेंटी दे सकते हैं और दिला सकते हैं वे बहुत सा रुपया इकट्ठा कर लेते हैं और बड़े बड़े काम कर लेते हैं लेकिन जो गरीब हैं जिनके पास कोई गारेंटी नहीं है, जो कि खाली हाथ हैं जिनकी हालत ऐसी है कि वह कोई गारेंटी नहीं दे सकते हैं उनको लोन नहीं मिलता है और वह दिक्कत और परेशानी में पड़े रहते हैं। इसलिये हमें उन चीजों को

उन रास्तों को खोजना होगा जिस से कि हम उन लोगों को भी लोन दे सकें जो कि गारंटी नहीं दे सकते हैं और जो कि साधारण स्तर से जो चीजें होती हैं उस से अलग रह जाते हैं। गारंटी का स्वरूप ऐसा है कि अगर वह रेफ्यूजी (refugee) भी नहीं है और गारंटी दे सकता है तो गारंटी दे कर अपना धन बढ़ा लेता है। कितने ऐसे केसेज (cases) हैं कि इस तरह से लोगों ने अपना धन बढ़ा लिया। और बड़ा बड़ा व्यापार कर लिया तो मेरा कहना है कि यह भी देश का धन है जो कि जाया होता है। उसकी देख रेख करना भी मिनिस्ट्री का धर्म होना चाहिये। इसी तरह ज़िदगी को अच्छे रूप में गुज़ारने के लिये और भी बहुत से स्वरूप हैं, काम करने के बहुत से स्वरूप हैं। जैसे हमारे रेलवे के मजदूर हैं उन्हें रेल का लोहा उठा कर एक जगह से दूसरी जगह ले जाना पड़ता है। अब हम रबड़ के ग्लव्स (gloves) देते हैं लेकिन वे उसे इस्तेमाल नहीं कर पाते। वह जलते हुये लोहे को हाथ से उठाते हैं लेकिन उसको काम में नहीं लाते। तो अब हमें इस किस्म का प्रचार करना है कि वह इसको सीख जायें कि यह चीज़ उन के फायदे के लिये है, भलाई के लिये है। आप देखेंगे कि एजुकेशन (education) की इतनी कमी है। पिछली दफा मैं ने कहा था कि मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि बजट का तमाम पैसा एजुकेशन में डाल दिया जाय। कम से कम इतना तो हो जाय कि लोगों को बात करना आ जाय, बात को समझना आ जाय और ज़िदगी आ जाय और यह समझ में आ जाय कि हमारे मुफाद के लिये क्या चीज़ है, हमारे फायदे की क्या बात है। हम बिना सोचे समझे, बिना जाने अधाधुंध चीज़ों को लिये जा रहे हैं और पुरानी लकीरों पर चले जा रहे हैं। तो पुरानी लकीरों से बचने के लिये हमारे सामने नई चीज़ें होनी चाहियें। उसके लिये लोगों में ज्यादा से ज्यादा

प्रचार किया जाय। मेरी प्रार्थना है कि हमारी इंफारमेशन मिनिस्ट्री (Information Ministry) इन सब चीज़ों को एक साथ ले कर तेज़ी से करे।

यह टीक है कि इतने बड़े देश को चन्द सालों में तैयार कर लेना कोई आसान काम नहीं है। बहुत बड़ी बड़ी बातें हैं, कई सौ वर्षों की उलझी हुई गांठें हैं जिनको कि मुलझाना आसान नहीं है। जैसा कि मैं ने कहा कि पूना नागरिक समिति है, इसी तरह की सैकड़ों समितियां देश में हैं। ये सब देश की शक्तियां हैं, देश का धन है और देश का काम कर रही हैं। वे भी एक तरह से गवर्नमेंट का ही स्वरूप हैं क्योंकि गवर्नमेंट भी एक सेवा समिति के रूप में है। तो उन सबको हारनेस करके देश के काम को आगे बढ़ाया जाय।

अब मुझे एक बात और कहनी है। इंफारमेशन मिनिस्ट्री के जरिये हम फिल्म (film) बनाते हैं। एक प्रोपोजल (proposal) यह भी है कि फीचर फिल्म (feature films) बनायें। तो मेरा कहना है कि बजाये इस के कि हम उसके लिये इतना पैसा खर्च करें, इतनी मशीनरी (machinery) बगैरा लगायें, तमाम हंगामा करें और खर्च का बोझ बढ़ायें, यह अच्छा होगा कि उन लोगों को चुन कर सबसिडाइज़ (subsidise) करें जो कि इस काम को कर रहे हैं। इसी तरह से नेगलेक्टेड चिल्ड्रेन और डेलिक्वेंट चिल्ड्रेन का सवाल है कि वह काम बम्बई में भी होता है और दूसरी जगह भी होता है, वहां भी चिल्ड्रेन होम्स (children homes) हैं और इसके लिये दूसरी जगह भी संस्थाये हैं, तो उन सब को एक में मिला लें, उन सब को हारनेस करें तो बहुत काम हो सकता है। इस काम में फिल्में बहुत मदद दे सकती हैं, फिल्मों का बहुत जोर होता है वे बहुत दूर तक जा सकती हैं

[Shri Prithviraj Kapoor.]

तो जो लोग इस काम को करते हैं उनकी मदद करने से यह काम बहुत अच्छी तरह से होगा। लेकिन होता यह है कि जो काम हो रहा है उसको शुरू कर रहे हैं और इस तरह से ज्यादा खर्चा कर के एक चीज को कर रहे हैं। इसी तरह से भाषा के प्रचार की बात है, कपड़े के प्रचार की बात है। तो मेरा कहना है कि जो लोग एक काम को कर रहे हैं उनकी तलाश करें और जहां भी जो देश का धन है उसको खोज कर निकालें। जब प्रचार होगा तो सही व्यक्ति और सही लोग आयेंगे और उससे हमारी बहुत सी मुश्किलें हल हो जायेंगी। इस तरह करने से, सब को एक में मिलाने से, सब शक्तियों को एक साथ हारनेस करने से, हमारे बजट की वैल्यू (value) दस गुना बढ़ जायेगी। इस तरह एक रुपये का पांच गुना और सात गुना ज्यादा इस्तेमाल होगा क्योंकि लोगों को खाना खाना आ जायेगा, रहना आ जायेगा, जिंदगी बितानी आ जायेगी।

अब सवाल यह है कि बच्चों को कहां पढ़ाना है। आज बच्चों को तालीम देना बहुत मुश्किल है। जो एंग्लिसाइज्ड स्कूल (anglicized school) हैं उन में दो बच्चों को भेज कर पढ़ाना किसी शरीफ आदमी का दिवाला निकालने के लिये काफी है। उसमें काफी खर्च पड़ता है।

इस तरह से आजकल पहली जमात में अगर कोई पढ़ना चाहता है तो उसको दस या बारह रुपये फीस देनी पड़ती है। मुझे अपना तजुर्बा याद है कि जब पहली जमात में पढ़ता था तो एक आना फीस थी, दूसरी जमात के लिये दो अना, और तीसरी जमात के लिये तीन आना थी। चौथी जमात से अंग्रेजी शुरू हो जाती थी और उसकी फीस एक

रुपया थी। आज देश में इस तरह के जितने भी स्कूल हैं, जो लम्बी लम्बी फीस लेते हैं, उनको सरकार रिक्कगनाइज (recognize) न करे। अगर किसी के घर में दो बच्चे हो जायें और उसको दस या बारह रुपया एक लड़के की फीस देनी पड़े तो उसकी जेब से चौबीस खाली हो गये। अगर यह रुपया उसका बच सकता है तो वह अपने बच्चों के खाने पीने और उनके रहन सहन पर, तालीम पर खर्च कर सकता है।

हमारे शहरों से हजारों नौजवान हर साल ग्रेजुएट (graduate) हो कर निकलते हैं मगर वे गांवों में जाना ~~नहीं~~ ^{कर} नहीं करते हैं, इस तरह से गांव के लोगों को भी शिक्षा अच्छी तरह से नहीं मिल सकती है और बेरोजगारी की समस्या बढ़ती ही जाती है। जिस प्रकार बम्बई सरकार ने अभी हाल में यह कर दिया है कि हर ग्रेजुएट को कुछ समय गांव में काम करना होगा, अगर यह प्रबन्ध सारे देश में कर दिया जाय कि एक एक गांव में एक ग्रेजुएट जाय और वहां की पढ़ाई का काम संभाल ले तो इससे उनकी पढ़ाई का ठीक तरह से इन्तजाम हो सकेगा और ठीक तरह से बच्चों को तालीम मिलने से उनका हौसला भी बढ़ेगा और देश में बेरोजगारी भी नहीं बढ़ेगी।

मेरी इतनी ही प्रार्थना है कि हमारा जो बजट है, जो हम खर्च कर रहे हैं, उसके लिये इस तरह की सूरत बना ली जानी चाहिये, एक ऐसी मिनिस्ट्री इस चीज को करे कि जो धन कामों में खर्च होता है उसका अधिक से अधिक अच्छा उपयोग किया जा सके। अगर हम जो खर्च करते हैं उसकी शक्ति बढ़ा देंगे तो लोगों की बाइंग (buying) शक्ति भी बढ़ जायेगी, इस तरह से धन भी बढ़ जायेगा और रहन सहन की शक्ति भी बढ़ जायेगी।

अब हम आज़ादी के प्रकाश में आ गये हैं इसलिये हमारे जितने भी कार्य हों वे तेज़ी के साथ होने चाहिये, आज़ादी के प्रकाश की ओर हम तेज़ी से बढ़ते रहें और वेग के बहाव के साथ चलें, यही मेरी प्रार्थना है।

[For English translation, see Appendix VII, Annexure No. 202.]

11 A.M.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I would like hon. Members to place a voluntary rest on time.

SHRI B. V. GURUMURTHY (Hyderabad): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would like to speak on the Defence Services and the Defence Ministry first. On the expenditure side, a sum of Rs. 205 crores has been provided in the Budget. In the context of the latest international situation, I submit that this sum is inadequate. The world today is polarised between two ideologies represented by Russia on the one side and America on the other. Every country is trying to lean on one power bloc or the other. Our decision to pursue an independent foreign policy and our determination not to play the second fiddle to any other country enjoins on us the responsibility to prepare our defences and to set up defence industries ourselves. For the safety and security of our freedom and honour, we know that arms and modern weapons are necessary. We have to embark on a programme of arms manufacture, and various defence industries have to be set up all over the country, and for this, money has to be provided.

