

2. Notification No. 35/23/51-F.
(C.C.R.A./5), dated the 12th January 1953.

3. Notification No. 6/1/23-FII
(C.C.R.A./6), dated the 6th February 1953.
[Placed in Library. See No. S-9/ 53.]

THE TRAVANCORE-COCHIN HIGH COURT (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1953

THE MINISTER FOR HOME AFFAIRS AND STATES (DR. K. N. KATJU) : Sir, I beg for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Travancore-Cochin High Court Act, 1125.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Travancore-Cochin High Court Act, 1125."

The motion was adopted.

PROF. G. RANGA (Madras): When the Minister himself does not know the year and date, how can this House give leave?

MR. CHAIRMAN: We are engaged in calendar reform.

DR. K. N. KATJU: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Discussion on the General Budget, Dr. Sokhey.

U.S. NAVY DESTROYERS AT CALCUTTA PORT

SHRI B. GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, what has happened to the notice of a motion I gave for discussing the question of the four U.S. Navy Destroyers at the Calcutta Port? I have not got any intimation from you. The public mind is agitated in Calcutta. I have got reports appearing in the Calcutta Press with photographs,

which show the discontent and stir among the people there. Since the Prime Minister is here, probably he would like to throw some light on it.

We are not happy about the interpretation he has put on international law with regard to this subject.

MR. CHAIRMAN: This question was discussed yesterday in the House of the People and the Prime Minister has stated all that he had to state on this question.

KHWAJA INAIT ULLAH (Bihar): We have not heard it.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU) : Sir, I will repeat here what I said there. This matter, as a matter of fact, did not come to my notice at all, because ships are passing through our ports everyday from every country. These ships go to various ports, refuel, take provisions and go away, just as our ships are treated in the same way, wherever they go. There is no occasion for us to consider this matter here. These ships had evidently come to Calcutta from the far-eastern waters on their way home. I have nothing more to say about it.

SHRI B. GUPTA: These are belligerent ships. These are not ships which are not engaged in any war or warlike operations. I would like the Prime Minister to consult Oppenheim's *International Law* on this subject. He will find that these ships cannot be treated in the same way as other ships passing through Indian ports.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Well, I think the Government has said what they can say in this matter. In the circumstances, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta will be good enough not to press the motion.

THE BUDGET (GENERAL), 1953-54— GENERAL DISCUSSION—continued.

MAJOR-GENERAL S. S. SOKHEY (Nominated): Sir, I rise to add my meed of praise to those of others to the Finance Minister, but my praise is

[Maj.-Gen. S. S. Sokhey.] based on the assumption that budget making is a game for which the so-called developed countries have fixed rules over a long period of time. I must admit that the Finance Minister has mastered those rules and done a very good job indeed. But the question is whether that particular game is worth our while to play. We are faced with the problem that our people are steeped in poverty, ignorance and cultural backwardness, and the Budget must be viewed from the point of view of doing away with this backwardness. It is perfectly true that my hon. friend may say that Government is doing everything possible and that serious efforts are being made for the development of the country under the Five Year Plan. It is perfectly true. **The** Prime Minister when he presented the Five Year Plan to this House gladdened our heart by giving expression to all the progressive points of view. He told us that the Government were aware that in order to increase the wealth of the country, industrialisation on an extensive scale must be practised. What is more on a later date he told us that for industrialisation, the country must be provided with heavy basic industries, both metallurgical and chemical. He further told us that the 19th century *laissez faire* economy was as dead as the 19th century itself and that it would be the concern of the Government to see that the public sector of industry is progressively expanded. It was very heartening. I have read the Plan from cover to cover and backwards again, but I was disappointed to find that it had certainly not paid much attention to industry and still less to the basic industries. What is more, the whole thing has been conceived very largely on the so-called dead *laissez faire* economic theory of the 19th century. One hope fully looked forward to the Budget to see whether it showed any change of heart. But in the Budget there is talk of deficit financing, dollar gap and what not. One even finds conjuring tricks in it; there is reduction of 4 annas in income-tax, but addition of 6 annas on bread, betels, letters, postal packages etc. If

we are resolved to face the problem, of developing the resources in the country to the best advantage of the people to raise the standard of living and culture, conjuring tricks will not do. We must adopt measures that will permit the development of resources to the largest extent possible. I think it can best be done under a planned economy and I am aware of the fact that the Finance Minister has mentioned in his Budget speech somewhere or other that they are working on a planned economic development but I think my friend the Minister will appreciate that planned economic development is not the same thing as planned economy. If we do want to get the best results, there is no alternative. In recent times only one underdeveloped country has made itself an advanced industrial country in remarkably short space of time and that is the Soviet Union. They had broken the back of poverty by developing their resources on a planned economy. We have greatly to learn from that source. They have, in the last 23 years, from 1928 increased their industrial production to something like twelve fold and the present Five Year Plan will make it twenty fold. This development will raise the per *capita* income five to six fold. This they achieved in spite of the fact that they had a devastating war for 5 years which destroyed more than one-third of their industrial equipments and laid in ruins more than half of their best agricultural lands. If they had escaped that war, they probably would have raised the per *capita* income to ten or twelve fold by now. The point I am making is this that there is a method which has been experimented with and worked out. All the details of that method are available to us and the main items are planned economy, procedures, techniques, etc. It is up to us to make use of that knowledge to our advantage. When this suggestion is put forward, it is said that we are a democratic government and we cannot use it. It is our privilege to have any form of Government we like but we should be able to make the best possible use of the knowledge available to us and we must do as well, if not better, than,

■other people and this is the main question which the Government have to face. We simply cannot take shelter under the formula of democracy. We have to do as well if not better. I don't see where the contradiction lies. There is something basically wrong with this way of formulating the problem. I think this requires to be clarified. We must realise that what we have is a representative parliamentary Government. A parliamentary Government does not ipso facto become a democracy. In this connection I will draw attention of the House to the talk given to us by a Parliamentary luminary of the British Parliament, Mr. Bevan. He told us that the British Parliamentary system was not a democracy till 1929. I need not labour the point. Most of the Members will agree with it. He said that it became a democracy in 1929 because universal suffrage had been conceded. But even after 1929 when Mr. Bevan thought that Great Britain had become a democracy, I want to draw the attention of the House to the fact, that in 1932 they sent Mahatma Gandhi and most of the present leaders of the Congress and hundreds and thousands of citizens of the country to jail. I am quite certain that if England had been a democracy, this would not have happened. This is an action by a Government without the consent of their own people and therefore I raise the question whether when we say we are a democracy, do we mean anything more than that we are a parliamentary Government? If we are nothing more than that, it is up to us to make our Government a democracy and see that we really don't have any mental reservation or spare any effort to make it a democracy. If we do make our Government a democracy, does any one feel that if we start using for our development, a planned economy, the people in this country would oppose it? 90 per cent, of the people are steeped in misery, poverty, ill-health and cultural backwardness. I am perfectly certain that Government would have the full support of the people. Obviously if we start working on a planned economy, it would mean much more, and stiffer work and more serious application to the problem.

I think something requires to be said about the British Parliamentary democracy which we have copied so that we may avoid the pitfalls. I remember as a student I spent evenings of nine months canvassing for Liberal candidates for Parliament in two elections. I went from house to house relating to the people the desirability of sending the Liberals to the House of Commons rather than the Conservatives. The representatives of the opposing party were merely distributing bags of coal and blankets. Ultimately when the election took place the bags of coal and blankets won. Later on we all know after the war Lloyd George stood for the elections. He was going to hang the Kaiser who had already left his country and was going to make the Huns pay to make the country fit for heroes to live in. Of course the Huns did not pay and the country did not become fit for heroes to live in. In a subsequent election a faked Zinoviev letter produced on the eve of the election won the election to the Party. In a later election false rumours about the postal savings bank deposits being confiscated by Government won the election. Later still, we remember the famous instance when Mr. Baldwin and his party went up and down the country telling people that they believed in the League of Nations and they intended to use that organisation for the settlement of foreign disputes. After the elections, within about a week's time, that Government, ignored the League of Nations, entered into what is known as Hoare-Laval Pact and when the Prime Minister was asked whether that was not contrary to what he had said during the election campaign, and whether he was not going to use the League of Nations machinery for the purpose, he replied something to the effect that he did not propose to use it because he did not believe in the League of Nations. He said, he had made some statement during the election time because he wanted to win the elections.

Then we come to still nearer times and we find in 1945 the Labour Party winning the election by telling the

[Maj.-Gen. S. S. Sokhey.] people that they stood for peace and friendly relations with the Soviet and immediately after winning the election they started entering into all sorts of pacts and agreements for making a war block.

I mention these things because all hon. Members here and all Members of every party should realise that though we are functioning as a parliamentary form of Government, it does not mean that we are working as a democracy. For that we have to deliberately work and act in the true spirit of democracy.

(Time bell rings.)

We must be single-minded in developing the resources of the country to the utmost extent in the shortest time to get rid of the poverty and cultural backwardness of the people. Another point that I want to make is this that world now and when the so-called developed countries started developing are different. When they started the world did not have much of the technical knowledge or development. Not much knowledge for production was then available. Today we have all the scientific and technical knowledge that is needed to produce sufficiency for all. But all that knowledge cannot be applied automatically. We have to produce an atmosphere for the application of that knowledge. That means that in our society, vested interests which wish to preserve old methods, and maintain the *status quo*, and social inequality, and reactionary institutions should be abolished. To that end we should introduce fundamental political, social administration and economic change in our set up. We as a people, must be prepared to work hard and work on a planned economy, so that we may increase and develop our resources as rapidly as possible and remove the poverty and cultural backwardness of our people.

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ KAPOOR (Nominated): Adhyaksha Mahodaya, the other day while I was sitting here and listening to the speech of an hon.

Member here, I was reminded of what Voltaire said to his leading lady on the opening night of his play. He took her to the stage and said: "My dear, tonight, you will have to invoke the devil in you, and then curb it." I believe my friend who spoke the other day had read only the first part of that sentence—"Invoke the devil in you", and forgotten the latter part of it. He had evidently left off the curbing part of it. I was also reminded of what Shakespeare has written about bad acting in "Hamlet". Hamlet asks the Player King to say a speech and he says:

Anon he finds time striking too short
at Greeks

His antique sword rebellious to his arms

Lies where it falls repugnant to
command
and so on.

Upon that Hamlet advises him about suiting the action to the words and the words to the action and "speak the speech as I pronounced it to you tippingly from the tongue and not to saw the air thus with your hand". Well, the idea that I want to convey here is this. We are discussing the Budget here. There is another budget in the country—the budget of the culture of the country. Can we, the Members of this House, the uppermost house in the country, forget that vital matter—the culture of our country? If we do, many people come here and hear us and the impression they will gather about it all will be bad, very bad. So I would like my hon. friend who spoke like that and his friends too who have that kind of habit to kindly bear this in mind. Now about the contents of the speech, when I concentrated on the contents of the words, I was glad to find a gradual change—a change for the better—and I realised that the intention of the hon. Member was to urge for an all-out improvement—for a re-birth of the nation through national and indigenous means. When that day comes, it will indeed be a very very happy day. My friend pointed out his objection to the importing from outside of experts,

the bringing in of this, that and the other things. But isn't a pity that he himself and some of his friends and his party want to bring and implant on this black and brown colours of ours a colour from outside—a colour that does not suit us. Red does not suit the brown or black colour. There is a saying in Persian, which means:

"Black spot looks beautiful *on* a bright white face but when a dark person puts on the red colour, he becomes an object of laughter."

That colour does not suit us. And that colour these friends of ours have been trying to import from outside.

It was urged that we should not get experts from outside, that India should have its own experts. I said the same thing in my play "Dewar" as far back as 1945 and a character in that play asked "Why bring in these experts from outside? What do they do here? They stay here, eat their bread and then go away. If it is bread that they want, we could send them the bread." Then the other man explains how these experts would stay here, teach our people, lead them to better idea of things and then go; but the other still objects to the outsiders remaining. That was in 1944 and today things are different. The experts are like our hands and our hands are directed and are used by our head. We can use the experts. They can help us in some directions. But yesterday that was not so. Therefore, today we must have experts when we need them and we can use them, these hands under our mind. So by and by we will have our own experts. I agree with my friend that we must have our own experts, our own things and I shall be very happy if he will go a little further and say, we will have our own civilisation, our own economics, our own traditions, our own culture and our own flag and not a flag imported from outside, a colour that does not suit our skin. If he speaks like that and if he speaks for his entire party, I shall be very very happy indeed.

Now I come to the Finance Minister and his Budget. Unfortunately he

is not here, but I would first congratulate him on his happy marriage. The outcome is this beautiful Budget.

The first child of a beautiful marriage, a happy marriage and a love marriage is this lovely Budget. About this nobody can say anything.

AN HON. MEMBER: Is it part of the Budget?

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ KAPOOR: Yes, I believe it is part of the Budget and this you will realise only when you go back home.

SHRI S. MAHANTY (Orissa): What about his last Budget?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ KAPOOR: Sir, as the saying goes:

"There is a Divinity that shapes our ends

Rough hew them how we will."

(Shakespeare)

Vnd a Divinity has certainly started shaping our ends. This shaping is a very welcome thing and it has started putting our affairs on right lines. There are many more years of Budget making for the gentleman and I expect greater and greater things from the hon. the Finance Minister. I do not know much of Mathematics though I passed my B.A. with Mathematics. I just thought I should forget it all because I find that the Mathematics that we learn in life is different from what we learnt in Colleges. Some friends have learnt too much of Mathematics and they put things topsy-turvy and that is why I did not go deep into the figures of the Budget. As an Actor, I judge it from the reactions of the people. I read all the reactions of the different people of the different parties and I find that they all agree but then the ego of the man comes in: "we have not spoken against" they must have thought; the parties put their heads together and, leaving aside the parties, everybody on this side and on that **side**

[Shri Prithviraj Kapoor.] thought that he must say something and started saying something. They said something and the first reactions were that they were all happy but on second thought they started suggesting things here and there. So having said all this, I thought I must say something too about this Budget. Though Sir, if I were given to create that Budget and frame that Budget, I would not be able to do it, though it is always easy to criticise it. I have got some humble suggestions to make; if they can be incorporated in this Budget, most welcome, Sir; if they cannot, then in the coming Budget as there are many more to come. Everybody has been so happy about it all that if you put in some taxation, now nobody would mind it. The first reaction is good and on second thoughts, when they will read it, they will find some insertions and a few taxations and I am sure they would not mind them. I have a few humble suggestions and one of them is this. There is a saying in Punjabi about jewellery:

औरत दा सिगार मदें दा आधार

In Hindi we say:

औरत का सिगार मदें का आधार

I do not know what you say in Tamil or Telegu or in other languages, but, in a few years' time I will be able to give you that too. Jewellery sustains a man in bad days but in good days means decoration for a woman. The tax should be like that. The woman, the wife, who at the time of the need of the husband or the family, gives her jewels to be spent, to be sold, with pleasure, deserves more and more jewels to be given to her and in the case of the woman that does not give when the husband requires, the husband of that woman will go and deposit it with his friends or with the bank where he cannot be caught. So, Sir, I would press on the hon. the Finance Minister to think about this point and think about it seriously. The taxpayer should be convinced, should be assured that in times of his need he is going to get something out of

it. It is a very mighty question because I do not know about the other industries, but, I know about artistes and I know about stage and film producers. The stage producers are all in deficit. But in the case of the film producers, one man makes money out of one film. But, even in that, tax is there and so many other things, bonus for actor, director, every person. Everybody wants money and very little is left for the producers. When the producer makes money on one picture, he tries to make some more pictures and this time the picture does not bring money as on the average one picture out of 15 or twenty hardly is a success at the box office. Thus in the end the man becomes a bankrupt. So, the taxpayer should feel that he will get something back at the time of his need and, similarly, about the Actor. The Actor of yesterday, today is a pauper. If a taxpayer has this assurance then, I am sure, I am confident, I can assure the hon. the Finance Member that the tax evaders will come out with their hidden tax.

(Time bell rings.)

In that case, I am sure, the people will not try to hide the tax, they will bring it to the Government. They will not hide it in the earthen pots but will gladly give it to the mother, the Government, as they both have confidence that the mother will give it back to them whenever they want it. The analogy of the mother is easy because she keeps only a little for household purposes and keeps the rest for the child when the child needs. It is just a humble suggestion; if it can be incorporated today, yes; if not today, tomorrow or the day after will do. There are two more minutes and I will try to finish by giving one minute each. One is that as there is no new tax everybody is happy. Very good and we have been happy about it for sometime now. So, put some new taxes. The refugees are wandering about and they have gone through fire, burnt down to their bones. Why not let the other people pay? Who can pay? The other day, it was asked; how many people pay taxes? Let, those who can go through the acid test. Too much

money accumulated becomes a sin. "We find weather is changing for the worse. We have hot weather in March; we have hot weather in Bombay, 103°. It is because of the heat that comes out of the burning bodies of those poor refugees. Look at them. They have suffered in Bengal, in Punjab, in the Frontier and in Sind. I would request that the Government and our hon. Finance Minister take some steps, howsoever he may feel that he may not become unpopular with some people, it does not matter. The souls of the poor refugees will pray for you, the entire country will benefit thereby and things will become beautiful and the Finance Minister also should not bother about the criticism that came to him about prohibition and prohibitionists; if he believes in a thing, he should go forward. He is a Do-ist; he should not bother about the prohibitionists or the obstructionists. A Do-ist does it—happen what may—does what is good for the country.

(Time bell rings.)

Still one minute more, Sir?

MB. CHAIRMAN: No. Mr. Kapoor, you have taken your time.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH (Bombay): Mr. Chairman, I congratulate the Finance Minister in presenting this Budget and getting the country out of the difficulty that we had during the two years of his regime. Practically, when he assumed power, the sterling balances had already been reduced from 1,700 crores to 700 crores; the cash balances which stood at 500 crores were also reduced to 150 crores and the Treasury Bills and the Ways and Means advances had also gone up to 300 crores. In this difficult situation, Sir, he doubly controlled the expenditure of the country and has been able to launch programmes of development which are beneficial to the country. I say, Sir, in this process, he may have had to resist demands from most of his colleagues in the Cabinet, each making demands for his own Department. He has also to face the demand from various States asking for one

thing or the other and, I think, Sir, balancing all these, he has been able to put the country on a right basis and, now, we are able to see the picture that our country can safely go with the Five Year Plan in the next three years. Sir, in the matter of agriculture there has been some advance; but when our irrigation projects come to fructify by the end of 1957, we will establish ourselves as an exporting country and we will no longer be an importing one. Food-grains, we are importing to the tune of Rs. 130 crores. As regards cotton we are importing Rs. 90 crores worth every year, for the last four years. That will be a saving. That is a great achievement.

With regard to industrial production, Sir, we are going much forward than we ever imagined, than many Members imagined. Already some of the industries that we have undertaken are under production, some are under construction and some are under negotiation; and when all these are completed, at the end of 1957, our industrial map will be quite different and India will be one of the biggest countries in the matter of industrial activities. Then, we shall be importing articles only to the extent of Rs. 150 or 200 crores instead of the present import of Rs. 400 crores; our industrial expansion is so rapid but we shall not be content with it. Our main concern should be to lessen our imports. The Finance Minister has tried to slash the duty on luxury and semi-luxury articles. Of course, the duty is at present made fairly heavy; but it should have been heavier still; if you want to carry on your programme according to schedule the duty on many other articles should be raised and their import arrested. An impetus may then be given to indigenous production in India. We do not want to import such articles as can be manufactured in this country. We have not yet accepted the austerity policy fully but only partially. If you do not accept it this year, we shall have to accept it in the next two years.

With regard to exports, Sir, we must not always depend on what we are at

[Shri C. P. Parikh.] present getting. We had the monopoly in jute, tea and hides, and this monopoly is slowly dwindling as other countries are coming into a competition with us. Unless we adjust our export duties in such a way as to stand in competition with other countries, our quantum of export is bound to decrease. We are slow in taking action in the matter of reducing export duties. This jute export duty reduction took place some three months too late. In course of time, we shall have to reduce our duty for every one of our articles so that we might export more. The amount of Rs. 45 crores of excise duties will be reduced owing to world competition and specially in the matter of jute we cannot hope to realise much. Therefore these things have to be borne in mind. The main difficulty is that our exports cannot now freely go in the foreign countries and we may have to reduce our production. Our industrial production will go at such a pace that if by the end of 1957 we cannot export or use our manufactured goods our unemployment will be greater.

Then, Sir, we have to establish soon the State Financial Corporations and Agricultural Finance Corporations. They will have to be established at a very early date. If these things are not attended to promptly there is bound to be delay in the matter of increased production. The greatest problem in the country today is that of unemployment. We shall have solved the problem of agricultural production, we shall have solved the problem of industrial production by the end of 1957, but we shall not be able to solve the problem of unemployment. No democracy, no Government will be able to hold power if this unemployment problem is not solved to the satisfaction of all sections of the country. I would like to go further and say, Sir, that the unemployment problem will have to be solved in such a manner that no man in the country is unemployed and no man who demands work is denied employment, and only then, I think, this democracy will have discharged its functions. The Presi-

dent's Address has taken note of this and has said that a welfare State cannot be established unless this problem is fully solved. In course of time this cry will assume enormous proportions and their demands will be irresistible; it will be difficult for Government to resist the demands. What then is the solution to that? Cottage industries should be established on a wide scale. So many people have spoken of cottage industries; but no concrete suggestions have been made as to what cottage industries can be promoted in this country. We have been imbued with western culture, western methods of education and western methods of production and finance and we shall have to modify this attitude if we have to have our men fully employed in our land. We shall have to make an earnest effort to see what articles can be manufactured on cottage industry basis, small-scale industry and large-scale industry. The Planning Commission has not also been very clear. The Government have appointed the Village Industries Board which will go into the matter of what articles can be produced and what articles should not be imported. The spheres of manufacture between the small-scale and large-scale industry will be defined and then the large-scale industry will not crush the small-scale industry. The expansion and development of the new projects should be carried on in this fashion. Unless we adopt this policy there will be no independence from outside countries and all large-scale production will have to be considered as wasteful. The only possible method of doing this is to encourage indigenous industries. Many people have thought that the development of cottage industries should proceed apace. But they did not forget to stress on quality and price and were always making these a condition of development. We cannot compete with foreign countries in the matter of quality or price. We cannot compete with foreign capital or foreign labour or foreign produce. We can take note of only internal competition of our own labourer, our own capitalist for our indigenous produce. If we tackle these properly that will bring down the price and im-

prove the quality. It is no use saying that we shall not be able to compete with foreigners in the matter of quality. We shall not be able to enter into competition with others; our own people who have no resources will not be able to finance the industries and will not be able to compete with others.

With regard to educated unemployment, Sir, it is daily increasing; people have been trained to study the problem in other countries. People who have read books on the Chinese revolution, the Russian revolution and the French revolution have imbibed certain ideas which those countries have. With regard to landless labourers we must tackle this problem in such a way that the larger holdings are reduced. Intensive cultivation and cooperative farming should be undertaken in the country. My hon. friends are more expert in the matter of agriculture. The sooner this problem of unemployment is solved the better it would be for the country. There is no use postponing this problem because any democracy will not be able to resist it.

Now I come to the Budget proposals. The duty on hessian is not reduced. I maintained that without reducing it we shall not be able to run fully our jute mills. Our jute mills are working 42 hours, but they should work double shift. We should increase our production by working 94 hours. They must reduce the cost of production, and export duty should not come in the way when they have reduced the cost of production reasonably.

With regard to excise duty, the hon. Finance Minister has thought fit to raise it to 1 anna 3 pies for fine cloth and 3 annas 3 pies for super-fine cloth. While announcing that, he says "This will not mean any increase or reduction in revenue." I do not know how this statement can come from him, and how it can be substantiated, because the duty on fine cloth is raised to the extent of about 33 per cent., and the duty on super-fine cloth is raised to the extent of 10 **par** cent, on the aver-

age. These figures are there, and I challenge any one to disprove my assertion that Rs. 1½ crores will be accruing as additional revenue. The statement that there will be no increase or reduction sounds to me to be incorrect; there is some miscalculation, or there is a misprint.

As regards income-tax, the Finance Minister has stated, and wisely stated, that he is losing Rs. 82 lakhs. But I say he will gain more than Rs. 2 crores through assessment of higher income groups, which he has partially admitted. With regard to corporation tax, there is a good inducement for capital formation, but it is not enough. He has given relief to companies, but I think it should be given to individuals; in other words to new undertakings. In order to enable new industries to be started, and to enable capital formation, it is necessary that no corporation tax should be levied on such new industries. If we want those industries to be established, and if we want that the capital should be forthcoming—capital is shy because of the vacillating policy of the Government— if we want the new industries to > flourish, then we must take certain measures, and those measures should not be half-hearted. The measures that the hon. Finance Minister has taken are half-hearted.

With regard to defence expenditure, there may not be a possibility of a reduction. But I say that a defence expenditure of Rs. 200 crores is not going to help us. We must create an army within our country on a voluntary basis or on a conscription basis, and it must be trained in guerilla warfare. If we are to defend our country, we cannot defend it with our present army; we cannot resist warfare methods of the United States or Russia. But we can defend ourselves. No country can have the courage to hold a country with a population of 35 crores and with a length **and** breadth of 2,000 miles if it knows that it has to reckon with guerilla warfare.

(Time bell rings.)

[Shri C. P. Parikh.J

Before I take up the last point— deficit financing—I should like to say one word about what Dr. Gilder said yesterday. The State of Bombay is contributing 40 per cent, of the total income-tax revenue received by the Central Government. The Bombay State supplies 50 per cent, of the textiles. The Bombay State is producing 33 per cent, of the cotton. Sir, I am not pleading for Bombay State, but when a reference is made, and when the prohibition policy is sought to be discussed, I can only point out that I come from Gujarat where there are 99 constituencies, and if any one can stand for election on the programme of reversing the present policy of the Bombay State in regard to prohibition, I think not a single seat will be secured by any such man. And if the Bombay Government wants to reverse that policy, no Ministry will be stable in Bombay. That is the only thing I have to say in respect of prohibition.

As regards deficit financing, it is not difficult for us to have deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 300 crores for productive purposes. I think we should welcome deficit financing for productive purposes. Deficit financing for revenue purposes is bad, but deficit financing for productive purposes is not bad.

Lastly, Sir, we have no public debt, and our financial position is very strong, and I think we can favourably compare with all the civilized countries in the world because the finances of India are strong and in a stable condition, and we have no public debt, —the public debt of Rs. 1,800 crores is counter-balanced by the productive assets which are held by the States to the extent of Rs. 1,700 crores.

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY (Orissa): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have no doubt that the rich men in our country have a very good friend in our Finance Minister. He has been very cautious and conscious not to touch their pockets while framing the budget for the next year. This budget was framed after the Five Year Plan had been finalised.

It is claimed by our Prime Minister that this Plan aims at progressive socialism. I do not know what this budget offers in that respect. If one scrutinises the budget, one sees that perhaps the common man is so common that the Finance Minister has forgotten him altogether. There can be no socialism in the country unless the disparity in wealth is removed. There has been a persistent demand for abolishing privy purses. If I remember aright, the Prime Minister himself, during his election tours in Orissa advocated this view also. But, Sir, you will see, in the next year's budget an increase in the amount under the head of privy purses. I do not know how that increase has been brought about, and I would request the Finance Minister to explain this.

We have Rajpramukhs who besides these privy purses are getting extra allowances. In to-day's paper we read that the Rajpramukh of PEPSU is getting Rs. 5 lakhs annually in addition to his privy purse. We are spending vast sums of money on these posts and also on the posts of Governors. Governors are not elected. They are mere nominal heads. I do not know what is the policy behind the appointment of Governors. It seems to me that these posts of Governors are being offered as prize-posts to retired persons who would have slept in their houses comfortably. I think the time has come when these posts should be abolished by suitably amending the Constitution. The States are in need of money. The Centre wants to help them. If such huge amounts are going to be spent every year on these Governors, they will not be able to spend in other spheres and, I do not know how far the Central Government would be able to help the States in their development projects.

As I said, there has been no attempt to remove the disparity in wealth which exists in our country. There is nothing in the taxation proposals to show that rich men are affected. If it was not possible for the present Government to take some bold steps, at

least they should have taken some steps to see that, by the levy of some tax or by some other method, the present disparity in wealth was removed. Nothing of the kind has been done. Of course we see at long last that the Government has realised the condition of the handloom industry and wants to encourage it. Therefore a levy has been proposed. But if the Government is sincere about its intentions, I expect that the Government will announce its policy regarding this industry—whether the Government really desires this industry to develop. If the Government really desires that this industry should develop, it should put a ban on import of power-looms. They should not grant permits for power-looms any further. If permits are granted, the production must be specifically earmarked for exports and not for home consumption. If that is done, I believe that the Government's sincerity will be proved.

If you are not able to tax the rich, I should expect you at least to fix the minimum salary or the minimum wage for the lowest man in our society, the poorest man in our society. But nothing of the kind is done. Therefore, I say that this budget goes entirely in favour of the rich and not in favour of the poorer sections of our society.

It is said that food prices are coming down. It is a good thing that the food prices have come down. But perhaps it is not known that the agriculturists are affected very much thereby. There has been a persistent demand in this House that minimum prices for cash crops should be fixed so that agriculturists who grow cash crops would be able to get the minimum amount necessary to pay rents, etc. But nothing of the kind has been done. Why not set up a statutory board to fix every year the minimum price of agricultural products like jute, oilseeds, sugarcane, etc.? I do not want to repeat what has already been stated. That the agriculturists have been hard hit on account of the sudden fall in jute prices has already been shown.

Sir, I will now come to the community projects. Our entire village-development schemes seem to depend on these projects. Five months have already passed and the result of these projects seems to be conflicting. Even today, while answering a question, the Minister was not able to say with confidence as to what progress has so **far** been made in this respect. Of course he informed us that two miles of roads have been constructed in Assam, by voluntary labour. This may be a news to the Minister, because he does; not know that in this country thousands of miles of such roads are being constructed by voluntary labour even, without the community projects. There was a function two years back when people from outside India also came to India and witnessed thousands of peasants working voluntarily to construct a canal. It is seen therefore that the community projects **over** which this year we are going to spend about 6 crores of rupees have not produced results which were expected of it. I won't be wrong if I say that these community projects would ultimately end in the same way as the Grow More Food Campaign did in this country. From my personal experience, I may say that in Orissa there are three community projects that are going on now. At one place there was no plan. **The** plans for another place were prepared and a name of the place was published by Orissa Government. And suddenly on somebody's intervention the place was changed and another place **was** selected which is called Bant area. In this area, you will be surprised to know that there has been no attempt on the part of the Government to take the people into confidence. For many years the people of the area were demanding for irrigational facilities. But this is not being done. The people who are in charge of the Plan are **not** taking the public into confidence. **What** they are doing is this. As soon as they reached there, the first thing that they did was to sell all the bulls in those areas and supply at two or three places *hariana* bulls or stud bulls, as they say, and the people there, I think are put to great disadvantage. Not only that

[Shri S. N. Dwivedy.] Sir, but the Development Commissioner of Orissa, who is in charge of these community projects, has recently said in the course of a lecture that -he did not know when this Plan was going to succeed, because in the United States of America it took about 30 years for the success of such plans. If that is so, it is evident that the persons who are in charge of these community projects, or the planners themselves, have no concrete idea as to when this Plan is going to bring us results, nor have any targets been fixed for the work that we are undertaking. It is perhaps another bureaucratic Department of the Government that is developing at present. The budget of the plans is first approved by the Community Projects Administrator. The budget that is first approved is not based on individual schemes because those schemes are not prepared previously and after receiving the Plan, it goes to the State Development Commissioner under whom there are project officers. The project officers have under them village workers. There is considerable agitation over the fact that in certain areas where these community projects are being worked, most of the village workers have come from outside, although the demands of the local people were much pressing. People applied, but they did not get any opportunity. Really if the plan is to succeed, it must depend on the village workers. They will be the link between the people and the planners and the Community Projects Administrator. But the village people don't get encouragement. They do not know the urgent needs of the area. Even after all schemes are approved, the budget is passed, if according to local conditions there are to be certain variations, it is not possible for the village workers or the project administrator to vary the schemes even to a very little extent. Without that much of facility and independence, I think, this Plan is not going to succeed. As a result of this, middle-men in the villages, the touts, have taken advantage of the situation and money is being spent like anything. Suppose a school is to be built or any road is to be

constructed, it is not known whether this will be done by the P.W.D. or any other Department of the Government. This matter will again be referred to somebody and some days would pass.

(Time bell rings.)

Regarding the expenditure that would be incurred for the inspection of respective departmental officials, much amount is being spent on that. A substantial amount has been spent on the tours that have been conducted by the inspecting officers of the department for supervising the community projects. Nobody objects to this laudable move of community projects. Really speaking, our village development depends much on the co-operation of the people. For that purpose it is essential that this bureaucratisation in the community development schemes must be removed and village workers must be given more initiative to go on with the plans and plans must be made according to the local conditions and circumstances. Thank you, Sir.