Yesterday, Shri Bhupesh Gupta said that with the rout of the Muslim League in East Pakistan, the threat of aggression from that side has receded, but I submit that the facts are otherwise. Mr. Suhrawardy, the

leader of the Awami League, one of the component groups of the United Front which routed the Muslim League, has endorsed the U.S.-Pak Military Pact. Again, another important member of the Opposition, the Pir of Manki Sharif, who had earlier denounced the Pact has eaten humble pie and has toed the Mohammad Ali line. Under the circumstances, it is not advisable to be complacent in the matter of our defence. Mr. Gupta also remarked that Soviet Russia alone, out of several countries, has acclaimed the stand taken by our Prime Minister on the various issues of international importance. I would remind him that Mr. St. Laurent, the Prime Minister of Canada, has also applauded the stand taken by our Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, on the issue of cease-fire in Indo-China. On this account, should we give up our neutral policy and walk into the parlour of one power bloc or the other? Our foreign policy today is acclaimed by all the saner and sober sections of the world, because it is truly independent and is contributing towards the establishment of world peace. We are serving the cause of peace, and by and large all countries and all right-thinking men have begun to appreciate this stand.

To me, the problem of defence has two aspects; the internal aspect and the external aspect—internal disruption and external aggression. Many speakers have dealt with external aggression, but very few have concentrated on internal disruption. The danger of external aggression is obvious and its awareness is shown by the universal support and co-operation promised to the Prime Minister. But the possibility of internal disruption cannot be completely ruled out. Various factors contribute to internal chaos and I consider two factors as most important. The first is the discontentment of the people and the second the machinations of certain anti-national and reactionary parties.

[Shri B. V. Gurumurthy.] For various reasons, a great number of people are dissatisfied. No Government worth the name can ignore, or remain immune from, or indifferent to, the urges, aspirations and attitudes of the people. A great number of people desire today that the country should be redistributed on a rational basis and Government have acted wisely in appointing a high power Commission for the purpose but they must be asked to expedite their deliberations and submit their report within a specified time. Secondly, the minds of the people are exercised over another important matter, i.e., the medium of instruction at the various stages of education. The mother-tongue or the regional language as the case may be, should be the medium of instruction in the primary, secondary and even in the university-stage. Hindi can be a compulsory second language in the primary and secondary stages and an optional medium in the university stage. There should be no rivalry between these two languages. Thirdly, our economic programme should aim at providing full employment to the large number of various unemployed young *men* in the country. The emphasis should be shifted from investment to employment and our Five Year Plan, if necessary, should be recast on this basis. But the progress of our plans should not be hampered for want of financial assistance from foreign countries. The quantum of foreign aid is after all, 17 per cent, and Government has done the right thing in anticipating a contingency when all foreign aid may cease and by launching the National Plan Loan. This is the way by which we could implement the Plan without assistance of the foreign loans. Even if this 17 per cent, is forthcoming it will have to be accepted with foreign experts and the foreign experts naturally try to place orders on the countries from which they come. The high salaries of these experts and the high margin of profit on the machinery received by us from them will take away more than 17 per cent, that we get from foreign sources. So we need

not depend on foreign assistance so far as the financing of our plans is concerned. Fourthly, for some reason or the other. South India feels that it has not been done due justice in the matter of providing projects or heavy industries. Such feeling should be removed as various interested parties are trying to exploit it for political ends. The Government of India should concentrate on this and try to locate industries and projects, as many as possible, in South India also. Lastly, one should not forget the Nizam of Hyderabad and the reactionary and communal forces in our country. He sponsored and financed the Razakar organisation in our State and he is the villain of the piece. The Razakar organisation enunciated the theory of "I am the monarch" for all Muslims. The theory says that every Muslim of the State should consider himself as a monarch and all the non-Muslims should respect him as such. This fascist indoctrination had poisoned the minds of a number of Muslims and put into jeopardy the lives of one crore sixty-five lakhs of non-Muslims. Strangely the Nizam is guaranteed a privy purse of Rs. 42,86,000 equivalent to H.S. Rs. 50 lakhs, charged to the Consolidated Fund of India. He is treated on a par with other princes so far as his privy purse is concerned. Other princes were patriotic enough to surrender their sovereignty, they have integrated their States with the Indian Union voluntarily and with great love and affection for our country, but this man stands on a different footing altogether. He declared independence for Hyderabad. He tried to betray our country and yet he enjoys all the emoluments of the other princes today. Some months back we read in our local papers that the Government of India were sending some financial experts to Hyderabad to assess and classify all his wealth into two categories—one personal and the other State. At the time of his father's death, the State exchequer was empty and all this wealth—and the world knows that he is the richest man in the world today—is accumulated by this gentleman by dubious and other questionable means. All that wealth

has to be classified under the State head, and this grant of Rs. 42,86,000 must be made on the clear understanding that he should invest it in the Hyderabad part of the Nandikoncl. Project or any other project in the State because all that money belongs to the State and the State people must have their right to enjoy the fruits of that investment.

Incidentally, Hyderabad State has suffered greatly financially by integration. We have lost about Rs. 1½ crores through the surrender of our railways—the integration of the N.S. Railway with the Central Railways. We have lost about Rs. 1½ crores by way of customs. We have lost another Rs. 2 crores in exchanging H.S. into I.G. currency and we have lost several other sums by surrendering our rights on income-tax and other taxes. Hyderabad, as you know, for various historical and other reasons, is a backward country whose teeming millions are groaning under poverty, ignorance and disease. It is, therefore, just and proper that all this money that has been taken over by the Centre should be spent in the Hyderabad State. Recently a big mill employing about 1700 labourers has been closed for want of finances. The Government of India has been approached by various persons to come to their rescue. Neither the Hyderabad State nor the Government of India is in a position to finance it. It is, therefore, necessary that such big industries which are being closed down one after another should be restarted and the men there should be re-employed. With these few observations, I would like to support the Appropriation Bill for 1954.

SHRI V. VENKATARAMANA (Andhra): Mr. Deputy Chairman, while going through this Appropriation Bill, one finds a categorical fact as to how the rural parts have been neglected. The Congress people and the present Government who claim today to be the disciples of Bapuji, who fought for the upliftment of the rural parts and rural people—it is unwise for them to neglect the rural

parts. By rural parts I mean mainly the agricultural side. Agriculture, as you know, is the main industry of our country but, unfortunately, our Government is not giving proper importance to it and they are not allotting proper funds for the development of agriculture. On the research side, no doubt there are some researches made in various parts of the country but the Government has not seen whether it is reaching the cultivator or not, whether it is implemented properly or not. There is no proper machinery in between the cultivator and the research departments. So sufficient funds should be allotted for the research department as well as for the liaison department to see that the researches are being implemented properly. In this connection, I may mention the Central Sugarcane Committee for which very meagre funds have been allotted. You know the importance, of this industry for this country, but unfortunately only Rs. 8 lakhs have been allocated out of which about Rs. 5 to 6 lakhs are allotted for the establishment itself. As such you can imagine how much attention is being paid for agricultural development and research work in this country. We have been fighting for a long time for the development of agriculture in this country, both for better production inside the country and for better marketing of our agricultural commodities. But Government has not provided any marketing facilities for our agricultural commodities, either in the country or overseas. Take for example *gur*. Our *gur*, as we know has an important market in the South East Asian countries and in Ceylon. But unfortunately there are no proper marketing facilities afforded to this commodity and because of the lack of these facilities, we are losing our foreign markets this year and Government has totally prohibited the export of *gur* to other countries, which is an unwise policy.

Take again jute. For this commodity, the Government of India still seems to be totally dependent on the Pakibian Trade Pact. I would advise Government that we should encourage

[Shri V. Venkataramana.] our local producers to grow more jute, by giving them some sort of bonus or subsidy so that we may become self-dependent in this respect, should an emergency arise.

As a matter of fact, we have been requesting the Government to establish a Central Marketing Board for tobacco for a long time. But the Government of India, though knowing fully well that tobacco has a very important position in our country, has not yet formed any such marketing board. For every industrial product, the Government is forming a marketing board, but unfortunately, there is no marketing board for any of the agricultural products, like tobacco, *gur* and such other commodities.

Secondly, so far as irrigation is concerned, the other day the Deputy Minister for Irrigation informed the House that about 28 irrigation schemes were proposed by the Government of Andhra and that later on the same Government suggested only 17 or 18 projects. But I am sorry to inform you that there is such an amount of party politics in Andhra that only those areas from where the M.L.A.s are supporting the Government, get projects started and carried out. Only for such areas are such proposals for projects suggested to the Government of India. In my district, fortunately or unfortunately, the Congress Party was completely defeated in the elections—I mean the Vishakhapatnam District—and only one independent candidate was returned and later on this gentleman joined as an associate member of the Congress. In that area, only one project was recommended which costs only Rs. 8 lakhs. Whether it is a minor project or a major project, in Andhra so much of nasty politics are being played and the projects are not being considered on their merits. You know from the papers how this party politics has affected the Nandi-konda Project and the Vamsadhara Project. Therefore, I would request the Government of India to take at least the major projects into their own hands and deal with them directly on their merits.

Then I come to this question of getting experts from abroad. We are getting these experts from various countries of the world. I do not know how far these experts are useful to our country. Some of them may be useful. But the other day the Commerce Minister admitted that some experts brought over for the cottage industries had failed to satisfy them. Similarly, in the case of the ship-building, we got French experts. I may say that we are wasting money like anything in this way. Our people in the Scindia shipyard are better than these so-called experts from France. You will laugh when I tell you that one interpreter has also been brought from France to translate their French into English! And I am told this interpreter is a cousin or nephew of one of the French experts who have come from France.

DR. R. B. GOUR (Hyderabad): He may be an expert interpreter.

SHRI V. VENKATARAMANA: It may be so, I don't know. What I am saying is, there are reliable people in the shipyard itself and the French experts have proved useless to this country. So I request Government not to waste funds like this on such bogus experts, but do something for the local people, pay them something more, send them abroad for training so that, they may be encouraged and thereby you can extract better service from the local people themselves.