SHRIMATI RUKMINI ARUNDALE (Nominated): Sir, I will only speak on the general principles which, I think, are very vital before we plan anything in connection with the Budget, because the most important thing we are all concerned with is India as a whole, which we speak of as a Welfare State. But we have to get clear in our minds as to what we mean by a Welfare State. Does such a State depend upon an equality that is based upon levelling down or is it an equality of purpose, of opportunities and of ideals based upon a levelling upon? I think it is important to remember that all types of people, all kinds of minds are in existence and therefore, the unity that should suit all types of people, I believe, must naturally be based upon the cultural traditions and the spiritual values of our country, which alone will produce character. It is character that produces vitality in our education, in our work and in the building up of our country.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

And so, in order to build up this welfare State, the most important thing that has played a great part in India's life has been the village. At present we are stressing not only the building up of our cities but are imposing the city mentality upon the village. It has just been said that the community project scheme is not completely satisfactory. At present the community project emphasises only the economic side, while in reality I believe that the way of building up our village is not only from the economic point of view. The village is the centre of our traditions and of our culture. It is the village which has made India, not so much the city, and therefore when help is given for educational work and help is given for arts and crafts, housing, etc. it is better that the village as a whole is thought of, that no one subject is divorced from another. Everywhere even for example in America, where they have community projects, they try to build up on the basis of the spontaneous expressions of the people, but at present here the people who are conducting these projects do not have any knowledge either of the traditions or the culture of the people. The majority of us who are considered to be educated, if I may say so, are divorced from the soul of the people, and therefore we do not understand them. When we go to help the village, we should remember that we have far more to learn from the village itself than to teach. We can only teach by learning, and that is why it is important to help the village as a whole so that every aspect of the village life is benefited by the help. That, I believe, is fundamental. Our villagers started with the ideal outlook of the temple as their cultural centre. It is from the temple that the arts and crafts came. It was that which had inspired the people. At present, the community project is only based upon purely economic things, and the real Indian ideal is being gradually forgotten.

Then comes adult education. This is also important in connection with the village which to me is India. Therep

is a provision of Rs. 2 crores for adult education. It is said that adult education is also basic and social education. It was said in 1951 by our Education Minister that Rs. 12 crores would be needed in order to fulfil this programme. Obviously, this is very little. What we have to remember in adult education is that literacy is not education. A time will come, if we emphasise only the literacy of those who are illiterate, when those who become literate will not only not be of help to the community, but they will instead be adding to the problems of the nation, because we do not know what to do with the so-called educated people of the colleges and universities today. We are worried about our colleges and universities. We do not know how to lift up their moral standard and so on. Why is it that we do not know? It is because our education has not been based on culture, it has not been based on art. Spiritual values and ideals have been forgotten. Therefore character is lost. If only we could have remembered this, our colleges would not be any more problems. Do not let us create new problems with the newly educated people.

Another point that I would like to mention in this connection is this: We are concentrating only on adult education. Why should we wait till the children have grown up and then educate them? Why not give free education to all children? Let there be free and compulsory education, and be an important part of our programme, so that children will grow up educated. As it is today, very often it happens that only a very small percentage of the children go up to the higher levels of education at all. This is partly due to economic condition and also because the education that is provided does not meet the needs of the people. It is impossible to divorce education from culture and spiritual values, and I wish that those who are giving adult education stress not only literacy. There is at present no way of continuing the education of the adults after they are able to read and write. What are the books that they are going to read?

[Shrimati Rukmini Arundale.] What is the literature that we are going to provide for them? What is the knowledge that we are going to impart to them? Also those who educate, generally do not have any idea of our culture, because the majority of us have had wrong education. They do not know anything about art. They do not know anything about music. They do not know anything about the ways of Indian life, and so those who are educating the adults are themselves to be educated first in Indian culture. This is vital. Though the people may be poor and ignorant, in many ways they have the essence of Indian culture. We have also to remember that education itself is emphasised in a different way in different States. Education ought to find a unity. There ought to be a unified purpose all over India. The general policy and principles of education should be common to all the provinces and that is a vital matter at present. It is being decided now by each State.

Coming to the village again, the village is the city in a way. The village is India, from the point of view of art and beauty and culture. It is the village which radiates the real culture of India. When we talk of art and beauty, we have to remember that beauty is not merely entertainment. It is not only in the musical concerts that we hear or in the dance performances. It should be part of life. Therefore all the arts, all the beauty connected with architecture, with life, with the home, with the knowledge of the arts, they have all to be unified in this education. Naturally health also is connected with this. When we think of health, we find there is so much money spent on hospitals in the villages and so on. Money is being spent on many projects for improving the health of the people, but there is a lot that can be done to prevent ill-health. Cleanliness is a thing on which we can spend a tremendous amount of money in every village.

Coming to the next point, which is important, I am very glad that facilities are being given to import scientific instruments, medicinal things, etc.

from foreign countries. May I add that it is important also to add such things as are important for educational purposes? These are not specifically mentioned by the Finance Minister. I know when travelling, it is far easier to bring fishing rods and guns into the country than an art object. I personally don't see why there should be any duty on the art objects when they are brought into India. When art objects come to India, they ought to be welcomed. Many of us really think that they should be welcomed into the country, especially when they are given as gifts. It seems to me that we make it very difficult for people even to present art objects to our country or to our people. There are many difficulties in the importing of educational materials, instruments etc. which are of vital value to our country. These difficulties should also be removed.

Then one very important point I would like to make is that I have heard, though I have not seen the papers, that we are sending animals to other countries for vivisection, for experiment, for medical purposes. I have heard of monkeys, cats, dogs and many animals being sent. I personally cannot see how India and those of us who have accepted the Asoka Chakra as our National symbol and who speak of the principles of Ahimsa could possibly think of sending animals to other countries for this most horrible and cruel purpose, no matter how much it may seem to benefit humanity because surely, we cannot possibly enjoy a benefit if it is at the cost of other creatures who feel suffering just as much as human beings. In all these proceedings I have not seen even a little mention about animals or animal welfare or animal hospitals or of any kind of feeling towards those creatures who cannot speak for themselves. This is one of the things I wanted to speak about most strongly that it should definitely be included and a definite programme should be made by which we may investigate every possible avenue for helping these creatures. In my opinion it is one of the saddest and the most tragic things that India should at all

want to gain even a few rupees at the cost of the sufferings of these creatures which are being sent to other countries. People perhaps do not know how much suffering is caused but I would suggest that everybody should study this subject because the suffering is tremendous. If we are not going to feel for these creatures we cannot feel for the poor people and we cannot feel for the suffering of others because a Welfare State means the welfare of all and, how can we bring welfare to others unless we feel for others? At present we have completely forgotten the animal kingdom of which no mention is made here. I would like specially to point out that India should not have the stigma of cruelty attached to her. India is recognised all over the world for the uniqueness of the wonderful encouragement that is being given to art and art institutions and culture. But art and culture are not divorced from life, they are not divorced from feelings. If we are going to have music colleges and dance academies and art schools, they must only stimulate right feelings, true feelings which must be expressed in every aspect of life, which must enter into all aspects of life and bring that unity in spirit to the young so that they, in turn, as they grow up, will feel pity for those who suffer, will have the understanding of beauty and of culture, will respond to our spiritual traditions by which alone character can come into existence. Only through character is our country going to be a true Welfare State and only through character is our country going to be the perfect expression of a democracy which will serve all people.

SHRI N. B. DESHMUKH (Hyderabad) :

श्री एन० बी० देशमुख (हैदराबाद) :
 जनाब सदर, बजट पेश करते वक्त हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने भ्रमशांति तरकीब का जो जिक्र किया है हम हैदराबाद वाले उस चीज को महसूस नहीं करते हैं। जनाब सदर, इस साल हैदराबाद के चार जिले यानी उसमानाबाद, औरंगाबाद, बीड और रायचूर
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में वर्षा न होने की वजह से कहतसाली में पड़े हुए हैं। वहां के जरायती जानवर पानी न मिलने की वजह से मर रहे हैं। वहां पर न खरीफ का और न रबी का ही अनाज किसी किस्म का पैदा हुआ है। वहां के लोगों के पास खाना न होने की वजह से, काम और रोजगार न होने की वजह से एक जिले से दूसरे जिले में जा रहे हैं। इन जिलों के मगरबी हिस्सों को छोड़कर मुख्तलिफ मुकामों में जाने लगे हैं। वहां के लोगों ने अपनी तकलीफों के बारे में कई बार सरकार के सामने मुजाहरे किये लेकिन हुकूमत की तरफ से अभी तक किसी किस्म की तबज्जह नहीं दी जा रही है।

जनाब सदर, यह हालत सिर्फ इन इलाकों की ही नहीं है बल्कि और दूसरे अजला में भी इसी तरह की हालत हो रही है। इन अजला में हर दो साल के अन्दर कहत पड़ता ही रहता है। उसमानाबाद की जमीन ऐसी है कि अगर वहां पर वक्त पर पानी और वर्षा हो जाय तो अच्छी फसल हो सकती है जिससे कि इन अजला को अनाज अच्छी तरह से मुयस्सर हो सकता है। मगर वहां पर वर्षा न होने की वजह से, और कहतसाली होने की वजह से वहां की जनता हमेशा तकलीफ में ही रहती है। मगर गवर्नमेन्ट ने अभी तक कोई तबज्जह नहीं की है। ऐसी हालत होते हुये भी वहां के लोगों से गवर्नमेन्ट ने रेवेन्यू वसूल किया।

मुझे इस बजट को देख कर बड़ा ताज्जुब हुआ कि इस में वहां के लोगों की तकलीफ को दूर करने के लिये किसी किस्म की तजवीज नहीं रखी गई है। कम से कम हमारी सेन्ट्रल हुकूमत को इन अजला की तरफ जरूर तबज्जह करनी चाहिये थी। उन्होंने वहां की कहतसाली की ओर कोई भी तबज्जह नहीं की है। पंचवर्षीय योजना में भी

[Shri N. B. Deshmukh.]

वहां पर किसी किस्म की योजना नहीं रखी गई है, वहां पर कोई ऐसा इन्तजाम नहीं किया गया है जिससे कि वहां की कहतसाली खत्म हो सके। वहां पर नदियां बहती हैं मगर सरकार की ओर से इस तरह का कोई भी इन्तजाम अभी तक नहीं किया गया है कि उसके पानी को वहां के लोग अपने खेती के इस्तेमाल में ला सकें।

हैदराबाद स्टेट को तीन कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट (Community Projects) दिये जाने की बात सुनी गई है लेकिन उस इलाके के लिये कोई भी काम इस तरह का नहीं रखा गया है। इस तरह की हालत वहां पर है मगर हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने जो बजट पेश किया है उस में वहां के लोगों की तकलीफ दूर करने का कोई भी तजकिरा नहीं है।

जनाब सदर, हैदराबाद में पुलिस एक्शन (Police action) के कब्ल और बाद उसमानाबाद और बीदर के लोगों ने जो तकलीफ उठाई और आज भी उठा रहे हैं, वह बहुत ही दर्दनाक है। पुलिस एक्शन के जमाने में वहां पर लूट मार और दूसरी किस्म की मुसीबत जनता पर आई।

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh):
Is it all relevant to the Budget discussion!

SHRI N. B. DESHMUKH: Yes.

SHRI B. RATH (Orissa):

श्री बी० रथ (उड़ीसा) : आपको क्या मालूम होता है।

SHRI N. B. DESHMUKH:

श्री एन० बी० देशमुख : हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने भी इन दो अज़ला का

खास तौर से दौरा किया था और हम यह महसूस कर रहे थे कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब के आ जाने के बाद वहां के सब मसले खत्म हो जायेंगे मगर अभी तक वही हालत चली आ रही है। पुलिस एक्शन हुये करीब पांच साल होते हैं मगर वहां की जनता जिस तरह से पहले थी उसी तरह से आज भी चली आ रही है। वहां की जनता बेकारी की हालत में पड़ी हुई है। वहां के हजारों लोगों की जायदाद को दूसरे लोगों ने अपने कब्जे में कर लिया है। अभी तक वहां की सरकार ने उनकी ज़मीनों को वापस दिलवाने के लिये कोई भी इन्तजाम नहीं किया है। वहां के मासूम बच्चे जिनके मां बाप पुलिस एक्शन में मार डाले गये, उनकी पढ़ाई का और उन के पालन पोषण का कोई भी इन्तजाम अभी तक सरकार की ओर से नहीं किया गया है। आम तौर पर वहां इन मुसीबतजदा लोगों की हालत बहुत ही खराब होती जा रही है। जब हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब वहां पर आये थे तो इन लोगों ने उनके सामने रिप्रेजेंटेशन (representation) देने की कोशिश की थी लेकिन वहां के ओहदेदारों ने उन लोगों को अपनी तकलीफ बयान करने का मौका ही नहीं दिया। इन पांच सालों के अन्दर उन लोगों के लिये सरकार की ओर से कुछ अनाज दिया गया है, कुछ कपड़ा, टीन पत्तर, तकसीम किया गया है। कुछ लोगों के लिये दस्तकारी का काम निकाला गया है मगर यह चीज इतनी नाकाफी है कि १०० और २०० आदमियों का भी अच्छी तरह से इन्तजाम नहीं हो सका है। महज़ इतने से यह सवाल छटने वाला नहीं है।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is all for the State Government; the Centre has nothing to do with these things.

SHRI N. B. DESHMUKH:

श्री एन० बी० देशमुख : यह खास हालत वहां की है और यह सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट का काम है कि वह इस बात की तरफ तवज्जह करे मगर सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट की ओर से कोई भी तवज्जह नहीं दी जा रही है ।

जनाब सदर, हमारे हैदराबाद स्टेट में करीब २२ हजार मवाजियात हैं । ७-८ हजार मवाजियात ऐसे थे जो १९५० तक जागीरदारों के कब्जे में थे । १९५० से जागीरदारों का इन्तजाम इन मवाजियातों से खत्म हो गया है । इन मवाजियात की जनता की हालत हर तरह से बहुत गिरी हुई थी । १०० मवाजियात के भीतर एक भी मदरसा नहीं था, अब भी वहां पर वही हालत चली आ रही है । वहां पर लोग खुद हुकूमत से कहते हैं कि हम इमारत बनायेंगे और दूसरी चीजों का इन्तजाम करेंगे आप तालीम का इन्तजाम कर दीजिये । मगर हुकूमत की ओर से कोई भी इन्तजाम उन लोगों के लिये नहीं किया जा रहा है । इस बजट में जो तालीम का हिस्सा है उसके देखने से मालूम होता है कि सरकार की ओर से वहां की जनता की तालीम के बारे में कुछ भी इन्तजाम नहीं किया जा रहा है । वहां पर जो थोड़े बहुत मदरसे हैं उनकी हालत भी बहुत खराब थी । वहां जो टीचर्स थे उनकी तनखाह १२ रुपया और १५ रुपया माहवार थी । ऐसी हालत में वहां की जनता को किस तरह से अच्छी तालीम मिल सकती है । मैं देख रहा हूं कि सन् १९५१-५२, सन् १९५२-५३ और इस बजट में भी वहां पर तालीम के बारे में कुछ भी इन्तजाम नहीं किया गया है । जब वहां की मुकामी हुकूमत की तवज्जह इस बात की ओर दिलाई जाती है तो वह भी कोई स्थाल नहीं करती है । वहां की हुकूमत तो राजप्रमुख को प्रिवी पर्स व जागीरदारों और जमींदारों को मुआवजा देने में लगी हुई

है । इसके लिये वह करोड़ों रुपया खर्च कर रही है । तेलंगाना में पुलिस का इन्तजाम करने के लिये वह करोड़ों रुपया खर्च कर रही है मगर तालीम की ओर वह कोई खास तवज्जह नहीं दे रही है । वहां की कांग्रेस हुकूमत को अपने ही झगड़ों से वक्त नहीं मिल रहा है, कैसे वह तालीम की ओर तवज्जह दे सकती है । सेन्ट्रल हुकूमत का यह फर्ज था कि वहां तालीम की तरफ तवज्जह करती मगर बजट में उसने कोई भी इन्तजाम नहीं किया है ।

जनाब सदर, हमारा हैदराबाद स्टेट एक बहुभाषी स्टेट है । वहां पर तेलगू लोगों की मेजारिटी है जिस का नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि जो मराठी बोलने वाले, कनाडी बोलने वाले लोग वहां पर रहते हैं, उनके साथ नाइन्साफी हो रही है । तेलंगाना के कांग्रेसी हम सब लोगों पर हुकूमत कर रहे हैं । इस तरह की हालत इस समय वहां पर हो रही है । पंचवर्षीय योजना में हैदराबाद को जो हिस्सा मिला है वह सिर्फ तेलंगाना के इलाके को ही मिला है । इसके लिये यह कहा जाता है कि वहां पर कम्यूनिस्टों का बहुत जोर है इसलिये वहां पर सरकार अपनी सारी ताकत लगा रही है कि हैदराबाद में जो ६ मराठी जिले हैं उनकी भलाई की ओर सरकार की तरफ से कोई भी इन्तजाम नहीं किया जा रहा है ।

जनाब सदर, हम देख रहे हैं कि हैदराबाद स्टेट में किसी किस्म की अच्छी तरक्की नहीं हुई है । हमारे हैदराबाद स्टेट के जो किसान हैं उनकी हालत बहुत ही खराब है । उनकी जो हालत पहिले थी वही हालत आज भी चली आ रही है । वहां के किसान सड़ते जा रहे हैं । पुलिस एक्शन और निजाम के जमाने में उन लोगों को बहुत ही तकलीफ उठानी पड़ी मगर अभी तक वहां के किसानों

[Shri N. B. Deshmukh.]

के लिए सरकार की ओर से कोई भी मदद नहीं दी गई है। एक कानून लगानदारी का नाफिज किया गया था जिससे वहां के • जागीरदारों और जमींदारों को ही ज्यादा फायदा हुआ है, किसानों को बिल्कुल भी फायदा उस कानून से नहीं पहुंचा। उस कानून में यह गुंजायश रखी गई है कि जमींदार जब चाहें किसान की अराजी को अपने कब्जे में कर लें। इस कानून के नाफिज होने के बाद से हम बराबर यह देख रहे हैं कि अराजियात के सिलसिले में जितने भी फैसले हो रहे हैं वह सब जमींदारों के हक में ही हो रहे हैं। गुजिस्ता साल में एक आर्डिनेन्स भी निकाला गया था जिसका मतलब यह था कि किसानों और जमींदारों के बीच में जो झगड़े अक्सर होते रहते हैं उनको रोका जाय। मगर इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि इस आर्डिनेन्स के लागू करने से वहां पर किसानों के कत्ल शुरू हो गये और आपस में लड़ाई झगड़े बढ़ गये। आखिर में यह हालत हो गई कि इस आर्डिनेन्स को वापस लेना पड़ा। यह हालत हैदराबाद की आजकल है।

जनाब सदर, हम देख रहे हैं कि इस बजट से हैदराबाद वालों को कोई भी फायदा नहीं हो रहा है। निजाम के जमाने में वहां पर किसी किस्म की तरक्की नहीं हुई और न आयन्दा ही होने वाली है।

इन लपजों के साथ मैं इस बजट की सख्त मुखालफ़त करता हूं और शुक्रिया के साथ अपनी जगह ले लेता हूं।

[For English translation, see Appendix IV, Annexure No. 69.]

DR. W. S. BARLINGAY (Madhya Pradesh):

डा० डब्लू० एस० बार्लिंगे (मध्य प्रदेश) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं हिन्दी

में बोलने के लिये कोई माफी नहीं चाहता हूं क्योंकि मेरा यह मत है कि जो हिन्दी बोलने वाले हैं और जिन की मातृ भाषा हिन्दी है वह चाहे हिन्दी बोलें या न बोलें इसमें कोई विशेष बात नहीं है, परन्तु जिनकी मातृभाषा हिन्दी नहीं है उनको हिन्दी बोलने का कम से कम प्रयत्न तो करना ही चाहिये। इस लिये मैं इतना ही कहूंगा कि ठीक भाषा न जानने की वजह से यदि मैं बजट के ऊपर बोलते हुये कुछ गलती भी करूं तो आप मुझे जरूर माफ कर देंगे।

आरम्भ में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं और इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं हो सकता कि हमारे अर्थ मंत्री जी ने जो बजट पेश किया है वह बहुत ही अच्छा बजट है। कोई जबदस्ती से भले ही कहे कि इस में यह त्रुटि है और वह त्रुटि है और मैं भी कुछ त्रुटियों को बतलाने की कोशिश करूंगा लेकिन सवाल तो यह पैदा होता है कि जो त्रुटियां बताते हैं वे स्वयं ही अगर अर्थमंत्री बन जायें तो क्या वह कोई इससे बढ़ कर दूसरा बजट बना सकेंगे? दूसरे पक्षों से भी अभी तक जो भाषण हुये हैं उनसे यह साफ जाहिर होता है कि वे ऐसी कोई चीज इस बजट में नहीं बता सके जिसकी वजह से कोई यह कह सके कि हां यह बजट बिल्कुल रद्दी है और इससे और अच्छा बजट बन सकता है।

इस बजट में जो एक खास चीज है उससे कम से कम संतोष होना ही चाहिये और वह यह है कि करों के बारे में अर्थ मंत्री जी एक समिति नियुक्त करना चाहते हैं और इसकी नियुक्ति का उन्होंने निर्णय कर लिया है। मैं समझता हूं कि यह सब से बेहतर की बात है क्योंकि हम लोगों के सामने आज यह मुख्य प्रश्न है कि सरकार में जो पैसा आता है या जो पैसा सरकार के पास से जाता है उससे हमारे देश के जो गरीब किसान

हैं, जो और गरीब आदमी हैं, जो सामा आदमी हैं, उनको कितना फायदा होता है, कितना लाभ होता है। सचमुच यह एक ऐसा टेस्ट है, एक ऐसा प्वाइंट है जिससे यह मालूम हो सकता है कि बजट अच्छा है या बुरा है। यहां हिन्दुस्तान में जो कर लगाये जाते हैं वे जब तक ऐसे कर न हों कि जिनका इंसिडेंस (incidence) गरीबों के ऊपर कम से कम पड़े और श्रीमन्तों के ऊपर ज्यादा से ज्यादा पड़े तब तक यह कभी नहीं कहा जा सकता कि हमारी सरकार ठीक चल रही है या उस का आयव्यय ठीक है। इस लिये अर्थ मंत्री जी ने या सरकार ने जो यह निर्णय किया है उसका मैं हृदय से स्वागत करता हूं। परन्तु दूसरी एक दो ऐसी चीजें हैं जिनके सम्बन्ध में मुझे संशय है और उन्हें भी मुझे स्पष्टतया कह देना चाहिये।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने देखा होगा कि जैसा वर्तमान बजट है उससे ऐसा मालूम नहीं होता कि गैर साल जितना फायदा गरीबों को, किसानों को या मजदूरों को उससे था अब उससे ज्यादा फायदा है। इस दृष्टि से तो यह केवल एक “स्टेटस को” (Status quo) बजट है, ऐसा कहा जा सकता है। परन्तु इसके बारे में कोई संशय नहीं हो सकता कि जो मध्यम वर्ग के लोग हैं उनके लिये स्पष्टतया फायदा हुआ है।

अब मेरे मन में जो संशय हैं उनको भी मैं आपसे कह दूँ। बजट में यह फैसला है कि यहां डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग होनी चाहिये। अब यह डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग (deficit financing) अच्छी चीज है या बुरी चीज है? यहां बहुत से अर्थशास्त्री हैं, मैं कोई अर्थशास्त्री नहीं हूँ परन्तु इस सम्बन्ध में मुझे संशय जरूर है और मैंने जहां तक इस सम्बन्ध में विचार करने का प्रयास किया है उसके आधार पर मैं यह कह सकता

हूँ कि डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग से, और ज्यादा नोट प्रिंट (print) करने से या पैसा ज्यादा मिट करने से अगर कोई असर होगा तो यह होगा कि इस देश में जिनकी इनकम फिक्सड (income fixed) है, यानी जो गवर्नमेंट सर्विस में हैं, जो खासकर मिल मजदूर हैं, उनके ऊपर इसके बहुत बुरे असर के होने की सम्भावना है क्योंकि इससे कीमतें बढ़ जाने वाली हैं और इसको कोई रोक नहीं सकता है। जिस परिणाम में आप ज्यादा पैसा मार्केट में लायेंगे उस परिणाम में कीमतें जरूर बढ़ेंगी और अगर यह हुआ तो जिनकी आज फिक्सड इनकम है, जिनकी इनकम स्टेडी है, जिनकी इनकम फ्लेक्सिबिल (flexible) नहीं है उनके ऊपर इसका बहुत बुरा असर होगा। अगर यह बात ठीक तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे अर्थ मंत्री जी ने एक हाथ से तो देने की कोशिश की है लेकिन दूसरे हाथ से निकाल लेने की भी कोशिश की है। मैं यह केवल अपना संशय व्यक्त कर रहा हूँ मैं यह नहीं कह सकता कि मेरा कहना ठीक ही होगा, शायद गलत भी हो लेकिन मेरा जो संशय है वह मैंने आप से स्पष्टतया व्यक्त कर दिया।

दूसरी बात जिसके बारे में मेरे मन में बहुत संशय है वह यह है कि यहां करीब करीब १४० करोड़ की डेफिसिट है, कमी है। ३० करोड़ की डेफिसिट को पूरा करने की हमारे अर्थ मंत्री जी ने कोशिश की है परन्तु बाकी यह जो ११० करोड़ है वह कहां से लायेंगे? ऐसा मालूम होता है कि कर्जा लेकर इस बट्टि को पूरा करने की कोशिश करेंगे। अगर यह ठीक है तो सवाल यह पैदा होता है अगर सरकार मार्केट में चली गई तो क्या इतना कर्जा मिलेगा। मुझे तो इस के बारे में भय मालूम होता है कि शायद इतना पैसा न मिले। क्योंकि अगर गये साल और

[Dr. W. S. Barlingay.]

पिछले सालों का अनुभव लें तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह कोई बड़ी उत्तेजनकारक बात नहीं है। ऐसा मुझे लगता है। यह तो केवल जो मेरा अपना संशय है वह मैंने व्यक्त किया है। मैंने जैसे शुरू में कहा कि मैं कोई अर्थ शास्त्री नहीं हूँ परन्तु थोड़ा बहुत जो कुछ मैंने समझने का प्रयास किया है उससे जो मालूम हुआ वह मैंने आपके सामने स्पष्टतया कह दिया।

अब मैं आय के बारे में और नहीं कहूँगा। थोड़ा सा व्यय के बारे में कहूँगा और उन चीजों के ही बारे में बहने की कोशिश करूँगा जिसका मुझे थोड़ा तजुर्बा है। हेल्थ के बारे में मैं खास कर आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहूँगा। अगर आपको आंकड़े चाहिये तो मैं आंकड़े भी देने के लिये तैयार हूँ। अगर आप यह बजट देखेंगे तो आप पढ़ेंगे कि करीब ढाई करोड़ रुपया केवल हेल्थ और मडिकल के बजट के लिये अलग रख दिया गया है। जितना कुल खर्चा हो रहा है उसका क्या रेशियो (ratio) है इस दृष्टि से अगर आप देखें तो आपको जरूर मालूम होगा कि जो सरकार वेलफेयर स्टेट (Welfare State) बनने की कोशिश कर रही है उस सरकार की दृष्टि से खर्चा बहुत ही कम है। फिर यदि आप दूसरी चीजों को देखें कि जो कुछ खर्चा आप करते हैं उस से सामान्य जनता का फायदा होगा या नहीं तो आप यह पायेंगे कि इस में जो कुछ खर्चा नियत किया गया है उसमें बहुतेरा खर्चा ऐसा है जो कि रूरल एरियाज़ (rural areas) के ऊपर कभी होने वाला नहीं है। देखने से यह मालूम होता है कि जो सब खर्चा है उसका बहुतेरा अंश केवल उन लोगों के लिये ही खर्च किया जा सकेगा जो अर्बन एरियाज़ (urban areas) में रहते हैं।

यह जो नीति है वह मुझे उचित नहीं लगती और इसका कारण यह है कि हमारा जो पैसा आता है वह आखिर में गरीब लोगों से ही आता है, श्रीमन्तों से नहीं आता। इसलिये हमारा यह फर्ज होता है कि कुछ खर्चा हम करें वह श्रीमन्तों के वास्ते न करें बल्कि उन लोगों के वास्ते करें जो कि जरूरत मंद हैं और जो गरीब हैं और रूरल एरियाज़ में रहते हैं।

इस सम्बन्ध में मैं आपका ध्यान एक विषय के ऊपर जरूर आकर्षित करूँगा। मैंने आपका बजट खोला तो बजट में मैंने देखा कि यद्यपि प्लानिंग कमीशन ने अपने ३२वें चैप्टर में एक सुन्दर नियोजन कर दिया है कि होमियोपैथी और आयुर्वेद के ऊपर इतना इतना खर्चा करना चाहिये और इन स्टेज में करना चाहिये परन्तु इसका इम्प्लीमेंटेशन (implementation) इस बजट में नहीं है। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका ध्यान प्लानिंग कमीशन के चैप्टर ३२, पैराग्राफ ८७ की तरफ आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। मैं जानता हूँ कि उस चैप्टर को किसने लिखा है और वह बहुत ही लायक दृष्टि से लिखा गया है लेकिन मुझे जो शिकायत है वह यह है कि इतना सब करते हुये भी इस बजट में केवल चार लाख रुपया आयुर्वेद के लिये रखा गया है और होमियोपैथी के लिये तो एक कौड़ी भी मुझे नहीं दिखाई दी। आप यह न समझें कि मैं केवल आयुर्वेद या होमियोपैथी का ही पक्षपाती हूँ और ऐलोपैथी का शत्रु हूँ। वैसा मैं नहीं हूँ। परन्तु मैं यह जरूर कहूँगा कि ये जो दो सिस्टम्स हैं वे इस जगह पर आज अनटचबिल सिस्टम्स (untouchable systems) माने जाते हैं। उनमें सत्य है। इसके बारे में तो आज कोई संशय नहीं है क्योंकि सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने ही इसके बारे में इक्वारी कमेटीज़ नियुक्त की थीं और उनकी रिपोर्ट स्पष्ट

है। यद्यपि इसके बारे में कुछ मतभेद हो सकता है फिर भी जहाँ मतभेद नहीं है कम से कम उन चीजों के बारे में प्लानिंग कमीशन ने जो लिखा है उसको तो इम्प्लीमेंट करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये। मुझे यह शिकायत है कि इस बजट में यह इम्प्लीमेंटेशन नहीं हो रहा है और यह उचित बात नहीं है। इसका कारण यह है कि आयुर्वेद ऐसी चीज है जो हमारे देश में पनपी हुई है और जिसका सम्बन्ध खास कर देहातों से है। देहातों में अगर आप किसी सिस्टम का प्रसार करना चाहते हैं तो मैं दावे के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ और इस के बारे में मेरा तर्जुमा भी है कि सिवाय आयुर्वेद के, और शायद होम्योपैथी के, दूसरा कोई चारा नहीं है। इसके सिवाय देहातों के लिये और कोई चारा हो ही नहीं सकता।

मुझे बहुत कहना था परन्तु, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, समय बिल्कुल नहीं है इसलिये केवल एक दो बातें और कह कर अपना भाषण समाप्त कर दूंगा।

यहाँ रेलवे मंत्री महोदय मौजूद हैं इसलिये मैं उनको एक सूचना करना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि रोड्स का ज्यादा से ज्यादा खर्चा जो होता है वह ब्रिज बनाने के वक्त होता है, पुलों के बनाने के वक्त होता है। हमारे यहाँ नर्मदा पर नागपुर से होशंगाबाद तक रोड है और फिर भोपाल से नर्मदा तक रोड है लेकिन वह जो बीच का भाग है उसमें नर्मदा है तो उसकी वजह से नागपुर और भोपाल को कोई कनेक्ट नहीं कर सकता लेकिन उसमें रेलवे का ब्रिज है। मैं उनको यह सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसे जो बड़े बड़े पुल हैं उनका क्या और उपयोग नहीं हो सकता? जैसे जो रेलवे का ब्रिज है वह क्या रोड ट्रैफिक के बास्ते, खास कर मोटर ट्रैफिक के बास्ते नहीं खोला जा

सकता? मैं ऐसा सोचता हूँ कि अगर इस तरीके से इन ब्रिजों का उपयोग किया जाय तो बहुत सा पैसा बच जाना संभव है। लेकिन जैसा कि मैंने कहा कि मैं कोई विशेषज्ञ नहीं हूँ और यह तो इनवेस्टिगेशन (investigation) की चीज है इस लिये यदि इनवेस्टिगेशन के बाद मालूम हो कि यह प्रैक्टिकल (practical) नहीं है तो न हो लेकिन यदि हो सकता है तो होना चाहिये।

एक दूसरी चीज और है जिसको कह कर मैं अपने भाषण को समाप्त कर दूंगा और वह है कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट के बारे में। मैं इस सम्बन्ध में नम्रता से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इसके लिये अब जो कम्युनिटी प्राजेक्ट की व्यवस्था है वह इस तरीके से होनी चाहिये कि जब बाहरी मदद खत्म हो जाय तब भी उनकी जो स्कीमें हैं वे खत्म न हों और वे आसानी से उसी लेवल (level) पर चलती रहें और उसमें कोई कमी न हो। यह उस समय तक नहीं हो सकता जब तक कि वहाँ की जनता को आप ठीक तरीके से शिक्षण नहीं देते। इस सम्बन्ध में मुझे आपसे नम्र निवेदन करना है कि जब तक इस देश की शिक्षा पद्धति में आमूल परिवर्तन नहीं होगा तब तक यह कम्युनिटी प्राजेक्ट क्या हमारे देश की किसी किस्म की उन्नति नहीं हो सकती।

(Time bell rings.)

अंत में मैं इतना कहना चाहता हूँ कि बजट बहुत ही अच्छा है और जो सूचनायें मैंने की हैं उनका विचार हो। अपने अर्थ मंत्री जी को एक बार मैं फिर धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

[For English translation, see Appendix IV, Annexure No. 70.]