As regards the aids to the States, Andhra State is being neglected. This is a newly born State and naturally it should have been provided with more funds by way of grants or loans or aids. Unfortunately, as was stated this morning by the Deputy Minister, it is a pity that our Andhra Government did not approach the Government of India for more funds. Even the funds that were allotted by the Government of India were not properly utilised. It was also published in the papers that even some funds had lapsed recently. May I request the Government of India to insist on the State Governments the proper

utilisation of these funds? On an important matter like prohibition, knowing full well that in Andhra prohibition has been a total failure, the Government of India or rather the Congress Party is directing that the Government of Andhra should strictly follow prohibition. Similarly, I say they should also give a whip to the Andhra Government to see that the funds allotted by the Government of India to the State are properly utilised and even if they lapse, due to the foolishness of the Government of Andhra, they should see that the money is allotted in the next year's budget and also see that these funds are spent on the various projects or for the various purposes for which they were allotted without any party politics and on merits only.

As regards labour, so many political parties, including the Congress Party, have been agitating for quarters for the workers and such other facilities. Unfortunately, the Government of India is following a policy of providing quarters and other facilities to the higher grades, the Higher scale officers and not to the ordinary workers in the various industries. Regarding retrenchment also, only the lower grade people are being retrenched on a large scale. For example in shipyard, about a thousand hands were retrenched but only a few persons were retrenched from the staff. This sort of retrenchment of the lower grade workers is deplorable and if this sort of policy continues, then we will have to face serious unemployment problem which will endanger the economy of our country at large.

On the industrial side also, the Government of India are giving so many facilities to the industrialists, but we are not reaping proper results out of these benefits given to the industrialists. For example, so far as sugar is concerned we have been observing how the Government of India has been giving so many concessions to this industry. They cut the price of sugar down by 25 per cent, in the name of the consumer, but they could not succeed in getting down the price to a reasonable level and so they had to

import so much sugar from overseas. This sort of sugar policy is detrimental to the country at large. An industry like this which is next only to the textile industry should, I think, be nationalised as soon as possible. At least the control and management of the industry should be taken over and it should be seen that the cane-grower as well as the worker and the consumer are all properly benefited.

While things are such, I say that no wise man in the House or in this country can support this Appropriation Bill.

SHRI RATANLAL KISHORILAL MALVIYA (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am rising to speak on the industrial housing of the Government of India and the other scheme launched by the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund organisation. Of course, there are several other housing schemes launched by the State Governments and also by some cooperatives in the States but for want of information I want to confine my remarks to these two schemes.

The scheme of the Government of India was launched more than two years ago and some development has taken place since then. It is now time to assess the progress made by the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply in this respect and if the desired results have not been achieved it is also necessary to change the scheme and achieve the progress which is intended to be achieved. Another scheme that has been launched by the Labour Ministry through their organisation—the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund—with its offices at Dhanbad was launched about eight years back with definite funds in its hand and it has got to be seen whether that organisation too has achieved anything; if they have also failed to do so, it is time that steps were taken and things put in proper order.

So far as the first scheme was concerned, I looked for the progress in the report which has been circulated to the Members and the figures mentioned on page 21 of the report are all very disappointing and the con-

[Shri Ratanlal Kishorilal Malviya.] elusion which one can draw from the progress made is quite a disappointing one too. In the year 1952-53, the Central Government allotted an amount of Rs. 2,74,00,000 towards loan to the State Governments and Rs. 14,58,000 to the employers. They also allotted Rs. 2,49,00,000 to the State Governments as subsidy and Rs. 9,72,000 to the employers. In the same way, in the year 1953-54, the Central Government allotted an amount of Rs. 91,31,000 to the State Governments as loan and Rs. 91,31,000 as subsidy and to the employers Rs. 23,25,000 as loan and Rs. 19,14,000 as subsidy. Thus, in the two years, the total amount which has been allotted by the Central Government to the State Governments as loan is Rs. 3,65,31,000 and as subsidy Rs. 3,40,31,000. These figures are for the State Governments and they have allotted to the employers Rs. 37,83,000 as loan and Rs. 28,86,000 as subsidy. Of course, nothing has been mentioned about co-operatives.

I want to point out that out of this financial assistance which has been sanctioned by the Central Government up to the 26th January 1954, it is surprising to note that advantage of the sanction has not been taken either by the State Governments or by the employers. The figures show that in the year 1952-53 the State Governments took a loan of Rs. 1,33,00,000 but no subsidy has been given as yet and in the year 1953-54 a loan of Rs. 1,37,00,000 was given to them. In 1952-53 the employers have not taken any loan and in 1953-54 only a loan of Rs. 4,39,000 has been taken by them. It is surprising to note that while the plan of the Government was to construct more than 28,000 houses during these two years, the reported number to have been constructed or under construction is only about 4,758. So, the conclusion drawn from this is that the employers are not amenable to the scheme; they neither want to take advantage of this scheme nor are they willing to construct houses for their workers at their own instance. Now, the question arises as to what should be done under these circumstances.

The Government did its level best and granted a subsidy of 25 per cent, and a loan of 37 per cent, and, as this was not availed of by the employers the Government again lured these employers by increasing that loan of 37 per cent, to 50 per cent, and still advantage was not taken by them and the condition of housing remains where it was two or three years back. The policy which was adopted by the Government two or three years back remains unfulfilled and it is time to revise the plans to see that the plan of the Government to construct housing on a progressive scale is carried out and the required number of houses made available to the poor workers who have been suffering day in and day out. The scheme, so far as the Ministry was concerned, to my mind, has failed. I have been concerned with these industrial questions and my own view is that some sort of compulsion—the mode of that compulsion is to be decided by the Government itself—should be used and the employers should at least be compelled to make their own contribution of 25 per cent. and they should also be compelled to take loans from the Government to the tune of the requirement of houses in their own establishment. There is no other way if we want that the plan of the Government should succeed.

Now, I come to the second phase of my discussion and that is with regard to the Coal Mines Welfare Fund organisation with which I am intimately connected and about which I can talk with some confidence. This organization is being run on a cess which is raised on the despatch of coal at the rate of six annas per ton and the total collection of the fund is to the tune of one crore of rupees annually. Out of this the major amount of course, is being spent for the general welfare of the coal-mine workers throughout the country and a portion, about 20 to 25 per cent, is reserved for housing purposes. Since the fund was started in the year 1946 this reserve for housing has been accumulated and it has gone up to the tune of two crores of rupees. Besides this amount one crore has

been spent by the Government itself in construction of houses at the beginning. The township of Bhuli with about 1,600 houses and two other small townships were constructed, wholly financed by the Welfare Fund at Jharia and Raniganj area. But the creation of townships which the Government did, did not bring about the desired result as the employers have not been taking these houses on rent. These are lying vacant because the employer has to pay out of Rs. 14 of monthly rent, a rent of Rs. 6 and the worker has to pay Rs. 2, of course the Government agreeing to contribute Rs. 6 per month. So, because they have to pay rent and for some other reasons, anyhow they did not occupy those houses. Out of the 1,600 houses which have been constructed at Bhuli, with great difficulty and after great persuasion, some 400 have been occupied during the last four or five years. According to the initial scheme the houses were sought to be constructed with the funds of the organisation but because the general welfare was also there, the fund was not enough to construct houses wholly financed by the Government. The employers also showed their unwillingness to occupy the houses. The policy adopted, therefore, was that 20 per cent, was allowed to the employers as subsidy and 80 per cent, was to be contributed by the employers themselves and they were to become complete owners of the property. This did not succeed for a number of years and then the subsidy was increased to 25 per cent. This also failed and about a year and a half back a housing sub-committee was appointed of which I happened to be a member. The employers pressed for a loan of 50 per cent. I objected to it because the remarks which I have just made about industrial housing in general were in my mind then and I thought that the employers were not going to construct houses even on the loan basis and I am still convinced that this loan business is not going to bring any results so far as housing is concerned. I, therefore, objected to

grant of loan and proposed a way of compulsion. So far as the mining industry was concerned, Government 10 CSD.

will be perfectly justified in making that arrangement. I suggested a cess of annas four per ton on the despatch of coal, to be collected from the employers. The existing cess of six annas per ton is collected from the consumers. I proposed a cess of annas four to be collected from the employers, and because I had little support from other members in the committee consisting of the Government representatives and the employers' representatives, I could not succeed there. I, however, feel very strongly that this loan business, as experience has shown, has failed and the employers in the coal-mining industry were also not going to apply for adequate loan. Still steps are to be taken to see that houses are constructed and the employers were compelled to contribute their share of capital. Of course, as I have said, the subsidy and loan may be there but then they must be compelled to find the requisite amount for housing construction. It was essential that housing requirement of every industrial unit was assessed, finances required were ascertained, and the owners of the industrial units concerned were compelled to take loan and subsidy from the Government and contribute their own share of the capital.

So far as the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund organisation was concerned, I have to say only one point and it is this. There is a marked difference between the other industries and the coal-mining industry in that in the mining industry the whole land belongs to the Government and it is only leased out to the employers. The Government can bring compulsion upon the employers either by way of assessing the cess on them or by other means. They may compel them to apply for adequate loan and subsidy and if they fail to do so within a time-limit the cess of annas four per ton be imposed upon them and the construction be undertaken by the Government itself. My suggestion then was not accepted but I still feel very strongly that the loan business is not succeeding and the cess is the

[Shri Ratanlal Kishorilal Malviya.] only alternative so far as the coalmining industry is concerned.