SHRIMATI LILAVATI MUNSHI (Bombay): Sir, first of all, I would like to congratulate the Finance Minis-

[Shrimati Lilavati Munshi.] ter for producing a budget which, in the words of Shrimati Durga Bhai, is a "poor man's budget". It was only one man who perceived that there was a hand of hers in framing the budget and that was my friend Shri Prithvi Raj Kapoor. She has tried to reconcile the claims of both; the poor as well as the well-to-do. The Finance Minister has made provision for the Five Year Plan; he has given protection to indigenous industries by imposing higher duties on luxury articles; also he has given the much-needed income-tax relief to the lower middle-class. Although all that is clear, he does not want to look philanthropic on that score and so he is putting that relief on the administration ground. Shy as he is he is trying to escape the compliments which are bound to be showered on him whether he wishes or not.

It is a matter of satisfaction, Sir, that during the last year the cost of living index has come down and the commodity prices are also more or less on a steady level. Production has gone up, Sterling Balances have improved—all these look very simple but it does not happen without careful handling of the situation. After so many years, Sir, things are looking bright, and let us hope that they will become better and better. It is not only the Finance Minister but the Government as a whole that is to be congratulated. This is the first budget which has not created any heart-burn and can be viewed with satisfaction by almost all classes. Duties only on luxury articles and no new taxes by themselves are achievements, and the World Bank and friendly nations have helped in these achievements.

During the last two days I heard a number of speeches. My friend Shrimati Seeta Parmanand had the honour to open the debate, and she made a number *at* points. With many I agree, but with some I cannot agree. For instance, she said that sugar did not deserve to be supported. Probably she does not know the history of sugar. In 1950 India was short of sugar and

in every home and in every market the only talk was about the shortage of sugar and the Government was assailed on every side for not giving enough sugar to the people and for not even giving a sweet Diwali. Then Government evolved a formula by which an incentive was given, the result of which was that production went up. When talking about the high prices of sugar, one must remember that they are the result of the high prices of sugarcane. Only yesterday somebody sent me a pamphlet on sugar, and there it is said that 61 per cent, of the production charge is represented by the price of sugarcane. Therefore our prices are very high, naturally. We could not dispose of our sugar in foreign lands because our production was costly and sugarcane price was very high, and other countries were selling sugar very cheap; therefore we could not get rid of our sugar. However, I really do not agree with the theory that we should try to sell our sugar outside. As soon as the Government announced its policy of allowing sugar to go out, the prices began to shoot up and hoarding started, and in a very short time Government had to revise its policy and a ban on exports had to be imposed. However, Sir, in a vast country like ours, unless incentive is given, production is bound to be less. We shall again have to seek foreign assistance and get sugar from foreign markets, which is not a very pleasant thing. This is true not only of sugar but of all other commodities. We prefer giving high prices to foreign countries, but we are reluctant to give our own producers of food and other commodities higher prices. To give our own people larger amounts means money will remain in our country and our precious dollar and sterling exchange will be saved.

Dr. Seeta Parmanand said something about postal and railway departments running on business lines. She wanted more amenities to be given to teachers, and me made a good point in saying that increase in expenditure did not mean increase in efficiency. She made a number of other suggestions. Surely Government would like to do all that,

but where is the money that is required for doing all that? The money required has to come from somewhere. It can only come through imposition of more taxes. In a poor country like •ours taxation is already very high, looking to the capacity of our people, and the small number of people who pay these taxes. After all, we cannot have it both ways. We want that the same amenities should be given here as are given in foreign countries. We have a saying in Gujarati which means: "A dwarf walking with a giant only gets hurt, even if he does not get killed."

These are some of the points raised by my friend Shrimati Seeta Parma-nand.

My friend Mr. Reddy raised certain points. I totally agree with one point that he mentioned, and that is that our staff in our foreign embassies is not up to the mark. It is true that they are not able to put our point of view across as much as we would wish to do, and our propaganda side is weak compared to the other countries.

Then, Sir, my hon. friend Shri Bhupesh Gupta always reminds me of a child who wants the moon and who quarrels over anything and everything when he does not get it. After speaking the longest and the loudest, he gets very much pleased with himself and showers smiles all round in self-satisfaction. When he said something about the queues of hunger and death stalking the land, I was wondering, where did he see those queues? Probably in his imagination rather than anywhere else. He quarrelled with the policy of decontrol. I can only tell him that controls are strangling the soul of our nation, and the sooner we do without them the better for us, because they make a large number of people dishonest; and if that happens it is bad for every nation.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta said that production was falling. On the contrary, . T find it is going up. He also said that 3 million tons of food had been imported and yet people were dying.

Well, Sir, he reminded me of that story of the boy who was crying "wolf, wolf," without there being any wolf, and when actually a wolf came, nobody turned up because the boy was all the time raising a false cry. He says that jute production is being stepped up in order to feed the American war machine. But he could not realise that the jute industry was strangled because we did not produce enough jute and we had to depend upon a country which always delight in doing us a bad turn. He quarrelled even with the proposal for giving tax relief to slightly higher income groups. Not only that. He badly attacked Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit, a woman who has held many responsible positions on behalf of our country, a woman known in her own right, and not because she happens to be somebody's daughter or somebody's sister, but in her own right, a woman whose political sagacity very few people can boast of. My friend Shri Bhupesh Gupta attacked her simply because he wanted to hurt and for no other reason. That is hardly befitting a Member of this House.

Then, Sir, my friend Professor Ranga in a spirited speech touched many points. One point on which I would like to pause before agreeing is that the minimum agricultural wage has not been fixed. Well, Sir, in theory this sounds very good, but in practice it is very difficult. Most agriculturists are small holders and they have not enough land, but they want a little help, and if the Government fixes a minimum wage for agricultural labourers and if the farmer cannot pay it, then he will not cultivate the land; the land will remain fallow. And that means that neither the farmer nor the agricultural labourer will get the benefit, and that will certainly create a new problem.

(Time bell rings.)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Three minutes more.

SHRIMATI LILAVATI MUNSHI: After all, we want to do good not only

[Shrimati Lilavati Munshi.] to the labourer but to the agriculturists as a class. In our zeal let us not go after theories which may do more harm than good. He said something about being able to control seasons. And that is exactly the reason why the big projects have been undertaken by the Government. If we can store more water and give it to the agriculturists, we may not have to depend so much upon rain.

Prof. Ranga said something about taxing the rich, and he compared them with the hen which hides her egg in order not to give it to others. He also described them as elusive. By all means let us do what he wants, if by doing so we can get what we want. But if we do that and we do not get anything by doing that, it will be like cutting one's nose to spite one's face.

5 P.M.

It was also suggested that we should have a United Party Government for the Centre. We know what happened in the beginning when the Government of India agreed to the United Party Government. The Partition would not have come if that policy of accepting the United Party Government was not followed by the Congress and we would have not seen its results in blood and tears. The experiment is too risky. Any one party which does not want to cooperate, can paralyse the whole Government.

Then there are some more points which I would like to mention, Sir. For instance, take our industry. If there is an indigenous industry capable of fulfilling the country's needs, why should it not be encouraged? Why should not the import of that article be stopped? For instance, there was a question of Aligarh locks the other day. Recently, I myself visited Aligarh and I found that the quality locks were of a first-class type and if given proper encouragement, the industry is capable of supplying |

the needs of the whole country. And still the reply here was given that on account of an agreement with some other foreign countries, the Government could not stop imports of locks. This, Sir, was hardly understandable. This morning also, Sir, I saw in the papers that in order to get more cus-'toms revenue, the Government was going to allow more imports. That also does not seem to be quite reasonable to an ordinary mind.

With regard to education, Sir, I find that the grants to some of the research and cultural institutions have been discontinued. I hope, Sir, that the Government will restore them. Again, Sir, I find that the income-tax relief in donations to institutions is also reduced, although it is made applicable to all charitable institutions. I think in some countries, the tax relief is given to the whole donation given to any extent. If the same is made applicable to this country, many of our charitable institutions will flourish, lessening the burden of the Government for welfare to that extent.

Then, Sir, I would like to touch upon one important point and that is this. I think, Sir, that all our ills are due to our not giving proper attention to our own markets—trying to find out foreign markets. If we could stop all exports in cloth and food, then only we could become self-sufficient and many of our ills could be avoided. We should stop all luxury articles to be imported in spite of my charming friend yesterday saying that we should allow them. We want to have a Welfare State but we do not try to understand human nature. Barring a few blackmarket-eers, for whom nobody has any sympathy in this House, people avoid paying taxes because it does not leave them sufficient margin by which they can live honestly. By robbing a few we cannot make the country prosperous. By robbing the rich people we can hardly give one rupee extra to every poor person. Instead of creating class hatred, let us give incentive to our people to work hard and pro-

duce more so that everybody can get its proper share.

(*Time bell rings.*) One minute more, Sir.

There is one more point which I would like to make because I am unable to understand it properly. Why do we accumulate sterling balances in England? Suppose something happens which may entirely change the balance of power in the world or something may happen by which England may be unable to pay. Then what shall we do? England is not a first-class power at present and if it gets involved in war or in something which is unpleasant, our sterling balances will remain with her for ever. Instead of accumulating our balances there, let us get them quickly back and accumulate our surplus in our own country.

SHRI GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): That is because we could not get the sterling balances from them.

SHRIMATI LILAVATI MUNSHI: Let us try to get them in the shape of goods as much as we can.

Well, Sir, I find that many speakers here have emphasised co-operation. My friends have failed in giving cooperation. If they have, let the Government then turn to women and ask for co-operation. Probably they will fare much better. Well, in the end, I should like to say, let us clothe our own people first; let us feed our own people first and then let us think of exports whenever we have a surplus of goods and if the goods are of good quality, they are sure to find markets in foreign countries whenever we want it. Our concentration should mainly be on feeding our own people first. Then and then alone, there will be plenty and prices will be cheap.

Sir, there were a number of points which I wanted to make. However, there is no time and therefore I conclude my speech.

SHRI S. MAHANTY (Orissa): Mr. Deputy Chairman, at the outset I must congratulate our hon. friend the Finance Minister for the ingenuity with

which he has prepared the Budget. Sir, pinches here have been compensated by pats there. So, in the ultimate analysis we have got a tame inoffensive affair which is neither fish, nor flesh, nor good red herring.

Sir, compliments have been rightly paid for not proposing any new measure of taxation, but the question remains to be asked: Would the Finance Minister have ventured to propose any new measures of taxation? Sir, both the Central and the State Governments exploit the same source of taxation revenue, namely, the people. Now, look at the State Budgets. All the States except Bombay—which has declared of course a nominal surplus—have presented deficit Budgets, even after making frantic efforts to raise money through measures of taxation. Water rates have been doubled, irrigation rates have been increased and the States of U. P. has gone to the extent of increasing the issue price of wheat from 1st March. In this background when we look at the Sales Tax which was originally meant to implement the developmental expenditures, we find that though it is assuming ever greater proportions, it is today being spent in counterbalancing the waste and extravagance in the State Administrations. So in this context one feels that the worst of the Finance Ministers would not have ventured to propose any new measure of taxation, though the best Finance Minister would have certainly explored the possibility of giving some relief.

We cannot judge this Budget in isolation from the Five Year Plan. Out of a total outlay of Rs. 2,069 crores on the First Five Year Plan, it is estimated that public savings, i.e. the savings of the Government from their current revenues after meeting non-developmental expenditures will be about Rs. 738 crores; out of this, Rs. 532 crores have to be raised by the State Governments to finance the Plan. But how the Finance Minister who himself is a member of the Planning Commission is going to attain this objective in these days of deficit

[Shri S. Mahanty.] State finances, is a moot point. Extravagance in State administrations has been mainly responsible for deficit in State finances, and I am sure the deficits could be removed to a very great extent if this extravagance which is motivated by favouritism and nepotism of the party in power could be checked substantially. Therefore, my first suggestion is that the Centre should assume more supervisory powers over the State finances than it is doing at the moment. Otherwise, instead of planning, we will be heading towards chaos.

Coming to the First Five Year Plan, by the end of 1953-54, we would have spent a total sum of Rs. 1,000 crores, but it is a pity that we have no means of assessing to what extent we have progressed in attaining our objectives. Now the time at my disposal being very limited, I would only invite the attention of this depleted House to one aspect of the First Five Year Plan, viz. the public sector. Sir, you will find from the statement appended to the 'People's Edition' of the Plan that setting up of an iron and steel plant is given top priority. In fact, it has got priority No. 1. Now, let us see how "we have moved in fulfilling that objective. We are supposed to produce about 3,50,000 tons of pig iron out of this iron and steel plant at the end of 1955-56. Let me here state the background of this iron and steel project. In 1948 the Government of India entrusted the task of drawing up a blueprint for this iron and steel plant to Messrs. Koppers Company of America, and the other day only you listened to the statement that the Government had spent a sum of Rs. 10,07,000 on preparing this blueprint only. In 1953, again, that report has been referred to another body of experts for verification and opinion, and the matter becomes still more ridiculous when the same Koppers Company has been included in this body of experts. You will find from the statement which has been circulated to us that last year, i.e. in 1952-53, we spent some five million

rupees on this scheme and that too for nothing. How are you going to build the project then by 1955-56 and start production? Last year, we were given to understand that a Japanese firm in collaboration with the Government of India was going to set up the project. Then the World Bank came in and the whole picture was changed, and we were told that the Japanese firm would have nothing to do with it, and that the Government of India would start its own iron and steel factory in such collaboration as it might think feasible. But only two or three days back, I was stunned to find a news item in the press that Tatas, in collaboration with another Japanese firm, are going to set up another steel plant in India. Therefore all these developments lead one to believe or apprehend that this major project is going to be shifted from the public sector to the private sector, and therefore this delay in implementing this project. Probably it was due to very powerful influences on the Ministry of Production.

Then, Sir, comes the Housing Factory. The project was meant to be completed by 1952-53. So far a sum of Rs. 117-3 lakhs has already been spent on it. The other day only during question hour we were told that this whole project has again been referred to some experts in the U. K. for revising the entire project. These are our achievements, and in this manner we are going to spend Rs. 1,000 crores by the end of 1953-54. Well, friends on the other side and members of the Cabinet may take these things lightly. They might come here and indulge in their domestic gossips. They think themselves to be invulnerable clothed in a thick crocodile skin. But as chosen members of the people, we really feel ashamed to find all this bunglings.

Sir, I am glad that the carry-over of 19 lakh tons of foodgrains from last year has made my hon. friend, Kie Finance Minister, to feel optimistic enough to observe that the possibility of progressively reducing imports appears to be distinctly within **our**

reach. Now, last year we imported a total amount of 3-9 million tons. This year, though the Food Ministry has not given us to understand to what extent they propose to import food-grains, still we have come to know that the imports might be to the extent of 2-9 million tons. But from the proceedings of the last Food Ministers' Conference which was held in last January in New Delhi and which ended in such confusion and chaos, we understood that the food import might be anything up to five million tons. In this context, I would like to make a very pertinent observation that all food imports should be stopped forthwith and that the Food Ministry should be abolished. I am saying this in all seriousness. Our Food Ministry undertakes import of foodgrains on the basis of their own statistics, statistics of the I. C. A. R. surveys. On the basis of those statistics, last year the Food Ministry undertook their import. In the meantime we have had the report of the National Samples Survey which the Finance Minister promised to lay on the Table of the House during the debate on the Five Year Plan but which has been pigeon-holed for some reason. It was conducted under the guidance of Professor Mahalanobis. It says that the official statistics for the production of foodgrains has been serious under-estimates by something like 20 to 25% for India as a whole. This is what a Calcutta Paper in its issue dated the 15th January, reported:

"Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, Director of the Indian Statistical Institute of Calcutta which carried out the survey described in the present report, explained at a Press Conference in the afternoon that the findings on food production and consumption did not signify any tangible concept like surplus or absence of deficit but merely suggested that we had more food in the country than had been estimated in official figures.

If this fact had been known before, the country could have manoeuvred in a little more elbow room so far as the food problem was concerned."

Therefore I suggest the 'Faustus of the Finance Minister should first rid himself of the Mephistopheles of his statisticians otherwise we do not know where our food imports are going to-end. The various States' Ministers should be given the responsibility of feeding their own people and the Centre should wash its hands clean in the matter. Otherwise the food imports are not going to stop.

Then I come to the foreign aid. As; I have said earlier I am not opposed to foreign aid. When we have no-money of our own, when we cannot raise money by taxation, certainly we must take recourse to foreign aid and foreign loan but consistent with our national dignity. In this context I will analyse the T. C. A. programme. In season and out of season it has been said that this programme has no political strings attached to it. Here is a book "Bold New Program" written by an American who himself is connected with this programme. He has mentioned at page 9 as follows:

"Nor, in any fair forecast, will Point Four hasten the collapse of the Soviet system. The Russians have their way of doing things just as the Chinese have and the Patagonians, and the Americans. But Point Four can demonstrate once for all that the future of the world does not hang on Russia. It hangs on us."