Now I will speak a word about housing in the Government railway collieries and I close. In the Government railway collieries which are about 11 in number, the condition of housing is deplorable indeed. The employers have always taken the plea that because the Government is not itself constructing houses in their own collieries it does not look proper for the Government to compel private employers to construct houses and we have to hang our head¹ in shame. We had to request the Ministry concerned every time and every time the request was turned down. It was last year in the month of July that I personally approached the Production Minister and requested him to make some allotment and a plan to construct houses in the Government railway collieries. He appeared to be agreeable then but then nothing has been done so far and to my great surprise no allotment has also been made in the Budget for 1954-55. While the requirement on the one hand is great, we find on the other hand that no budget allotment is made for this purpose and naturally dissatisfaction among the workers is growing and it may have its repercussions in any form. My submission, therefore, is that the Government should undertake the construction of houses first and should make a positive plan and start working immediately. If you look into the facts you will find to your great surprise that whatever housing has been constructed in the Government railway collieries, it has been wholly financed by the organisation for which they were not entitled. Railways are the only organization or the only concern which got preferential treatment and all their houses so far constructed, have been wholly financed by Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund. This privilege was not available to any private employer. About 300 to 400 houses have thus been constructed. But the Government have no plan of their own. It has not applied for any subsidy under the plan for which we

are compelling the private employers to do. So the condition remains where it was. Now, it is a paramount necessity that if we want housing in the industrial area and especially in the coal-mine area with which I am particularly concerned the Government should take the initiative. They should move immediately and then and then only the private employers could be persuaded and some action could be taken against them by way of assessing cess or otherwise to collect funds and construct housing. I would, therefore, very earnestly request the Deputy Finance Minister—because the Minister concerned is not here—and through him I will appeal to the Production Minister to look to the plans which have been handed over, to consider the workers' request which is before him and to start construction of houses. The Labour Ministry is also concerned with housing in coalmines and I would request the Labour Ministry also to reconsider their plans which they have sanctioned and which they are likely to sanction. I submit that this loan business is going to fail. I suggest that a cess of four annas per ton on the despatch of coal be imposed on the colliery-owners. The houses must be constructed from the proposed cess and the accumulated amount of rupees two crores of the Welfare Fund and the amount which will accumulate in future. Then and then alone we can meet the requirements of the coalmining workers within about ten years and that too only if it is taken up in right earnest now. With these remarks I again request the Finance Ministry, the Ministry of Production, the Ministry of Housing and the Ministry of Labour to look into these questions very seriously. They should not pass the time unnecessarily, as they have been doing so far, because the situation is getting critical day by day so far as labour is concerned. Thank you, Sir.

DR. R. B. GOUR: My Deputy Chairman, I rise to speak and with your permission I would like to confine my remarks to only one Ministry and that is the Labour Ministry. The Labour Ministry wants to appropriate huge

sums under the various heads of the Appropriation Bill as it is before us. but shall I say that it wants to misappropriate these funds in order to conduct, as it has been conducting, a policy of fiddling while the entire labour in our country is being fired upon?

Industrial unemployment is growing in the country due to rationalisation and work-load. And rationalisation, may I tell you, is another name devised to increase the work-load on the workers? Now, in Kothagudam in the Singareni collieries, when the present wage structure was framed in 1949, the labour strength was 21,000 including labour under contract. Today in 1953 with the same wage structure the labour strength is brought down to 15,000. A direct retrenchment has taken place of about 6,000 workers in one single colliery in Hyderabad State. The wage structure remaining the same, employment having gone down, look at the production. The production has increased. The value of production has increased and when the . i workers come out demanding a little , amount for the increased production which they have placed in the hands of the owners and when for this pur- .! pose they go on strike for nearly a whole month, here is the Central Labour Ministry, under which the mine labour is expected to work, pleading inability. The Chief Labour Commissioner pleads helplessness. He says, 'I cannot do anything; I cannot ask for even interim relief.' The ' Regional Labour Commissioner allows half the strike period wages to be paid to the workers because the owners were recalcitrant enough to deny even interim relief, which it was the right of the workers to get owing to the cost of living index having shot up intensely in that area, particularly after the demonetisation of the *Hali* currency. At this stage the Chief Labour Commissioner comes in with his award that even half the strike period wage should not be given to the workers 1 because it seems to his mind—and he quotes it in his award—that he is against premium on stoppages. Now, here is the Chief Labour Commissioner

under the Government coming out with an award that is directly opposed to certain awards of the Industrial Tribunals themselves. The Industrial Tribunals have held that when there cannot be any premium on stoppages there cannot be any premium on recalcitrance of certain employers. They have also said that when the workers have earned, after a long struggle, the right to strike, the employers have no right to be recalcitrant by allowing the workers to go on strike and then depriving them of their wages. Here is the Chief Labour Commissioner of the Ministry of Labour who denies that right of the workers which has been recognised even by the Industrial Tribunals. So far as the special bonus is concerned, the Chief Labour Commissioner promised me personally that he would get it for the workers. Up to date even the special bonus, which they could have got with a slight intervention on the part of the Labour Commissioner, is denied to them.

Now, I will take you to another important question. I will show how they deal with labour; how the conciliation machinery is working. I shall take you to a classical example and show how this Indian democracy is working so far as labour is concerned. I would draw the attention of the Labour Minister who is absent here and I would draw the attention of the whole House to this fact. There is one manganese-mine Garividi in Srikakulam District in Andhra. As long back as July 1952, a memorandum was submitted by the workers for an increase in wages. It was in July 1952 and we are now here in April 1954. Now, what happens? Every time the conciliator arrives, the Regional Labour Commissioner, Madras, comes there and the owners come and say, "We want to revise the wage structure; we want to increase the wages." But what is actually happening is that wages are going down—brought down deliberately. The management just comes and says, "We want to revise the pay structure. We will give increase in wages but we are discussing the question with our Head Office and we are expecting to get instructions from them." This goes on every time.

[Dr. R. B. Gour.] The Labour Commissioner has no authority and the result is that today the workers are being fired upon and many workers have been retrenched and the pay structure has been brought down. The conciliator is sitting there with folded hands and the Labour Ministry, as a policy, is not referring this dispute to the Industrial Tribunal. This is the position which the Labour

Ministry is tak'nct up. *Tho ni'PsHon* of their wage increase is hanging tire since July 1952 and their memorandum is still under consideration while they are being retrenched and their wages are being brought down. Sometimes the conciliator wants the management to come but the management refuses to come and the conciliator has no power to compel the management to attend. And that is the position everywhere. On some pretext or the other the management refuses and the conciliator has no power to call upon the management to come down and see that this question is settled. We have been suggesting to the Labour Ministry in Hyderabad, and I would like to repeat the same suggestion here. Can you or can you not apply the Enquiry Commissions Act to all these conciliators when they take over any enquiry into the conditions of labour in any particular place? If that could be done the conciliator or the enquiring officer, who may be called upon to conduct the enquiry, would be able to command people to come and give evidence and that way these matters could be dealt with quickly.

I will give you another example of the Hatti gold-mines in Hyderabad. The Hyderabad Government owns an overwhelming majority of shares in that—80 per cent, and more. A large amount of money has been contributed by the people of Hyderabad and what is the position there? The workers there are denied sufficient wages; they are denied sufficient housing whereas on the other hand gold production has increased. The workers are demanding bonus but up to date no reply has been received from the management to the workers' demand for bonus.

There is British management in Hatti and the Government were kind enough to increase the commission of this White management from £7,000 a year to £11,000. The commission for that British agency has been increased. Now, I demand an answer from the Ministry to this question. To what extent have the wages of the workers been increased? Has it been done in the same ratio? Here is a foreign management; they have foreign personnel getting all sorts of allowances. There is an allowance by the name of crockery allowance which every foreign official gets. If some of his crockery gets broken he must have some money to purchase new crockery. Besides, he gets overseas allowance. Thus they get all sorts of facilities and concessions. But there is an Indian engineer in Hatti who does much better work but at the same time that engineer who is a black fellow, gets lesser emoluments from the same concern. Again, there is an Underground Engineer; Mr. Seshagiri Rao is his name. After all, he is not a white man; he is an Indian and they pay very little to this Indian. Now, I ask: Are these things essential? Is this huge expenditure on British foreign personnel in Hatti justified? Is it absolutely necessary? At the same time, the workers are being denied bonus, they are being denied wage-increase, they are being denied even the trade union rights. Houses have been constructed for officers but not for the workers and this case has been hanging fire for some time. I myself sent a representation on the workers' behalf to the Ministry and to the Chief Labour Commissioner, Mr. Joshi. And the Conciliation Officer told me that he has already sent his reply, but so far I have not yet received even an acknowledgment of the letter that I sent to the Labour Ministry. Well, the hon. the Deputy Labour Minister has come. Let me ask whose interests he is protecting in Hatti, the interests of the foreigners, the British-managed company or the Indian labourers and the Indian staff employed there? I want to know what is really happening there. I have certain figures here with me of increased accidents due to

rationalization. Unfortunately, the Minister for Rationalization, Workload and Unemployment, as I would like to call him, is not here. I mean the Minister for Commerce and Industry. I will say that this rationalization itself has resulted in increased accidents. Proper attention is not paid to the factories, mines and railways and how they are working. The human factor of labour is being ignored. Machine is being exploited; and labour is being exploited; and everything is being exploited. Take these figures. In the first seven months of 1952, excluding the railway and the mines, the accidents were—3 fatal, 3 serious and 332 minor; but in the first seven months of 1953, look what has happened. Look at the figures—there have been 16 fatal accidents; the figure has increased from 3 to 16; the figure for serious accidents has increased from 3 to 42; and, again, from 142 minor accidents the figure has gone up to 1,118. These are the figures, I am not quoting from memory nor have I pulled them out from a trade union report as the hon. the Deputy Minister for Labour would say. I am quoting them from the Hyderabad Economic Bulletin for August-September.

Now, take the railway and mine accidents. The accidents in the rail ways during the first seven months of 1953 were: 42 fatal, 142 serious and 342 minor. I would like to know why these accidents are occurring. There is a Mines Act, there is a Mines Commissioner and all sorts of gentlemen are there—the Mines Inspector and so on. What is this? What are they supposed to inspect? I give the case of the Kothagudam coal mine. There was recently a case of two workers crashed to death due to the snapping of the rope. These ropes were supplied by America; and that bloody American company has supplied them with all the ropes

DR. SHKIMATI SEETA PARMA-NAND (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, is this expression parliamentary?

DR. R. B. GOUR: It is parliamentary, after all bloody is bloody.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMA-NAND: R is not parliamentary in the sense in which the word is used.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gour, please avoid such expressions.

DR. R. B. GOUR: I am sorry, Sir. Well, then, this very good, our darling American company has supplied us with ropes and that rope gave way. The Union representatives took up the matter; under the Mines Act you have got a whole range of personnel to look into such things. He deputed a man to say whether the rope was all right or not; that gentleman went and said that that rope was all right, but it gave way. Some furious workers wanted to punish the gentleman, but the Union leaders counselled patience and today it is the Union leaders who are being tried in Khammam court.

12 NOON.

AN HON. MEMBER: Was the rope specially manufactured for that company?

DR. R. B. GOUR: When the Americans can manufacture hydrogen bombs for Asian countries, they can also manufacture such ropes for the company. This is the position.