If you say then that this Programme has no political strings attached then I should say you suffer from an incurable myopia from which you will never recover. Before I proceed to-analyse it further, I should also invite the attention of this House to a speech of Mr. Norris Dodd, the Director of F. A. O. of U. N. What he said' was reported in "The Statesman" of 18th February 1953. He says:

"That both the programmes— T. C. A. & Colombo Plan—were spending huge sums of money which had the effect of interfering with F. A. O.'s own technical

[Shri S. Mahanty.] assistance work, in underdeveloped areas. Both the plans were motivated by political considerations."

He himself is an American. Then you know in this Programme the Indian Government will invest Rs. 34 crores and the American Government will invest Rs. 4-11 crores not in money but in such equipment as would be advised by their own technicians. I have no time to go into the humiliating details of that agreement. A major sector of the programme is the Community Projects which was inaugurated on the most sacred day— 2nd October, the Gandhi Jayanti day. You have listened today during the Question Hour what achievements it has got so far. For laying roads, for building houses etc. I wonder why do you want foreign experts? Do you believe, do you mean to suggest that Indians are denuded of their last common-sense? Do you mean to say that we are unable to plan our own villages and lay our own village roads?

(Time bell rings.)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have to wind up. You have taken 20 minutes.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: These U. S. experts in connection with many project programmes are a standing joke and a standing dishonour. Here are two statements.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No further statements.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: which were circulated to me in reply to my questions. As will be seen, these gentlemen can be anything but experts. Here I may cite another illustration— The Chemical Construction Company of U. S. A. which was entrusted with the setting up of the Sindry Fertilizer Factory at an estimated cost of Rs. 10 crores ultimately landed us in a total expenditure of Rs. 23 crores.

SHRI B. M. GUPTE (Bombay): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I congratulate the Finance Minister on the spirit of cautious enterprise and sober optimism which characterise the Budget proposals. Thanks are also due to him from the 70,000 persons of the harried and worried middle-class whose cases have been taken out of the clutches of the Income-tax Department. Because of this festival present by him, those persons must have enjoyed their Holi holiday with some added zest. Before I proceed to other features of the Budget, I would like to make certain observations about the implications of the Report of the Finance Commission. My first point is this. Now that the financial position of the States has been improved by the Commission, they should be induced to pass on some of the benefits to the local bodies. The finances of the local bodies are in dire need of being strengthened. It is they who come in contact with the daily needs of the common man and it is they who have to face the music of popular discontent when amenities are not provided for on an adequate scale or in an efficient manner. I know in the Plan there is provision for improvement of village water-supply and village roads and I know also that there are Community Development Projects; but in spite of all this, it is probable that many of the villages will remain quite untouched by any activity under the Plan. Therefore, my point is that the hon. Finance Minister should impress upon his colleagues in the States the necessity to share the additional resources with local bodies. Of course adequate precautions may be taken to see that the money is properly utilised and I have no objection to that. But at any rate more funds should be placed at the disposal of the local bodies. My another request concerns the States which I have the honour to represent here in this House viz., Bombay. Under the recommendations of the Finance Commission, Bombay suffers the most. It is the only State which has not only not gained anything but it has actually lost. It is one of the most progres-

sive States. It spends per capita Rs. 11 on nation-building activities like education, social services, public health, medical relief etc. and is excelled only by Mysore which spends Rs. 12 per head. But Mysore taxes itself to a much smaller degree than Bombay. Bombay's per capita tax revenue is Rs. 13-5 but the corresponding figure for Mysore is Rs. 6-8 ■only. I would invite the attention of this House to the fact that the Finance Commission has laid great emphasis on the population basis. I wish, before making their recommendations, they had applied that test to the contribution of Bombay to the Plan. The total expenditure of the Plan is Rs. 829 crores for the States and out of this Bombay is contributing Rs. 146 crores—the highest of all the States. The population of Bombay is only 10" 4 per cent, but its contribution amounts to 17-6 per cent, and in spite of all this Bombay has suffered under the new arrangements. I am not going to enter into the controversy about thS reasoning behind the recommendations of the Finance Commission. For, no useful purpose will be served by that at this stage. The recommendations of the Commission are not open to revision until a new Commission is appointed. But I submit that the Centre should take all these points into consideration in distributing other loans and grants. Unfortunately an occasion has arisen for that. Bombay was always to face famine conditions in one part or another of its territory and during the last five years the cost of famine to Bombay Government has been over Rs. 15 crores. But this year the magnitude of the calamity is very great indeed, and particularly Maharashtra is in the grip of one of the severest famines known to living memory. It is very difficult for the State Government to cope with the situation. Even drinking water is scarce and it will become more scarce until the arrival of the monsoon. In these circumstances, unless the Central Government comes to the help of the State Government very liberally, the State will not be able to meet the situation. There is a provision of Rs. 1 crore for grants and of Rs. 3

crores for loans in the Budget for natural calamities. I agree" with Prof. Ranga that this provision is quite inadequate. It should be increased; anyhow substantial amounts should be given to Bombay from this allotment.

While on the topic of Bombay I would also refer to one more subject of importance. In the final Plan Rs. 40 crores were given for additional irrigation and power works of which the Koyna project was one. But I see no provision made for this project in this Budget. I do not really know what is the reason behind this omission. I understand the Government of Bombay has included this project in their Budget for the next year, under the presumption that the Centre will place adequate funds at their disposal for this project; but there is no such provision here. I therefore request the Finance Minister to look into the matter and do the needful. Otherwise the inclusion of the Koyna project in the Plan will become quite fruitless.

The Budget is naturally framed for the implementation of the Plan and I am glad various schemes of the Plan have been taken up for the first time and a start is made on them. But I am rather surprised at the two omissions and I do not know how those two schemes came to be treated differently. I refer to the scheme of national control of malaria. It is a very important scheme and Rs. 10 crores are allotted to it; but it has not yet been started and I do not know how the amount can be spent during the remaining two years. Then there is the scheme for the training of the retrenched personnel for alternative employment. This also is a very important subject and has been left untouched. I shall be glad if the Finance Minister gives us some explanation why these schemes are not taken up in the Budget.

On the whole the Budget is quite good but there are weaknesses also, and the most serious of them of course, is that of deficit financing. The amount of the real deficit is not

[Shri B. M. Gupte.]

known and cannot be known today. Government intends to raise Rs. 210 crores by way of public loans and on the size of these loans will depend the size of our, deficit financing. There are other factors also. A credit of Rs. 18 crores from Pakistan loan has been taken into account and if this is not realised, then the deficit is likely to be increased by that amount. The Budgets of the States also have to be taken into consideration. Most of them have balanced their budgets by drawing upon their accumulated balances and reserves and this also adds to the inflationary trends. Perhaps the total of those amounts will come to Rs. 15 crores. Thus there is risk in the situation.

Our Prime Minister often aptly describes the making of new India, the implementation of the Plan as a great adventure and when we look at the financial aspect of it, we appreciate the better this description of it. There are risks but risks have to be taken if the Plan is to be implemented. The Finance Minister has therefore quite rightly adopted a bold policy of deficit financing. But this enterprise is tempered by caution. No doubt the situation needs vigilant watching but we can rest assured that the whole business is in the very competent hands of the Finance Minister and he can be trusted to take prompt and immediate measures if any undesirable trends are discernible in our economy.

One point more and I have done. The Finance Minister has referred to the general improvement in the economic situation and this has been variously described as fairly tale, an illusion, complacency and all that. I submit it is nothing of that sort. It is mere sober optimism, not an unreasonable optimism, not optimism unrelated to facts but a feeling of hopefulness that any ordinary man of prudence would feel if he takes a dispassionate survey of the situation. There is plenty of trouble around us; no body denies it, nobody can forget it. But to be a realist does not mean we should make it a fetish to look only at the dark side

of things. I know one swallow does; not make a summer; but the swallow certainly heralds the advent of summer and there are indication to show that we have turned the corner in our economic situation. Inflation has been checked, production is increasing, controls are decreasing and our economy is taking a more healthy tone. We all realise that India has become free but she has yet to travel a long and a weary path to prosperity. Nevertheless the outlook is hopeful and if we muster enough unity and determination there is no reason why we should not achieve our immediate objective, namely, the implementation of the Five Year Plan. I therefore, appeal to my friends on the opposite side. Let us all join together in a great co-operative endeavour so that free India of today may lay the foundations of the prosperous India of tomorrow.

SHRI B. V. KAKKILAYA (Madras): Sir, many speakers on the other side have claimed that the reactions of the stock exchanges prove that the people as a whole welcome this Budget. But for us who know the real position that exists in the country, those who know that the stock exchange in our country does not reflect the opinion of the general mass of our people, or even of the medium and smallscale industrialists and commercial men, who know that the stock-exchange in our country is nothing but an organisation of tiny section of the monopolists and speculators in our country, we know that the people in the stock-exchange are the only people who welcome this Budget. And the very fact that they welcome it shows that the overwhelming majority of our people, workers and peasants and the middle-classes and even small industrialists and businessmen have reacted very badly towards this Budget.

This Budget does not offer anything to the people. This Budget has given relief only to the richest. Ever since 1947, as my Deputy Leader Mr. Bhupesh Gupta said yesterday, this Government has been giving tax relief to the monopolists, to the speculators and to those people who have

been gathering large amounts of income but, at the same time, this Government has been going on increasing the tax burden on the ordinary people of this land. So, this year again, our Government has given more tax relief to the rich and to compensate that, even more than to compensate that, they have increased the tax burden on the poor people of our country.

Now, instead of going into the generalities of the Budget, I will confine myself to certain very specific grievances which I want to place before this Government and the House. Shrimati Lilavati Munshi just now said that when Shri Bhupesh Gupta referred to queues of death and hunger, she was surprised. She does not see any death due to hunger or starvation in our country. But, the hon. Member from Maharashtra, who spoke immediately after that, said how thousands of people, lakhs of people, were caught in the grip of hunger. It is not only in Maharashtra Sir; in the Karnataka Part of Bombay, according to the Revenue Minister of Bombay himself, ten lakhs of people are today in the grip of hunger. There, during the last four consecutive years rains have failed. In Bijapur District, especially where there are five rivers, if Government spends money there to improve irrigation facilities, if they spend money there to utilise the waters of these five rivers, the whole area, which is chronically famine stricken district can be converted into a granary; but our Government would not consider such areas and, because of that, once in five or ten years famine visits that district and our people are starving. Take Mysore State. There are three districts, Chitaldrug, Tumkur and Kolar where for the last four years rains have failed and people are starving; cattle are dying for want of fodder and what is our Government doing? Our Government, instead of rushing foodstuffs there, instead of reducing the price of foodgrains, have stopped the subsidy and today, ration shops are being closed and, therefore, food prices have increased. In Mysore State, even Congressmen

5 CSD.

I and members of all parties have joined together and have protested against this increase of price in foodstuffs but our Government does not pay any heed to the voice of the people. They go on saying that they do not have any money for their projects and so they cannot waste funds for feeding the people. In the district of Kolar, thousands of people are starving. In the same district, we have got the Kolar Gold Fields and this concern, the British concern of John Taylor & Co., has been, for the last several years exploiting not only the gold but thousands of workers there and our Government,—the Mysore Government—instead of at least trying to prevent the remittance of the profit of this John Taylor & Co abroad and utilising that for helping the people in that District, have made a present of Rs. 40 lakhs per annum to John Taylor & Co. by repealing the Gold Duties Act. This is how our Government is serving the interest of the people.

I will give, Sir, one small example of how the Government is thoroughly irresponsible towards the workers and the ordinary people. There is the Hindusthan Aircraft Factory in Bangalore the whole capital of which is owned by the Central Government and the Mysore Government. But, neither the Central Government nor the Mysore State Government owe any responsibility towards the workers. The same is the case with the management of the factory. We know, Sir, machines are lying idle; the full productive capacity of the factory is not being fully utilised. Not only that, the workers there have no security of service. Thousands of workers who have put in service for years are "even now treated as temporary workers. Ever since 1947 this concern has been earning lakhs of rupees as profit but only once and that too in honour of the visit of the Prime Minister were the workers paid one month's pay as bonus. Whenever the workers put forward their grievances, Government says that they have nothing to do with that as it is an autonomous factory. This is how our Government treats our workers. The Association of the Employees is not

[Shri B. V. Kakkilaya.] allowed to hold their general body meetings inside the colony; though the Union is registered and a recognised Union, it is not allowed to hold its meeting in the colony near the Factory. I will tell you one interesting story. The Union held its General Body Meeting and no less a person than the Chief Minister of Mysore State presided over that meeting but the Managing Director of the Factory had the affrontery to refuse permission to the Employees' Union to hold that General Body Meeting in the factory premises. You can imagine, **Sir**, the meaning of the policy of the Government of converting all the state-owned factories into private limited companies. This is a measure taken by Government to cheat the workers, to shirk all responsibility towards the workers and the public.

Then, Sir, I have to refer to one important question. You know that Mr. Justice Wanchoo has made a report to the Government as regards the formation of Andhra. Now, there is very grave concern in the minds of the people in Karnatak and in the South as a whole. Karnatak, you know, is a region which is inhabited by nearly 2½ crores of people. Two districts of Karnatak, which are separated from one another, are in Madras State; four districts are in Bombay and 2½ districts are there in Hyderabad. There is, of course, Mysore State and there is Coorg. We are consigned to two Part A States, two Part B States and one Part C State. On the whole, Karnatak is a Part D State, we should say; that is, we have no State of our own. Karnatak has very fertile land; we have got rich forests; we are very rich in minerals; we have got very great scope for development of hydroelectric power; we can develop very good industries. Sir, in spite of all that, Karnatak serves as a hinter-land to the big capitalists of Bombay and Madras. Today, all the parties in Karnatak have joined together and are united in this demand for the immediate formation of Karnatak, but, the Central Government has put for-

ward so many pleas to postpone the formation of Karnatak, to deny this legitimate demand of the Karnatak people. In the Hyderabad Congress session, they said that unless Andhra is stabilised, we cannot think of forming any other province. They also said that if Karnatak or any other linguistic state was formed then, the implementation of the Five Year Plan will be affected. This is nothing but a false plea on the part of Government because, even if this Five Year Plan is to be implemented, even if we are to get the slightest improvement in our culture and economic standards, certainly we can have it only if linguistic provinces are formed. Andhra people are capable enough to stabilise their State.

(Time bell rings.)

AN HON. MEMBER: Speak on the Budget.

SHRI B. V. KAKKILAYA: Yes, I am speaking on the Budget because the Budget has made no provision for this nor has it been based on the re-organisation of the States on a linguistic basis.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: **Two** minutes more.

SHRI B. V. KAKKILAYA: Simultaneously with the formation of the Andhra Province, I also urge upon the Government to take up this matter of the formation of Karnatak Province.

I have one more point to place before the House.

SHRI ABDUL RAZAK (Travancore-Cochin): May I know whether the hon. Member has ascertained the wishes of the people in Mysore State?

SHRI B. V. KAKKILAYA: Yes, people of Mysore are also in favour of it. 56 members of Mysore Assembly have signed a memorandum and have forwarded it to Government for the formation of the Karnatak Province.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY (Mysore): Quite right.

SHRI B. V. KAKKILAYA: Recently, Sir, there was a by-election in Mysore State in the Bangarpet constituency of Mysore State.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are not concerned with that, Mr. Kakki-laya. Your time is up.

SHRI B. V. KAKKILAYA: I will show how we are concerned. I am going to show a letter written by the Deputy Food Minister. We are concerned because the Deputy Food Minister belongs to this Central Government. This Deputy Minister has written to the village officials in Bangarpet asking them to work for the Congress candidates and to support them. He has not only written letters to these village officials, but, he has used Government stationery to write, these letters. I have got one letter here. I am going to place it on the Table of the House. It is written on Government stationery. He has despatched it in service envelopes and used service stamps. This is the way our Ministers behave and with this they are going to work this Five Year Plan and this Budget.

With these words, Sir, I conclude my speech and I place the letter on the Table of the House.

SHRI K. B. LALL (Bihar): Sir, while speaking on the budget I must confess that I am not a financial expert, nor have I had the time to look through the voluminous budget-books provided to us. I have stood up only to give expression to some of my views regarding Government policy which must be in the form of suggestions to Government. It is not our role to criticise the Government and I do not think I am capable of criticising the Government and I am not an expert. I will try, for that reason, only to place commonsense views of things which would be considered by Government.

SHRI M. S. RANAWAT (Rajasthan): Government does not possess commonsense.

SHRI K. B. LALL: Sir, our Government is composed of our people and if the country as a whole is wanting in commonsense, it is the Government as well that is lacking in commonsense. The Government is only a looking-glass; we look our own images in the glass; the looking-glass cannot mend our faces. Our face only is naturally reflected in the Government. We must not so much blame the Government.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Look here.

SHRI K. B. LALL: Of course a time was when we used to criticise—just as our friends criticise the Government at present—we used to call the budget presented by the Britishers as the "burglar's budget", or the "burglar's art". They now say that this is a "juggler's budget" and a "juggler's art". This is not a burglar's budget because it cannot be in the nature of things. Our own men cannot be burglars and they cannot be jugglers too. There is no such purpose behind them and they are surely actuated by good motives. They may be right or wrong in what they are doing, but the motive behind it is good.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY: Question.