Then, I would like to know why industry after industry is being closed all over the country. I would not like to bore you with figures of these closures. In my own state of Hyderabad, retrenchment is going on. In 1953, 3,900 workers have been retrenched according to the Industries Department itself. What has the department, that is there for helping retrenched workers, done to reinstate these persons or rehabilitate the persons thrown out of work? That gentleman, the person in charge of resettlement and employment has said that since the middle of 1950, unemployment is growing and it is growing continuously without any avenues being opened up for alternate employment to the workers. Industries are being closed. There are three factors for such closure; one is financial stringency; the second is corrupt

[Dr. R. B. Gour.] management, thirdly market. Mostly it is over-capitalisation, mostly swindling and eating of money. The Allwyn Metal Works which the hon. the Deputy Labour Minister saw the other day when he was not yet the Deputy Minister, is over-capitalised; the Asbestos Cement company is over-capitalised; they are paying Rs. 40 lakhs by way of interest on loan and 30 lakhs, as wages

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gour, all this would be relevant in the Hyderabad Assembly.

DR. R. B. GOUR: I shall presently show how these are also relevant here.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Are they not State-managed industries?

DR. R. B. GOUR: Not quite, Sir; they are partly State-managed and partly privately-owned. But I will come to the most important point. Yesterday I had a talk with Mr. T. T. Krishna-machari; I told him that this company was over-capitalised: that they were paying Rs. 40 lakhs as interest and only Rs. 30 lakhs or so as wages. Again, there was a textile mill in Hyderabad; it was closed because of corrupt management. They spend huge amounts on various other things but not even a little amount on increasing wages. The Hyderabad Spinning and Weaving Mills have been closed. I wish to draw your attention to the fact that the Industries Development Act is safe in the shelves and the library. I want the hon. the Deputy Minister for Labour to call for an investigation into the working of this Act. I met Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari and told him that an investigation should be started into the working of this Mill; but he says that after the case of the Sholapur Mills he does not want to do such things. When he cannot take action under the Industries Development Act, what is the good of that? The State Government is not in a position to help the industries and get certain things done. Are they in a position to help? The Industries Development Act and the Regulations

thereunder are only in the library. You are not investigating into the corruption in the industries into the investigating into the affairs of the Hyderabad Spinning and Weaving Mills or the Asbestos Cement Co. or the Allwyn Metal Works and several other companies. If the investigation cannot be done by the Centre, we told the Commerce and Industry Minister at least to delegate those powers to the Hyderabad State Government who may investigate. Take another simple instance; it took nearly three months for the Labour Ministry here to agree to disclose the accumulated provident fund amount among the workers of the Hyderabad Spinning and Weaving Mills, who are starving for the last four months. And now Mr. Abid Ali's counterpart in Hyderabad says that it will take another three months to prepare accounts, etc. Now he would not agree to part with the authority and say that the provident fund amount should be administered by the State Governments. He is sitting tight over that authority. And when matters are coming to such a pass, what are the workers to do? What are the trade unions to do?

I would say only one word about these Employment Exchanges. Do they really exchange employment? Has he got the information that even the Government Departments care little and pay very little attention to these Employment Exchanges? Some gentleman is interested in having his friends and his relatives in his Department. The man says "I have got my name registered in the Employment Exchange; my registration is there; my card is there" and he gets nothing. We find that the Government have themselves circulated that the ex-employees of the Civil Supplies Department shall be given priority in employment, but what is being done? In the Agriculture Department they employ eight Third Grade Clerks, not from amongst the Civil Supplies ex-employees but from outside. Now I am putting a straight question here. Is the Government of India prepared to do anything? The Union of the Civil Supplies Staff demands that

whenever there is a vacancy caused in any of the Centrally-administered Departments in the States, they should be given priority. Even this much you are not doing. You are not giving priority to the workers that have been retrenched. Now, what is all this? I think you want the area of unemployment to be increased and the sphere of unemployment increased. This unemployment problem has created a situation of emergency. Therefore, we want you to call a special session of the Indian Labour Conference to discuss this unemployment question in all its implications. We have suggested in Mysore session that it should be included in the agenda then, but Mr. Giri, said that it needed a special session. Now it is said, "This is a problem of great magnitude and Parliament as well as the Planning Commission are discussing this question. No special session of Indian Labour Conference is required." Yes, I know that they are discussing this question; that is quite all right. But let us also have it discussed in a special session of the Indian Labour Conference, and that discussion will certainly help the Planning Commission and will also help Parliament. But we find that they are not prepared to convene a special session of the Indian Labour Conference to discuss this question of unemployment, this question of rationalisation, as also the question of workload. I, therefore, repeat that this question is very important and must be very seriously taken up at a special session of Indian Labour Conference.

Lastly, I may point out that the Government always say that there is no finance available. But my friend, Mr. Gurumurthy, has rightly told them "Yes, there is enough finance, but you have no guts; you are not prepared to cut the huge privy purses given to the Princes." After all, it is not the Princes that will ultimately defend our country; it is the poor working classes and the peasants that will defend our country. You are wasting huge amounts by way of privy purses to these Princes who have all along remained loyal to the foreign

powers in India and who have remained spies and fifth-columnists of foreign powers in our own country, and who today are only a dead-weight on our society. So much money is being wasted on them and our masses, the peasants, the working class people, are suffering. The Nizam of Hyderabad is drawing Rs. 11 lakhs merely as interest on the loans that he has given. Now this is the figure given by Mr. Vidyalkar in the State Assembly. Do not allow the Britishers to export capital; do not allow the Britishers to increase their commission from £7,000 to £11,000. Use that money for the welfare of our masses, for the welfare of our peasants, and make our country prosperous. I, therefore, feel that these being the doings of this Ministry, the amount that is earmarked for the Labour Ministry is going to be a waste; you will be wasting our hard-earned money on such a Ministry, such a Department, which fiddles when the entire working class is in the fire.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMA-NAND: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would like to support this Bill, but at the same time make a few observations on one or two matters. And I begin with the Education Ministry.

It is known to everyone that something is definitely wrong with our education, and the main reason for the failure of most of our schemes—I am referring to Government schemes—is not now lack of funds or even of technical personnel, but lack of a national spirit, as also efficiency that comes with education. This may be considered a State subject, but to remove this doubt I would at once like to point out article 45 of the Constitution which reads as follows:

"The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years."

I would like to point out that seven years have almost passed, and unless we make a beginning at least next

[Dr. Shrimati Seeta Parmanand.] year or a year after—it says "shall endeavour"—we shall be charged with a breach of promise, and among the various causes that lead to frustration and lack of confidence in Government would also be the gap that is always there between promise and performance. So, I would like to point out the various ways in which it would be possible for us even today, in spite of the supposed difficulties, to implement this promise made, under our Constitution.

Something seems to be wrong with the way in which educational matters are tackled, particularly at the Centre; we are not concerned here with the States. The Centre is supposed to direct the policies of the States in these matters. One example I would like to give to show how things are done in a confused or a topsy-turvy manner. You can see how the University Commission was appointed first; then came the Secondary Education Commission, and then, after that as was to be expected a demand made in Madhya Pradesh, where the Prime Minister went to open the All India Primary Education Conference, to appoint a Primary Education Commission. This is like putting the cart before the horse. It leads to delay; it leads to confusion. And what is worse is that though just recently the Secondary Education Commission has submitted a very comprehensive and a very competent report, and we have all complimented the Commission on that report—in spite of the fact that there were one or two foreign experts on that Commission—Government thought it fit to set up a committee again and invite the Ford Foundation to go into the question of implementation of the Secondary Education Commission's Report. I am not able to understand that. Does the Government think that in our country there are not enough number of people competent to implement what has been decided upon by the Commission after touring the whole country? Does the Government think that we do not know the problems before us; that we do not know what type of education we

should give to our children? You are very well aware that the main reason for the present state of chaos in our country, the main reason for our not being able to get the full benefit from our Five Year Plan is the type of education that our people are receiving. You are aware of the state of affairs in our District Boards and in our Municipalities, and how often they have to be dissolved for mismanagement. I would particularly mention what appeared today in the papers about the U.P. Examination Report. It was astounding—I hope it was not correct—but it was said that about 40 per cent, of the pupils had copied and that they intimidated and also attacked the invigilators who wanted to interfere. What are we coming to? Are we going to be complacent about this question and on the floor of the House only discuss such matters in which you can see the dividend in rupees, annas and pies, and ignore all such questions where the dividends are of far-reaching character, matters which perhaps are the very foundations of the country's-future? I am really surprised at the way in which our remarks in this House are being treated by the Education Ministry. The Education Minister also is not able to attend very often. I do not know why the Parliamentary Secretary also is not here. I had told him that, I was going to speak only and perhaps solely on education and he should try to be present because one likes to feel that one does not speak simply for the sake of speaking. One likes to feel that Government would take notice of it. But unfortunately, the Parliamentary Secretary also is not present. I would like to point out that we are all aware of what type of education should be given to our people. We are aware of what type of education, the Empire of which we had formed part till recently, gave to its people through their public schools and other institutions. We are also aware of how Germany which was downtrodden after the First World War, changed her entire system of education and suddenly rose up within a short period of seven years. Even in Japan, we

know that under Tojo, they were given universal education and the people were able to understand what they had to do for their national cause.