SHRI K. B. LALL: Just as things prevail in the country, they are not very much far from what is represented in the budget. But what I am going to suggest is that we are drifting away from the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi; we held out so much promise to the people that we would bring about a state of society so different from what the Britishers have attempted to hold dear. But during these years when the affairs of our country have come to our hands, we have not brought about any change in the method. I find the same sort of education being imparted to our children and it is still worse; at least the Britishers knew where to tighten the screw. We have made everything so loose because of our independence. Of course, in the new spirit of independence men are apt to go loose, but things have gone so

[Shri K. B. Lall.] loose that we hear of the murder of the Principal of a College. The spirit of independence is let loose. We have got in our budget good many provisions with regard to education. We have the copy of the report which says that so much money is given for library, so much money is given for university education, so much money is spent on sending students to foreign countries, so much money for our cultural advancement and sending cultural missions to other countries, and so on and so forth. I do not say they are bad, they may be good. But the hitch is surely somewhere that we have to divorce it. I say that our young men in colleges and schools are* going so much astray that they are not being moulded on the lines on which our leaders were moulded even during the time of the British people. Although we cried so much, against the Britishers, it is those leaders who gave us independence and our present leaders too. They may be a freaks of nature. They were surely the product of British Universities and British institutions. But what are we doing for our young men and how are we shaping them? We should not mince matters. We should not cover it up by platitudes. There must be something wrong somewhere that our students are going so much astray today. Who is going to mend this? Sir, that is my problem.

The economic conditipn of the country comes up before us. We promised several things. This is an agricultural country. We are mostly an agricultural people and 85 per cent, of our people are engaged in agriculture. What is the condition of agriculture today? Our friend, Mr. Ranga, is a solitary figure who is crying hoarse on the problem. What is the condition of the peasants and how are we behaving towards them? Today we are starving the agriculturists. Some of my friends made a grievance here just now that we exist for the townsmen and urban people only. It is true that every facility is provided to the town people and even in the town only to the

chosen few, the most-favoured and in high position. Even take the procurement programme. I have honestly held the view that this procurement programme is a 'legalised loot'. You purchase grain at the rate of Rs. 10 a maund whereas it is sold at Rs. 40 in the open market. The town people do not care for the progress of the peasants. Even during the British Raj the town people were fed by the Government. Even now the*best 'basu-mati' rice is kept for the 'Commissioner Sahib'. It is true that in towns they have kept special rice for high officials. Sir, only some thirty years before, an old Afghan said "you are proud of your Government here. You sell meat at 10 pice a seer for your official and five annas for the other people. If it were the case in Afghanistan we would tea*r into pieces such officials." Of course, the officials are our brethren. I have got every feeling, every sympathy for them but how is it that such officials are there? It is a problem. I know that every time you speak of retrenchment, you are not successful because somebody's sons or sons-in-law are there and therefore the whole scheme falls through. Even the best of Ministers is not prepared to face it. Every young man is preparing for service in government. A friend of mine who

had 400 bighas of land came 6 P.M. to me and said, "My son has

passed BA. Will you please try to get him a job?" I said, "Why? You have got 400 bighas of land. You have got only one son. Are you not ashamed? Your son can keep 100 servants of his own. Why should he go in for service?" His reply was, "You see, I am engaged in agriculture. What does agriculture pay, that I should put my son in that line?" That is how you have brought the country to this pass so far as agriculture is concerned. The condition of agriculture is such that today no young man thinks of going in for agriculture. Why? Because you have starved agriculture. You have created such a pampered condition in service that everybody thinks of entering service. Everybody is

preparing his son for a good job in the Government. And what kind of job? A job on a pay of Rs. 3,000 or Rs. 4,000 or Rs. 5,000 per month. Sir, I am not a communist, and I do not hope to be a communist, but I say communists are better, and if they had taken over the Government, they would have faced the situation and they would have cut down all these salaries. You are not doing that. This is how I feel. Circumstances have taken us so far away from the ideology of Mahatma Gandhi. If you are true to the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, you should take these things into consideration and find out where the defect lies.

I think the defect lies in our education. We are spending such large amounts *on* education, and how are we spending those large amounts? You have appointed a Secondary Education Commission, you have appointed a University Commission, you have appointed so many commissions, and so many persons are drawing T.A. and DA. and bringing out big volumes of reports. But do those reports solve the problem of education even a jot? That is the question before you. You must think of an educational system under which our children will not grow in an atmosphere of indiscipline, as they are doing today. You will ask, how? I will show how. Have only one or two model schools. There is the problem of finding teachers; even today you cannot find teachers. You are imitating Europeans, you are aping Westerners and you have made the teacher a saleable person and a purchasable person. You have made education a saleable and a purchasable commodity. So long as education remains such a commodity, you cannot hope to get good teachers. In these conditions, do you think that this education can bring out good products?

(Time bell rings.)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Three minutes more.

. SHRI K. B. LALL: I have been watching the clock, Sir. Am I to get only ten minutes?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member has already taken more than ten minutes.

SHRI K. B. LALL: Then, Sir, with regard to our economic condition, I would say that the Britishers had their own method, and they had their own despatches from England. They used to say, India must be bled white. And how did they try to bleed India white? By establishing and fostering this kind of society which is before our eyes today, by fostering classes in our society. Now, we have passed a resolution in the Congress that our aim is to evolve a classless society. But is this the way to evolve a classless society, where our public servants get salaries of Rs. 4,000 and Rs. 5,000? And if you breed a class in that way, you can understand the position of a person getting Rs. 400 or Rs. 500—how he will bring up his children. And when Members of Parliament are paid Rs. 300 or Rs. 400, there will be a good comparison between the children of Members of Parliament and the children of your servants here. I am not the enemy of the public servant. I may fall a victim to the wrath of the public servant who may be listening to me. But what I say is not in any spirit of animosity against such servants. I am speaking in the spirit of fostering a society on the lines conceived by Mahatma Gandhi, and it is only in that spirit that I am making this submission to the House.

You must first have a plan, a plan in the way Mahatma Gandhi suggested. Mahatma Gandhi never prepared voluminous books for any programme that he put before the country. He gave you everything in his speeches, and the country took it up. You only bring books, and then there are questions which we hear so much here.

[Shri K. B. Lall.] And then there is somebody whispering in our ears, "Don't think that the Plan is going to succeed, because those who are engaged in putting it into execution will pocket 80 per cent, of the money and only 20 per cent, of the money will go into the Plan." These have been the remarks from the very beginning. It is a very bad augury. It breaks my heart. It breaks my heart to see the Government heckled so much during question time by my own countrymen. If these things reach foreign countries, they must think that conditions are very bad here. It is for the good of our Government that I am saying this. You should change your ways, you must adopt the lines of Mahatma Gandhi's programme. For instance, take the question of health. You can just say, every house must have one cow, and that cow must be subsidized. Then see how the health of the people improves. Instead, you give a big book, and there are very few persons who can read that book. You can follow Mahatma Gandhi's way and give the people advice about health in one word, as Mahatma Gandhi did. Mahatma Gandhi wanted people to give up intoxicating drinks and to fast for a day to observe the anti-drink day. That was the drill he taught the people for enforcing a programme. In the same way, he gave so many things to the country. But what do you do? You are helping the people by publishing reports which very few people can read. And you are helping vanaspati production in the country. I think you should (*Time bell rings.*) follow Mahatma Gandhi's methods in planning and enforcing the programmes.

SHRI RAJAGOPAL NAIDU (Madras): Mr. Deputy Chairman, almost the first sentence of the Finance Minister's speech on this budget is that he has witnessed a marked improvement in the economic conditions in the country. It may be that economic conditions in urban areas are

definitely improving; but our Finance Minister, a cautious bureaucrat as he is, probably born and bred with a silver spoon, having served the previous bureaucratic Government and having been placed in this position, would certainly not be able to say what life in the villages is in these days. Sir, there is appalling misery in the villages. That is not my opinion. It is the opinion of one of the ex-Ministers of Great Britain, Mr. Bevan, who is a distinguished visitor in our country, and who also seems to be the distinguished guest of our Government. He has given his impressions about Indian villages after his recent tour in the south. Here is what he is reported to have said. According to *The Madras Mail* dated the 28th February 1953:—

"I do not believe that India can establish a progressive, stable society on the basis of the impoverishment that I have seen in her villages. I went through some of the villages in Madura in the morning and I am bound to say, looking at some of them, that I am absolutely appalled."

And he added that "there was too wide a gap between the city and the village", and he was convinced that "at least certain elements in the urban communities should be ready to mark time till villages caught up with them." He has also stated, Sir, in another place: "But we have the most appalling disadvantage. We have got the present population which is appalling. I went round some of the villages myself this morning and I am bound to say, looking at some of them, I was absolutely appalled." That is the condition, Sir, in one village and that is the impression of Mr. Bevan also. I had also quoted some time back, Sir, about what an hon. Minister of the Madras Government had stated—that people looked like walking corpses. That is the state of affairs, Sir, in the villages. I

find that villagers are suffering from want of credit. Sir, they are not able to raise their crops. They apply for a loan; they wait for months and months; they apply for a loan to the co-operative institutions; they apply to the tahsildar of the taluk for *taccavi* loans, but by the time the loans are sanctioned, it is nearly six or seven months so much so they are not able to raise their seasonal crops.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: How is this Government concerned with *toc-cavi* loans, Mr. Naidu?

SHRI RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: It is a question of credit. Otherwise you can't raise crops.

Then, Sir, I will quote one other instance of how sugarcane was supplied by the growers about one year back to the factories—cane amounting to nearly three or four crores of rupees in value—and yet price had not been paid at all by the mills to the cane-growers. Yet the Government steps in and tries *to* help only the millers and not the cane-growers. Sir, the Government seems to have given a sort of guarantee to the millers. The Government had imposed excise duty and saved the situation, so far as the millers were concerned. And so far as the growers were concerned, they were left in the lurch. The amount comes to nearly three or four crores.

Sir, then coming to the Budget proper, my opinion of this Budget is, Sir, that it is a very uninteresting Budget and also a very insipid Budget, which offers little by way of relief and little by way of taxation. The relief that has been given in this Budget, Sir, does not render relief to the entire community, but renders relief only to a few sections of the community here and there. And with regard to taxation, Sir, of course I am glad to say that it does not affect the entire community, but affects only certain sections of the community. Lightening of the burden of taxation on poor and lower middle classes by

increasing the exemption limit from Rs. 3,600 to Rs. 4,200, is certainly a redeeming feature. But, Sir, it is not done with any genuine intention. As the hon. Finance Minister himself admits, it is only the Government that is the principal beneficiary in trying to save much of administrative expenses in its Departments. It is only about 70,000 families that are benefited by this question and it is not done, as I have already stated, Sir, with any genuine intention. Then the reduction in duty on jute sacking helps only West Bengal, Sir, if I am correct, only the mill-owners there and it does not give any relief to the public at large. At any rate, the South is not benefited. Then of course, there is a higher duty *on* imported betel nuts. That would certainly benefit some of the local producers. And then there is a reduction in the duty on important drugs as penicillins, etc. In my opinion, Sir, one of the most redeeming features is the appointment of the Taxation Inquiry Committee—though I may not agree on principle *to* the personnel of the Committee excepting probably the Chairman.

Then, Sir, coming to certain unwelcome features, in the budget the first and foremost, in my opinion, Sir, is the enhancement of rates for parcels, book packets, registration and insurance covers. This will certainly affect a large section of the public and also the business community. Sir, the confidence that any letter that is posted in the post box would reach the addressee has been completely shaken, so much so that people resort to registering their letters and it is unfortunate, Sir, that this registration fee should be enhanced by a very great amount—probably nearly one and a half annas or so—and I do not think, Sir, it is justified even on the cost and service principle. It is certainly unwarranted.

Sir, there are two disturbing features, according to me, in the Budget. The first disturbing feature is the mounting expenses of the defence and the second the mounting expenditure on the civil side. With regard to

[Shri Rajagopal Naidu.] defence, Sir, an expenditure of Rs. 200 crores out of a total Budget of Rs. 438 crores is, in my opinion, rather a very high proportion for a poor country like India and it is high time that the expenditure on defence was brought down. If I remember well, Sir, in May last, there was an indication that there would be a saving in the defence Budget. I would like to know, Sir, whether there has been any change in the last ten months to raise the defence expenditure which was 164.13 crores in the year 1950-51 and which is going to be 199.84 or nearly 200 crores in the year 1953-54. Even if that be so, Sir, I would like to stress that more money should be spent on the Air Force and the Navy and there is no use of spending much money on our army because wars are now-a-days fought and won only on the air and sea. Wars are no longer won on the land. I would therefore earnestly suggest that there should be more money diverted on the Air Force and on the Navy.

Then coming to the civil expenditure, Sir, I find that it shows an increase of nearly 34½ crores of rupees over the Revised Estimates for the current year. A more rigorous economy in civil expenditure would enable the Government, Sir, to have more surplus funds for capital items which would certainly obviate recourse to deficit financing. Sir, after the attainment of independence there were two great happenings, namely, the rehabilitation of displaced persons and also, Sir, the granting of food subsidies which certainly devoured a lot of money. There is certainly some justification for the enormous expenditure on the civil side after the immediate post-partition period. Now that not more money is going to be spent on rehabilitation and the food subsidies having been completely withdrawn, Sir, I would like to ask the question as to why the civil expenditure should be placed at nearly over 34½ crores of rupees over the Revised Estimates of the current year and why this item of expendi-

ture has not been brought down? I do not want to say much about the deficit financing. Most of the States have passed deficit Budgets and if the Five Year Plan is to be successfully worked, on sound financial basis I would like to make a few suggestions, Sir.

I would suggest that we need not resort to deficit financing. Instead of that, I would suggest: Why not scrap prohibition? I am a believer in prohibition, Sir, but with all that I would suggest that if we want to have our various development schemes envisaged in the Five Year Plan to be successfully carried out, we must scrap prohibition. Why I say this is because that although I believe in prohibition, yet, with all that, I find that it has not been successfully worked. I find that more people are drinking now than before. I find that it has become a cottage industry in the South. I find that the people have learnt to earn easy money by illicit distillation and illicit tapping. I find people do not have any recourse to go and work hard in the fields and earn money because distillation is an easy process and fetches easy money. It is a thing which can be performed by a man and his wife in the house itself and they easily earn money. Not only labour classes but even middle class families are trying to earn money in this way. As far as the Police Department is concerned, corruption has increased in that department because of this prohibition. It has certainly not benefited the masses. The idea with which prohibition was introduced was to benefit the masses, but I find it has been reacting the other way on the masses, so much so that corruption is on the increase; public health is at the lowest ebb and even people who did not drink before the introduction of prohibition, have started drinking. It is also a big drain on the exchequer of the State and for all these reasons I would suggest that prohibition should be scrapped. My second point is why has the Estates Duty Bill not been passed so far? Much has been said about this Bill. The passing of the Estates Duty

Bill will enhance the resources of the Government and the sooner Government introduces the Bill, the better.

Coming to the withdrawal of the food subsidy, I do not know what the intention of the Government is in this regard. We find that this year we are going to pay much more than in the previous year with regard to the purchase of wheat from outside countries. I find from the various statements that have been made on the floor of this House by the Food Minister that we are going to pay more for the purchase of rice also. When we are going to pay much more for the purchase of wheat and rice, I do not know whether it is advisable now to withdraw the food subsidy, while the purchasing power of the people is at a very low ebb. Under these circumstances, is it advisable to withdraw the food subsidy? I would submit that the withdrawal of the food subsidy will create a lot of discontent and promote to communism in the country.

Coming to rural housing. I find that nearly Rs. 4 crores have been provided for urban housing. Even last year, I mentioned that some money should be provided for rural housing. When 80% of our people are in the villages and nearly 50% of them are labourers, I do not know how the question of rural housing has been so hopelessly neglected. I would request the hon. Minister to make a beginning at least this year by building some model houses for agricultural labour.

I would like to stress that it is time that we introduce legislation for crop insurance and cattle insurance. There should also be made adequate marketing facilities for the agriculturists and also proper godowns constructed for storage purposes. The grant that was given by the Central Government last year for the construction of godowns has been withdrawn. I understand that out of the deficit of nearly 8%, in the food-grain, as much as 5% is attributable to lack of proper storage accommodation.

Then, Sir, I do not want to take up the time of the House any further, and I would once again earnestly request the hon. the Finance Minister that agriculture should not be neglected. So long as there is discontent among the agriculturist population in this country. I dare say that your Five Year Plan can never be a success.