We are told by officers of the Government, by the Planning Commission and others, that they are not able to pursue their schemes because, as they say in their reports, they have no adequate personnel. It is not that people work only because they get directives from the top; people work because they are enthused with the national spirit, and such people do not wait to see what directives they get. We cannot waste time, thinking that the task is so gigantic that it cannot be done in a day. We have no time to waste. We are a backward country, where the masses have no education. We have been used to be guarded and protected by others. We have only to think of what happened on the road to Tilpat, where our Army Commanders even were not able to effectively tell the people how to behave in an orderly fashion. Perhaps most of them were uneducated or badly educated people. We do not want to have that kind of spectacle to happen again. I do feel that the Education Ministry must at once see to it that it does something to change the present method of education. It is no use appointing Commissions and then putting their reports on the top shelves and forgetting all about them. Rather than waiting for the States to fall in line, I would suggest to the Education Ministry to make an interim change in the Constitution to allow full control of the subject of education to the Centre. There is another reason for this. The States, in their own fancy, want to go in for schemes which are often at variance with each other. Take the case of Bombay. They are going in for some stunts. You cannot deliver goods by these stunts. The Bombay Government evidently feel that they do not have to bother about the medium of instruction; that they are such a rich State as to be able to provide jobs in their own State, and so they need not worry about the Centre coming to their help. Only three days ago there was a Conference

of Chief Secretaries in the Home Ministry, and I understand that they have decided on a policy of a five year loan of administrative officers from the States to the Centre and then sending these officers back to their States. How can you reconcile these two schemes? This type of policy is causing confusion. In some States, the Governments, in spite of protests from experienced officers, have decided overnight that all their administration would be carried on in Hindi, but have they been able to do it? This is one more example of how there is no reconciliation between promise and performance. They have been unable to do it, because they cannot have the Hindi typewriters and trained typists and so on. I personally feel that, if only the Congress Govern[^]ments, as soon as they came to power in 1937, had changed the system of education, the partition of the country could have been averted. It was because the separatist tendencies were allowed to develop among the people through a denationalised education that the partition came. It was a matter of education.

I would like to say that education is as important to the mind as is food to the body. In view of the fact that the food question has now been solved, the Government should at once take steps for the solution of this important question of compulsory education. I would like to point out how this can be done. The Sargeant Committee thought that forty years would be required to give free and compulsory education to our children, but as against that, taking advantage of the spirit of progress and unity in the country, our Government thought that within ten years they should make a beginning and perhaps in an equal number of years, they should achieve the goal. But they have been dissuaded from doing that, because they think that it might interfere with the autonomy of the States. Perhaps they also feel that funds might be an obstacle. We are about 360 million people, and by statistical calculations, 8 per cent, are supposed to be children from the age of 6. The period men-

[Dr. Shrimati Seeta Parmanand.] tioned in the Constitution is 6 to 14. Let us, for the sake of convenience, take this period to be from 8. Children above 8 would be about 12 per cent. *i.e.* about 30 million or 3 crores. It means about 1 million teachers at the rate of one teacher for 30 children. I would show later how this difficulty of getting teachers can be overcome. Taking the expenditure as Rs. 1000 per teacher per annum, the expenditure would be about Rs. 100—120 crores. The entire expenditure on education at present between the States and the Central Ministry is about Rs. 122 crores, out of which Rs. 40 crores is for primary education, 30 crores for secondary education, 5 crores for university and 45 crores for other education. That leaves about Rs. 80 crores. Take it, if you like for the sake of convenience, even as Rs. 60 crores.

Now, it might be asked, 'Where is this amount to come from'? It has not been possible to spend all the money that was allotted for the Five Year Plan. Some of that money can be diverted here. Now, the foreigners are giving us loans for—as they have put it—arresting the march of Communism in the East. The same argument can be put to those people to the United Nations who might be willing to give loans, and they can be asked to give us loans for creating a spirit of nationalism and for increasing the efficiency and standard of living of the workers. If the efficiency of the workers is raised, naturally the expenditure on the Five Year Plan also can be reduced. The money that is being spent is 5 or 6 times more because of less efficiency to day. If you were to take the efficiency quotient of the countries where there is education, you would find that efficiency quotient is six times or eight times more than ours. So that would be the saving on the Five Year Plan and our other schemes and that could be spent for education. Ours is a poor country. Our people have no radios and they have no money to buy them, communications are poor and if the Government wants to reach the people for any nationbuilding propaganda, the

only way it can do it—and the cheapest way—is through published pamphlets and for that reason unless the people have some minimum education, it is not possible to make progress further at a pace at which we should have liked to do and our experience of the last 7 years should convince us of that.

The next question is about teachers. The number at present employed is about 12 lakhs in the country—I am speaking of primary education. 2½ lakhs of matriculates pass out every year and even if we were to take 1½ lakhs from that per year—because all the people will not be willing to take up teaching—at least that would add substantially to the number of teachers. Then there could be conscription also for teaching. An educationist of experience and no less a person than the Director of the Central Institute for Education, Dr. Basu, has told me that it should be possible to equip a teacher with the necessary training for teaching by a teaching course of 3 months provided he is given a refresher course again in the intermediary period. So such people also who say that it is better not to give any education unless you can give proper education through the medium of trained teachers need not put that as an excuse to shelve the question.

Then there is the Postal Department, there is the Labour Department and there is the Railway Department who are also making provision and can make provision for the education of the children of their employees. So that would again reduce the number of students which I have mentioned here. One more point is about double-shift. We can certainly use these teachers for double-shift because now the scheme is to give basic education for half the period and for half the period the 'three Rs' and the staff that will give them basic education which will be only carpentry, agriculture, etc., mainly, would be separated from the other staff. Then comes the question of building. Those who visited Shantiniketan and those who know the conditions in our country or

climate would agree that it is not necessary to have buildings for giving primary education during the interim period in rural areas. In olden days, in so many places education was given even under trees and in the open and with the present village economy it would not be possible to lock up a village student in a room all the 12 months in a year. So except during the rainy season, it would be possible to hold our schools in the open. Then the question of secondary education is there.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your twenty minutes are over.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMA-NAND: I think only on Bills we are supposed to have the time-limit operating. I will not take more time but I hope you will also agree that education is an important subject. Even otherwise I may take a minute or two more here. But I would request you not to put this time-limit, because it is a subject which is hardly touched in this House. The subject is really the foundation, it is actually the foundation of the nation's future.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Should you speak on secondary education and technical education?

(.Interruptions.)

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMA-NAND: About secondary education, it was pointed out by the Commission that that should be, as far as possible, the last stage of education and only really competent students or those wanting to have specialised education should go to Universities. I would give here the example of Germany. Hitler said when their funds were limited, that as an emergency measure only men and women who had—particularly in the case of women—obtained marks above 60 per cent, should go to Universities and the rest had to take up domestic course as a specialised course after their matriculation.

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

With regard to University education, I would like to point out that the standard at present is low and yet

the Government has not even accepted the suggestions made by hon. Members like Mr. Kishen Chand who had brought a Bill regarding ways of raising that. It was suggested by him that if three years' post-graduate course was only made as the University course and the course up to B.A. pass was handed over to the Intermediate Board or whatever name you may choose to give it, that would raise the standard of teaching and of discipline. Government should have realised that the present type of University degrees have become just nothing but a sort of post office mark for which the course is just mugged up in a parrot-like fashion and that is the reason for the deterioration of our present day education and also for the deterioration in the general administration because the administrators of today are students of yesterday and there is this fact—and nobody can deny—that the standard of teaching has gone down considerably during the last 15 years. If this state of affairs has to improve, Government must at once make a right about turn and recommend two types of degrees. I don't say that people who are anxious to have some sort of degree education should not have it. If appearing for an examination is the only incentive for reading, then there could be two types of degrees—A and B type, viz., one that could be got by attending University and the other that could be got by private education. In Nagpur University women students are allowed to appear for the degree without attending a college. That would also take away the expense from this. I would like to suggest that Government could reduce this expenditure on University education though it is pointed out by some people that there is hardly any University education in our country in comparison with the number of people that should be given University education.

I would suggest that Government should curtail the money spent from this country on students who are going abroad. Ordinarily every year, if I am right, about 400 to 500 students go abroad and there are on

[Dr. Shrimati Seeta Parmanand.] the whole, at a time about 2000 of our students in foreign countries. Taking £500 as the expenditure per person, nearly Rs. 1] crores are spent every year. You know that Rs. 11 or 12 lakhs each are given by the Centre to the Benares University, the Aligarh University and the Delhi University. The total budget at the Centre is nearly about Rs. 12 crores. So if that money were to be saved for bringing in foreign experts and lecturers and giving of highly technical courses which students look forward to taking abroad and then after they have spent about 3 to 4 years, after their qualification, allowing such people to go for a refresher course, it would not only be a saving but it would have far-reaching effects in making our younger generation, the next generation want to develop our own culture on our own lines. Many of us who have spent the best years of our post-graduate years in foreign countries for our studies know how unconsciously we get tied up to Western ideologies and Western modern life and if that is to be avoided and if our people, if our students are to be allowed, at an impressionable age, to see the best education in our country first and then go at a later mature age to foreign countries for practical experience, or advanced education that would be a double boon. It may sound rather amusing, but I may tell you that even in America students who go for picking up business methods, practical training etc., are asked to do so in between the period of their college studies and then go again to colleges to finish it, because they then know on the strength of their practical experience what is best to be picked up in the institutions where they go. On an analogy, if our students continue to finish their studies till the age of 24 or 25 and then go abroad, they would know what is best to be picked up in technical institutions, in particular, in foreign countries and in this way a great deal of money would be saved and this money could at once be used for further University education, or for secondary education.

Money could also be raised in various ways as- was suggested just now by the hon. Member who preceded me in regard to industries. I would point out as in Ceylon some time back where they had a capital levy, a per capita tax could be levied, though it is considered a bad form of taxation. But when there is an emergency, every avenue has to be explored and ways and means have to be found by which a solution could be arrived at, by which the money could be made available. Similarly, an education loan could be floated. I do not think anybody would be unwilling to pay for such a loan, a loan for really the most important aspect of the nation's life. Similarly, I would suggest that from now, the proceeds from the estate duty should be set aside by the Government for compulsory education. I have suggested earlier that it could be set aside for children's homes. But if more money is required and if we cannot get foreign loan for this purpose, even this source should be tapped.

I would like to point out one more aspect of education on which the Centre should give the initiative to the States because the States themselves do not have the opportunities to have a broader outlook on the matter, being far away from the centre of things. In the Centre people not only from all over the country but from all over the world come and so those at the Centre are conversant with different trends of thought. But the States themselves are not able to take the initiative in re-orientating education. We are a secular State, but that does not mean that our education should be godless. You may call it by what name you like, *i.e.*, religious or moral, but some sort of ethical education should be given. Even if we are a secular State, why should we not give religious education without any denomination, because ethical principles of all religions are common? And those principles, if they are taught through our schools, that would make a difference in the character of our young people. Everybody is loud in

saying that we have got a characterless education. But what are we doing about it? We as older people are just watching complacently, and very vociferously blaming the younger generation for not coming up to our standards. If we fail in our ditty towards them, I do not think we have any right to blame the younger generation for not being worthy of ourselves, because I suppose everybody thinks he is the best model of a human being.

AN HON. MEMBER: Quite so.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMA-NAND: But if we want to bring about an improvement, we have to make it compulsory, and see that some sort of ethical education, either extra curricular or through the schools, is given, if our country is to be freed from the present corruption and all this denationalisation of which we are having good examples in these days.

One word I would like to say about co-ordination of the activities in the various Ministries, and that too concerns education of the younger generation. You know that we want informative documentary films to be shown to the children, and we also want certain films should not be shown to them for the proper education of the younger generation. This concerns one Ministry. Then we want mid-day meals to be given and so the Food Ministry comes into the picture so that they may give some concessions. We want the Health Ministry to see that compulsory medical examinations of school children are made available at minimum cost. Similarly there is the training given in the schools which has been recommended by the Secondary Education Commission by some basic craft. That really has to be made available through the cooperation of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, because cottage industries are mostly concerned in this training. So proper co-ordination among the different Ministries is very necessary for quick results and saving of money and effort. But what happens? I will give you one

example of what happened in a particular State. It was suggested in a particular district where teak and other waste from a saw-mill were available that a carpentry school should be set up to give a craft education—to the boys in five or six high schools of the place or in the alternative, that some aid should be given for this purpose to a big workshop existing there. What happened was this. The Ministry of Industry at once said that the Education Ministry was concerned and that Ministry must be consulted. But they had no precedent to see how it could be co-ordinated and the Education Ministry did not think that it had any obligation to co-operate with the Industry Ministry and the matter was shelved with the result that one valuable year has been lost. Here at the Centre you find individual Ministers of experience complaining privately, that there is no co-ordination among Ministries, but I would like to know what efforts they have made to raise this question at the Cabinet level to see that there is proper co-ordination. They can change their methods if they want to.

I have only to say one word more and that relates to another matter—the way various reports are presented. This happens a couple of weeks after the Budget is given. The time is not enough to make use of them during the discussion on the Budget. Usually these reports are beautifully vague in the way they are presented and that is another thing about which I should complain. Take this Education Ministry's report. Reference is made to many committees and meetings, and it is stated that this is being done and that is being instituted. But I should like to know which Member can get up and tell me that he has understood exactly what has been done. Really, there is no use wasting so much paper and money if Members are not able to get a correct idea of the stage which a particular work has reached. If you cannot do that, better not print them.

Secondly, various conferences etc. are being called together here. For

[Dr. Shrimati Seeta Parmanand.] quickly achieved. This could be an interim example there was the Ministers' measure.

Conference to discuss how the Secondary Education Commission's Report should be implemented. After all, Parliament somehow is connected with it. I should like to take the House into confidence and say that even when the Ministry concerned was requested that Members of Parliament who are interested in the question should be allowed to attend as observers, nothing was done. As a matter of fact, when various conferences are called here, may be industrial conferences or any other conferences, I think it should be the custom to inform Members of Parliament so that if they are interested they could attend them as observers. After all there is nothing so very secret that a Member of Parliament who forms part and parcel of the administration and the Government of the country cannot be allowed to hear. If they were allowed to attend and hear the discussions, I think it would have a double advantage. The discussion also would be of a different nature—I think I will put it that way, also Members of Parliament in one single hour would get information as to what is happening in the whole country which they would not get otherwise without wading through various reports.

Finally, I would like to make mention of one thing. I think I have said enough about education and I hope the Government, the Ministry, has understood my point, that in view of the conditions in the country, in view of what we are struggling for, every pie of the country that is spent has to be turned to good account, if there is not to be any waste. Universal education has to be given immediately, and for that reason, if necessary, the Constitution should be changed to the extent of the Centre having the power to give directives to the whole country in the interest of the unity of the country, especially because of the impending linguistic formation of the States—a subject that is being talked of all

Now, one more thing about the Commerce and Industry Ministry and I will have finished and that also I will say in two minutes. I have written several letters to the Commerce Minister pointing out certain cases about leakage in the import policy of the Government. We spend so much money on the appointment of the Tariff Commission and maintaining tariff boards and we declare a tariff policy by which we give protection to our industries but we do not care to see whether the intention of the Government that protection be given to such industries is carried out or not. Instances are a million, but I will not mention those cases specifically which have come to my notice because I am hoping that the Commerce and Industry Minister will still give a satisfactory reply to my letter—the letter is due for a reply for the last four months. So, I will not mention them now otherwise I will certainly come up before the House and put that in the form of a question if I do not get a satisfactory reply. If a certain amount of quota of a certain product was only allowed to be imported, say 10 per cent, of a particular article, in order to give protection to a certain industry, nothing has been done nor has Government noticed that 110 per cent—90 per cent, is the home production—has been imported into this country within a period of six months. What is the use of a tariff policy and the Tariff Board if such things are allowed to happen? We must see to these loopholes and see that whoever is responsible for these is not allowed to sabotage our policy and ruin home industry. The Planning Commission wanted to invite small-scale industrialists and small capitalists who were fighting shy of starting small industries; they wanted to start the industries and then hand them over to the capitalists but now we find that small-scale industries which are already in the field are being allowed to die out within a period of six months and the small capitalists who also because the results will be more have a capital of Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 lakhs

cannot hold out against foreign competition for a period of more than one or two years because they have to pay high salaries for technical people and they have to either send away these trained people or begin again from scratch and the result usually is that they have to go out of the field. Here again, would be a case of a gap¹ between performance and promise; promise is to invite small-scale industrialists to come forward and to build up small industries and the performance is not even attending to those ! already in existence and driving them to a position in which they would go out of the business field.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI J. S. BISHT: Mr. Vice-Chairman, before I begin my speech, may I I invite the attention of the Ministry of Law in regard to the appropriation demand under the Ministry of Law, "Administration of Justice Rs. 13 | lakhs"? In this connection, I wish to draw the attention of the Minister of Law to the accumulation of arrears in all the High Courts of India. In fact, it has become very notorious in any High Court that if you file -an appeal today, there is clearly no chance of the appeal being taken up within three or four years. An eminent Judge of the Supreme Court who retired recently, Mr. Chandra-sekhara Ayyar, has recently written I that there is a provision in the Indian Constitution which enables the Government of India to requisition the services of the High Court Judges who have recently retired and ask them to carry on the work. I, therefore, suggest that this accumulation of arrears will never be cleared until and unless the Government of India requisitions the services of these retired High Court Judges and appoints them for a period of at least two years in all the High Courts of India so that all the arrears are cleared away. It is almost a truism that justice delayed is justice denied; ! people have to pay heavy court fees I in going to the High Courts; they i have to pay heavy fees for printing these books and they have to pay I

heavily for engaging counsel and then they have to wait for years and years before the case is taken up.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Why not prevent the accumulation of arrears?

SHRI J. S. BISHT: It cannot be prevented. How can you prevent it? You have got the Constitution and for every grievance there must be a remedy in the Courts, otherwise people will take to violence and they will start fighting. If you do not have the disputes settled in a court of law then the only recourse will be that they will fight amongst themselves. The civil cases are accumulating because of the growing industrialisation and of the growing activities in the economy of our country, and this will naturally increase the volume of civil litigation. When that increases, the volume of the appeals will also increase and the remedy is to have adequate arrangements in order that these arrears are cleared. These arrears are indeed very great in the High Courts and I, therefore, humbly suggest to the Ministry of Law that sufficient number of High Court Judges should be re-employed under the provisions of the Indian Constitution for two or three years until all the arrears are cleared up, and after two years the civil courts may start off with a clean slate.

SHRI H. C. MATHUR (Rajasthan): But is it for the Law Minister to do that? Can he do that? He cannot under the Constitution.

SHRI J. S. BISHT: I am merely making a suggestion.

Now, I invite the attention of the Government to Vote Nos. 99 and 100 in this Appropriation Bill—Central Road Fund Rs. 4,62,52,000 and Communications (including National High Ways) Rs. 4,88,85,000. Now, there is a conference of road engineers held annually in this country and their complaint is that all the money collected by the Central Government in the form of taxes or excise duties on petrol, mobiloil or on the import of motor cars or motor car parts,

[Shri J. S. Bisht.] whether by the Central Government or by the State Governments, amounts to a very considerable sum and that money, they contend—and I think rightly contend—should be diverted for the expansion of road communications in this country. Now, if the expansion of rail communication can be taken up as quickly as possible it would solve the problems of bottlenecks in the transport service but we know that railway expansion is very expensive and, therefore, roads are very necessary. In fact, we have not got sufficient number of roads as compared to any other advanced country like Germany or England. Therefore, I submit, that these duties that are collected in the form of excise duty or import duty or as sales tax on all the motor vehicles etc., should be diverted for the construction of roads.

Then comes the question of national highways. There are certain roads declared as national highways but I wish to invite the attention of the House to the fact that the whole of the Himalayan region is without any national highway. That is a point which I have been pressing for the last three years that there is not a single road, not a single national highway that connects the Himalayas from Kumaon to Kashmir. If any tourist wants to go and see Srinagar today, Simla tomorrow and Naini Tal or Ranikhet the day after, all the time in the summer he must come down to the plains in the sweltering heat of 112 or 116 degrees before he can go back again to the hills; there is no road that links Garhwal with Naini Tal or Mussoorie, or Mussoorie with Simla, or Simla with Srinagar or Jammu at all. Therefore, I submit—you cannot build railways there—and I think it is right and a claim of the Himalayan region people that at least in the second Five Year Plan a national highway should be provided so as to link up all these Himalayan districts by internal road communication. I find that Vote No. 138 provides Rs. 6,62,16,000 for New Delhi Capital Outlay. Now, there is

a State Government here and the Central Government, from out of the money collected from the tax payers of India, is spending this sum of Rs. 6,62,16,000 in one single year and I do not see any reason why a very small amount of a crore or two crores should not be provided for building this national highway to serve the needs of the Himalayan region.

Now, I should like to say one point—it has become rather hackneyed but it is very important. In the whole of the Appropriation Bill and the Budget the central feature is deficit financing. We have been supplied with the final report of the National Income Committee and from page 23 of this Report we find the schedule of the working class force. Out of a total of about 35 crores of our population, there are 14,32,00,000 which constitutes the working force and out of this, I have calculated, roughly speaking about two and a half crores to three crores constitute what are called the fixed income for the middle class and the lower income groups. It is this class which is likely to be very adversely affected if this deficit financing gets out of control. Now, the history of it is in the national plan, the Five Year Plan wherein it is said, "At the present stage deficit financing is visualised to the extent of Rs. 290 crores only—a figure which represents the estimated releases from India's sterling balances over the five year period." And they go on saying, "Their release means the inflow of goods and services from abroad worth Rs. 290 crores without any corresponding outgoings. In other words the country will be drawing upon its past savings and obtaining thereby an immediate net addition to the goods and services available. These additional goods and services will neutralise to some extent—though not completely—the inflationary effects of Rs. 290 crores of 'created' money injected into the system."

Now that was the opinion of the I Planning Commission when they published this report sometime in 1952.

Now, last year when the hon. the Finance Minister was making a speech here, Mr. B. C. Ghose—that is you Mr. Vice-Chairman—put a question to him and it is this: "May I ask a question? Could the Finance Minister tell us whether, projecting his view in the next two years also, this Rs. 290 crores would be the limit of deficit financing?" The answer was given by the hon. the Finance Minister, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh and it was this: "I still hope so, because some of this money that I am putting out ought to come back in the way of tax and other revenues." This was the reply given by him in this House on the 5th March 1953, that is a year before this date. This year, however, the deficit financing is estimated to be Rs. 250 crores and in his speech this year before the Council of States Mr. Deshmukh said: "Of the Rs. 250 crores deficit financing envisaged for the next year, about Rs. 100 crores might be in the nature of corrective to deflation or in other words it would go to finance production, and Rs. 75 crores might be obtained by import surplus or a balance of payments deficit. The inflationary potential might thus be of the order of Rs. 75 crores." That was quite good of course, and that was quite correct. But then we have before us "Economic Development with Stability" a Report presented to the Government of India by a Mission of experts of the International Monetary Fund. Now, these experts themselves gave the advice to the Government and they said: "It is not possible to say precisely how much deficit financing can be undertaken without risking inflation. As a minimum, it would be as much as the drawing down of sterling reserves. Beyond that, an uncertain fraction, perhaps about one half of the net increase in the money supply could be used for deficit financing without serious risk of inflation. This proportion is high because a large part of the money supply of India consists of bank notes, so that the expansibility of bank credit on the basis of additional reserves is limited. Even if deficit financing could be 10 CSD.

safely undertaken to an amount equal to the drawing down of the sterling reserves plus some fraction of the net increase in the money supply, it would not follow that this is a desirable policy."

Now after that, the hon. the Finance Minister, in the House of the People, on the 22nd of March 1954 said: As against Rs. 521 crores which was at one time the expectation of external assistance, we shall have received Rs. 231 crores by the end of the Plan period. That leaves a difference of Rs. 290 crores. That Rs. 290 crores, added to the 310 crores, (shortfall in domestic resources) is Rs. 600 crores, and Rs. 600 crores is the measure of our increased difficulty, so to speak, in implementing this Plan. Therefore as a result of that, whereas under the original Plan we thought that we ought to be able to do with deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 290 crores, we shall now have recourse to deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 890 crores for the whole of the Plan period. And that means that for 1955-56, other things remaining equal, we shall have to have deficit finance of the order of Rs. 395 crores. That is a tremendous task. It means that you will have to create money almost to the extent of the size of our revenue budget.

1 P.M.

And the next day, he realized the tremendousness of the task and he said in that House, "I wish to point out that I do not regard it as a cure-all"—this deficit financing—"It has to be administered as a medicine and not to be taken as food. When I said that deficit finances in the next two years may be of the order of Rs. 600 crores it merely means an arithmetic exercise and it is not a statement of policy." That is very satisfactory.

Then we have also been supplied with a chart, by the Finance Ministry I believe, which also places deficit financing in the region of 803 to 900 crores.

[Shri J. S. Bisht.]

Now we know that Shri Deshmukh is one of the ablest Chancellors of -Exchequer whose integrity and whose desire to safeguard the interests of the middle-class and of all classes in general is very well known to us and we know that he will do it. But the point is this. This deficit financing itself seems to require planning in order to cover up all these Plans. If it were merely a question of the First Five Year Plan we might even take the risk of a little inflation but then there is in the making a Second Five Year Plan. In this connection I would quote again from "Economic Development with Stability" the Report presented by a Mission of the International Monetary Fund. "In the long run, the resources for development—and development is a long run problem—must come from taxes or savings out of the current income of the people, or they must come from resources provided from abroad. The problem of inadequate resources must be faced and met. It cannot be hidden by the excessive creation of credit reinforced by controls to avoid an obvious and active inflation."

Now the point is this. The Government of India or the Planning Commission are preparing another Five Year Plan. So what we would like to know is how that Second Five Year Plan would be covered by these resources because even to reach the target that is laid down by the present Five Year Plan we will have to go to the full extent of 600 crores of additional deficit financing or about Rs. 390 crores in the next year as against Rs. 250 crores this year. Even if we take that this would be the actual position and we come out unscathed from it, how are we going to finance the next Five Year Plan. As far as I can see, you must either enforce some sort of compulsory savings on the people because the real resources are those derived from the savings of the people for which they may even have to make some sacrifices by effecting economies in their -current consumption thereby releasing funds for investment. So you

must devise some scheme for compulsory savings both in the public sector as well as in the private sector or you must combine it with some external aid whether it is from the Commonwealth countries or other countries, as the Finance Minister has said, or, in the alternative, the Second Five Year Plan should be so framed that it will not mean any further deficit financing. Here, I shall only end by giving the judgment of these experts of the International Monetary Fund. "To protect the present standard of living of the lower income groups, it is necessary to avoid inflation. Any considerable rise in prices will inevitably make it difficult for large numbers of people to maintain their present consumption of essential goods. Furthermore, inflation will result in an inequitable shift in incomes, with windfall profits to entrepreneurs and arbitrary losses to those who cannot defend their shrinking real incomes." We have 2i crores of people with fixed income and they together with their dependants constitute nearly 7 to 8 crores of people which is nearly 20 to 22 per cent, of the population of India.

And I would enter this plea with the Finance Ministry that at least every attempt should be made, whatever the cost, in cutting d'own the target for the Five Year Plan in order to avoid any sort of inflation that will be the **last** straw on the camel's back, and we know that the suffering will be very very acute.

Now, there is only one more point to which I wish to invite the attention of the Finance Minister and that is with regard to the sales tax. The various States in India are imposing sales tax in various degrees, sometimes multiple sales tax, with the result that the trade and commerce of the country is greatly handicapped. I would, therefore, submit that some sort of uniformity should be attempted whether it is by way of advice to the States or by inducing them to some sort of central legislation. Central legislation would be the solution with the administration left to the States. It would avoid all sorts

of anomalies and anachronisms and other complications.

Coming to another point, while the Taxation Enquiry Committee is on, I think it is very important to bring it to the notice of the Finance Ministry that these local bodies, like municipalities, notified areas, cantonment boards etc., also impose what are called octroi duties or toll taxes. Now we have got one country with one citizenship and we should be free to move about anywhere without being asked to halt at every toll bar and to pay terminal tax, or goods tax or some other tax. It should be possible for the Government at the Centre, or for that matter for the State Governments, to so arrange this tax that if they want to impose a tax, it can be collected centrally and then distributed to those local bodies that will be adversely affected by the abolition of these tolls and octroi duties.

The last point which I wish to bring to the notice of the Finance Minister is this. The Government of India in this Budget has provided about Rs. 3 crores for local bodies and the Finance Minister was pleased to say that it would be granted to municipalities and other institutions for the improvement of drinking water, sanitation and so on. I should like to know how much of that money has been granted by the Central Government so far. My own personal experience is rather very disappointing. I approached the Planning Commission last year. In fact I addressed a letter to the Finance Minister himself asking for a petty sum of Rs. 15 lakhs for improving the water supply of Naini Tal, a hill station and the summer capital of Uttar Pradesh. The scheme had been vetted by the engineers of the Uttar Pradesh Government and it had been passed by the Public Health authorities of the State Government. It had also received the administrative sanction of the Uttar Pradesh Government. All that was required was that the scheme which had been well worked out by the Public Health Engineering Department of the State

should get the sanction of the Centre and I thought it would get a prompt sanction from the Central Government. But it is now nearly 12 months and I have heard nothing about. I do not know how much amount has been spent from this provision but looking at the rate at which the sanction is delayed, I think those Rs. 3 crores will lapse because there is only one more year left. I would, therefore, request the hon. the Deputy Finance Minister to look into this particular case and sanction this little amount out of those Rs. 3 crores for the improvement of water-supply in Naini Tal.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA (Bihar): Mr. Vice-Chairman, we have now stepped into the fourth year of the Plan after having completed the first three years. The year 1953-54 was different from any of the years since independence. The age ! of shortage has given place to some abundance. The Government have better stocks of food than they had in any of the previous years. The industrial production was also at its peak and many of the industries recorded target productions. There were commodities which were in surplus, and the commodity market was easy. The protagonists of the Plan will say that the Plan is on its way to success and it has achieved the purpose of relieving distress and want in the country. My answer to them is this, that merely production cannot be the standard for judging the economic efficiency or the economic prosperity of the country. The standard should be employment. We have to see whether in three years time there has been an increase in employment, whether the Plan is providing employment as was anticipated in the Plan or whether it has failed to do so. I shall give certain figures. The figures given for employment in the Plan were—Agriculture 23 lakhs; Cottage Industries 20 lakhs; Industries 4 lakhs; Irrigation and Power 2,50,000; Roads 2 lakhs; Building and Construction 1 lakh; Minerals 4,000, making a total of 52,54,000 in five years time. It is

Lbhn Kajendra Fratap bmna.j obvious that now we are in the middle of the Plan, but employment to this extent has not been generated. I There was a discussion in the other J House on the question of unemployment occasioned by the Resolution of Mr. Gopalan and the hon. the Finance Minister introduced an amendment to the Resolution calling forth a change in the Five Year Plan in order to increase the prospects of employment. Therefore, I maintain that even the Government has accepted the position that the Plan has failed to generate employment which it was expected to do. The failure of the

original Plan to create employment is now not left in any doubt.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI B. C. GHOSE) : Mr. Sinha, will you take more time?

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: Yes, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI B. C. GHOSE): The House stands adjourned till 8-15 A.M. tomorrow.

The Council then adjourned till a quarter past eight of the clock on Thursday, **the 22nd** April 1954.