SHRI R. B. SINHA (Bihar):

श्री आर० बी० सिन्हा (बिहार) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं वह व्यक्ति हूँ जिसने कभी बोलने के लिये होड़ नहीं लगाई। आपने जो मुझे बोलने का अवसर दिया उसके लिये मैं आपका बहुत आभारी हूँ।

श्रीमन्, जो आयव्ययक का चिट्ठा हमारे सामने रखा गया है उसकी बारीकियों को समझना थोड़ा मुश्किल काम जरूर है लेकिन कोई भी आदमी जो इस बजट को इस पार से उस पार तक देखेगा वह यही कहेगा कि जिस परिस्थिति में और जिन कठिनाइयों के रहते हुये यह आयव्ययक का चिट्ठा तैयार किया गया है वह वास्तव में सराहनीय है।

श्रीमन्, हमारी आवश्यकतायें अनंत हैं फिर भी उन आवश्यकताओं के मुताबिक हर आवश्यक मद में छोटी बड़ी रकमें रखी गई हैं। इसलिये मैं ग्रर्थ मंत्री महोदय को बधाई देता हूँ और उनका जो बनाया हुआ बजट है उसका मैं हृदय से समर्थन करता हूँ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, बजट तैयार करना कुछ कठिन काम जरूर है परन्तु उसको कार्य रूप में परिणत करना उससे कम कठिन काम नहीं है। हमारा देश महान है, हमारे देश में करोड़ों की करोड़ों जनता सुदूर देहात में रहने वाली है। इस आयव्ययक के चिट्ठे में जो मोटी मोटी रकमें रखी गई हैं उसका खर्चा कैसे किया जाय, उससे जो अच्छाई होने वाली है, उससे जो भलाई होने को है

[Shri R. B. Sinha.]

वह हमारे लोगो तक कैसे पहुंचाई जाय यह भी एक गम्भीर प्रश्न है। बजट का मैं समर्थन करता हूँ और बजट में जितनी रकमें रखी गई हैं वे खूब सोच समझ कर रखी गई हैं लेकिन उसका खर्चा किस रूप से और उसकी भलाई हमारे लोगो तक कैसे पहुंचाई जाय यह भी एक बहुत बड़ा सवाल है जिस ओर हमारा ध्यान जाना चाहिये और उस पर बराबर ध्यान रखना चाहिये।

अब मैं आपका ध्यान अपने इलाके की ओर एक दो मिनट के लिये लाना चाहता हूँ। मेरा इलाका सरहद पर पड़ता है। हिन्दुस्तान का राज्य समाप्त होता है और नेपाल का राज्य वहां शुरू होता है। उस इलाके के लोग साल भर कमला नदी की बाढ़ से पीड़ित रहते हैं। श्रीम. में गंगा पर पुल बनाने की योजना पर या कोशी योजना पर कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ। हमारी सरकार की दृष्टि उस ओर है और मेरा अपना विश्वास है कि ये दोनों योजनायें सफलतापूर्वक तैयार हो कर मुल्क को फायदा पहुंचावेंगी। मुझे तो कहना यह है कि बजट में जो प्राविजन (provision) किया गया है उसका ठीक ठीक उपयोग है और वह हमारे लोगो तक ठीक ठीक पहुंचे। मैं मंत्रो महोदय से विशेष रूप से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि बजट में जो खर्चा रखा गया है वह सही मानी में हमारे लोगो तक पहुंच सके, इस पर ध्यान रखें। एक छोटीसी मिसाल में आप के सामने पेश करना चाहता हूँ। मैंने अभी बताया कि मेरा इलाका सरहद पर पड़ता है। गत दिसम्बर महीने में जब मैं यहां था तो इलाके से चिट्ठियां आने लगीं कि लोग कमला नदी की बाढ़ से बुरी तरह तबाह हैं। लोग लगी ऊख कहीं ले जा नहीं सकते हैं क्योंकि सड़कें कई जगह से टूटी हैं और उस पर अभी भी पानी है और हजारों लोगो की

मलरिया और कालाजार से मृत्यु हो रही है। मैंने सोचा कि यहां रह कर मैं उनका क्या काम करूं। हालांकि हमारी सरकार की ओर से हर मद में पैसा रखा हुआ है, नदी पार करने के लिये किस्ती के लिये पैसा है, उनको रिलीफ देने के लिये पैसा है, दवा दारू के लिये पैसा है, लेकिन उसका फायदा उन तक पहुंचता है या नहीं यह एक बहुत भारी चिन्ता का विषय हमारे सामने है। तो मैंने एस० डी० ओ० साहब को पत्र लिखा और मेरे एक मित्र जो उस सदन के सदस्य हैं उनसे भी एक पत्र लिखाया। जब मैं जनवरी महीने में गया और अपने इलाके में लोगो से पूछा तो पता लगा कि एक भी सरकारी अफसर आज तक उनकी तबाही और बर्बादी को देखने नहीं आया। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि बजट में जो प्राविजन (provision) है वह किस काम का यदि उससे लोगो को फायदा नहीं पहुंच सकता। मैं फिर एस० डी० ओ० साहब से मिला और एस० डी० ओ० साहब ने कहा कि मैं कई दफा उस इलाके में हो आया हूँ। मैं और भी परेशान और हैरान हुआ और मैं इस बात का पता लगाने लगा। पता लगाने पर यह बात मालूम हुई कि उस इलाके में १०,१५ मील की दूरी पर एक पी० डब्लू० डी० की कोलतार सड़क पड़ती है उससे एस० डी० ओ० साहब दो चार बार गुजरे थे और यहां तक कि उस के पास के गांव तक मैं भी नहीं पहुंचे थे। मेरे सामने एक जटिल समस्या खड़ी हुई कि मैं क्या करूं। जिनके जरिये से फायदा वहां के इलाके के लोगो को पहुंच सकता है उनकी यह हालत थी। मैं किसी की शिकायत नहीं करता। संयोगवश आठ, दस दिन के बाद डिवीज़नल कमिश्नर साहब वहां पहुंचे। मेरी हिम्मत तो टूट चुकी थी इसलिए मैंने अपने स्टेट असेम्बली के सदस्य से आग्रह किया कि आप जा कर कमिश्नर साहब से मिलें। वह जा कर उनसे मिले

और मैं कमिश्नर साहब को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि वह दूसरे ही दिन उस इलाके में गये और जो कुछ उनसे बन पड़ा उनकी मदद उन्होंने की। तो मेरा कहना यह है कि बजट में जो रकम रखी गई है उस पर आज तीन दिनों से काफी बहस हो रही है लेकिन यह प्रश्न मैं विशेष रूप से अपने मंत्रियों के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ कि बजट में मोटी मोटी रकमों के रखने से कोई भला होने वाला नहीं है जब तक कि उनका उपयोग ठीक ठीक न हो। हमारे यहाँ फुल्ल रिलीफ कमेटी कोसी सफर्स रिलीफ कमेटी, ऐंटी करप्शन कमेटी और इस तरह की दूसरी कमेटियाँ हैं लेकिन वहाँ के अफसरों की मनोवृत्ति ऐसी है कि उनमें चुन चुन कर एम० एल० एज० और एम० पीज० को रखते हैं और बाकी को छांट देते हैं। उनसे कोऑपरेट (co-operate) ही नहीं करते और उनसे राय ही नहीं लेते। मैं आपको बताता हूँ कि यहाँ से आई० ए० एस० जो आधुनिक शिक्षा प्रणालीके अनुसार पास करके जाते हैं वह आई० ए० एस० डिस्ट्रिक्ट मैजिस्ट्रेट साहब अपने ए० डी० एम० से कहते हैं कि एक विशेष समुदाय की बढ़ती को किसी तरह से रोको।

"You try to curb the rising influence of certain section. I do not want to name that."

यह बहुत गम्भीर प्रश्न है। आज सौभाग्य से हमारे जिले में वह नहीं हैं लेकिन उनका जहर अभी भी वहाँ है। यह गम्भीर बात है।

जहाँ तक बजट का सवाल है, जहाँ तक उसके आंकड़ों का सवाल है उसके सम्बन्ध में मैं पहले ही कह चुका हूँ कि उसको ठीक ठीक से समझना और उसका बयान करना मुश्किल काम है। लेकिन जो मोटी मोटी रकमें दिखाई देती हैं उनके बारे में मेरा अर्थ मंत्री महोदय

से और अन्य मंत्रियों से निवेदन है कि उसे बजट में रख कर ही संतोष न करें बल्कि इस पर भी नज़र रखें कि उसका फायदा हम लोगों तक पहुँचता है या नहीं।

अभी अभी कुछ दिन हुए हम लोगों ने रेलवे बजट और रेलवे मंत्री के भाषण का हृदय से स्वागत किया परन्तु कोई गंगा के पार जा कर ओ० टी० रेलवे में देखे कि यात्रियों की क्या दर्दनाक दशा है।

पिछले सालों में जब हमारा प्रान्त अकाल-ग्रस्त था तो केन्द्रीय सरकार ने काफी मदद की और उसके लिये मैं केन्द्रीय सरकार को धन्यवाद देता हूँ और बार बार हृदय से बधाई देता हूँ। रिलीफ मेजर्स (Relief Measure) में एक जगह पर चार पाँच सौ फिट बांध बनाया गया लेकिन जब बरसात का जमाना आया तो एक तरफ के लोगों ने कहा कि यह काट देना चाहिए नहीं तो हम डूब जायेंगे और दूसरी तरफ के लोगों ने कहा कि नहीं काटा जाना चाहिए। इस समय इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ झगड़ा हुआ और पलक मारते ही नौ आदमियों को राइफल से मार दिया गया। भला बताइये जो रकम हम वहाँ के लोगों की भलाई के लिए रखते हैं उसी रकम से उनकी जान का नुकसान करना कहाँ तक ठीक है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरी प्रार्थना यही है कि जो बजट हमारे सामने आया है वह सुन्दर है और उसका मैं हृदय से समर्थन करता हूँ लेकिन मेरा एक ही प्रश्न है कि जो मदद रखी गई है उससे जितनी मदद ज्यादा से ज्यादा लोगों को पहुँच सके उसको पहुँचाने की ओर ध्यान दिया जाय। पंच-वर्षीय योजना हमने दुनिया के सामने रख दी है और यह हमारे लिये इज्जत का सवाल है। दुनिया हमारी ओर देख रही है

[Shri R. B. Sinha.]

यदि वंचवर्षीय योजना को हम सफल नहीं बना सके तो दुनियां हमारा मखौल उड़ायेगी और हम कहीं भी अपना सिर उठा कर नहीं रख सकेंगे । एक गम्भीर प्रश्न यह हमारे सामने है । इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि बहुत फूक फूक कर हम कदम उठाना चाहिये ।

• जहां तक बजट का सवाल है वह अत्यंत सुन्दर है और मैं उसका हृदय से समर्थन करता हूँ और एक बार फिर माननीय अर्थ मंत्री जी को ऐसा बजट पेश करने के लिए हृदय से बधाई देता हूँ ।

[For English translation, see Appendix IV, Annexure No. 71.]

SHRI M. VALIULLA (Mysore): Sir, the very day the Budget was published all over the country, if you were to see its reaction in the commercial world, it was very well-taken. That gave an idea that the Budget was well prepared and well received by the country and the business community was also glad that the Budget of the kind came into existence.

With regard to most points mentioned in the Budget, I may agree with them but that does not mean that I have no difference with the Budget as it is given to us. There are certain points which I want the Finance Minister to elucidate further and also to give some satisfaction. It may be that there are points for him to answer. Generally when we ask the Government to retrench in the administration, they say "We are not able to do it and our hands are full". But now admittedly they say that 70,000 assesses are going to be let off because of the limit raising of income-tax. Therefore, I feel that 70,000 means 10 % and as such one-tenth of the number of officials of the Income-tax Department must be retrenched. But the reason given is that their hands are full. So, though not 10%,

at least 5% of the staff must be reduced. Then it will give some satisfaction.

Then there is a feeling that the administration, specially in the Centre, is very top-heavy and there are very large numbers of Secretaries, Under Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries getting fat salaries and there should be some sort of retrenchment in that also.

With regard to taxation, it is more or less taken as granted that the poor people are not taxed. With regard to the increase in the registration charges, it is argued that it only touches the rich and not the poor because the poor people are not going to register their letters. Now-a-days we do not have the same confidence in the Postal Department as we had before. Sometimes we find that the stamps are not there in the letters. So we have to go to the Post Offices to see that the letters are stamped before us. Registration is common to all now. It applies both to the rich and poor. Then there are some actions taken by Government which we have not been able to see from the Budget. There are some additional rates charged, say, in telephone. Perhaps such rates increases come under the rules made by the Department. They are also adding to the burden on the people. Therefore I feel that they should also come before the Parliament and they should not be raised under the rules. There are not proportionate conveniences given for these additional rates. Only few places are enjoying mobile post offices because they want to have it only in places with a population of 5 lakhs or more. In some cases even when the population is about 20 lakhs mobile post offices are not there and others have been given. There should be some uniformity. For the telephone charges they want uniformity. There should be uniformity in the provision of mobile post office also.

Then we find there are foreigners handling our foreign trade in India. There are agents of foreign countries

in India dealing with our foreign trade and they make money out of it. This is not desirable and we should have some people here of our own, some Government agency or corporation to handle this trade with foreign countries, to handle the foreign trade of the country. We know during the war there was the British Corporation which for some time used to buy cheap here and sell at high rates to the outside countries. I suggest that the whole thing should be in Indian hands and this is a matter which I hope the Commerce and Industry Ministry will take into consideration.

When we are dealing with these things we have to see how far we will be able to get more money from foreign countries. In addition to our Five Year Plan, we have to build up our other industries also and for all that we must have more money from outside. For this purpose even if we have to reduce the export duty a little, I think we should do that. This export duty is money that will come back to our hands. If you allow your goods to be sold in foreign countries, you will be getting more and more foreign money. Take for instance this tea industry. Here I have a circular letter—a copy probably has come to all Members of Parliament also—it shows how the tea industry is being taxed. There is first the income tax, then super-tax of 2 as. 9 pies in the rupee, then a surcharge of 5% and then professional tax, and then the excise duty of 3 as. and then the export duty at 4 as. a pound and other *taxes*. Well, if the tea industry has to fight under all these difficulties how do you expect it to compete successfully with other countries in the world? What happens is, the Government is not prepared to reduce the export duty and so the tea cannot be sold in the world market. Gradually the tea gardens have to be closed down. We lose so much foreign exchange. We cannot get that money. So I suggest that the rates of export duty may be reduced. Jute was also clamouring. They got it. But this re-

duction should be done in the case of tea also. That is my humble submission.

Then with regard to iron and steel, I, submit that that is the one commodity that we produce cheaper than any other country in the world.

(Time bell rings.)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Two minutes more.

SHRI M. VALIULLA: Our iron and steel is Rs. 300 per ton cheaper than in any other country in the world. Therefore, one would have thought that there would be more impetus and encouragement given to this industry. They now go to Japan and when it does not work, they go to America and so on. This sort of dilly-dallying should not happen. It is an urgent necessity for us to encourage the further progress of this industry in our country. Then there is sericulture which also should be encouraged in our land. They mention in the papers today that some Japanese fabrics are to be brought into India. But I say, why not our people go without silk for some time? There is fine cloth and cotton also. They even talk of importing fertilizers from abroad and when we ask for a factory at Bhadra-vati, they plead lack of power. They spend crores and crores on these dams and irrigation projects, but when Mysore asks for Rs. 20 crores not all of it once but in six instalments, they say, there is no money. So, there will be no power there and no more fertilizer.

Then, Sir, there is a feeling that under this Plan and all that, more money is being spent. For instance, 90% of the water in the Kistna river goes to the seas. The waters and flood waters of Godavari, Kistna, Cauvery and flood waters of all other rivers must also be properly harnessed and made proper use of.

(Time bell rings.)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your time is up.

RHRI M. VALIULLA: On the whole, Sir, I feel that we have so many things to do and I hope Government will look into them.

SHSI KISHEN CHAND (Hydeiv abad): Mr. Deputy Chairman, several speakers have already pointed out that this Budget is following the pattern of the previous Budgets and that they do not see any change in this Budget. The Finance Minister has been pleased to say that ours is a Welfare State and we want to prepare a welfare budget. The hon. the Prime Minister has also stressed on it but, I for one do not see any signs of a Welfare Budget in the presentation made to this House.

If we see the sources of revenue, during the last four years, we find that they have been steadily going down in spite of the fact that in previous years there has been some increase in taxes. Sir, if we see the second page of this Central Budget, we find that during 1951-52 under the head Income from revenue, it was Rs. 465 crores and in the Revised Estimates of 52-53 it was 365 crores of rupees and now it is 374 crores of rupees. Then, there are other items like contribution from railways, irrigation, etc. The income is more or less the same except in one item— currency and mint—where there has been an increase of 4 crores of rupees. This is only a paper adjustment as the rate of interest on Treasury Bills has been increased and as the Reserve Bank supplies large part of the investments, profits of the Reserve Bank has gone up by Rs. 5 crores and, therefore, you see an increase of Rs. 5 crores in currency and mint. That means that there is no real increase. Then, there is an extraordinary item of Rs. 18,46,00,000 that has been put down as probable amount to be received from Pakistan. Several Members have already pointed out that this amount may not be recovered. The net result will be that the income is going down from Rs. 515 crores in 1951-52 to a budgetted income of Rs. 437 crores and if the Pakistan contribution of

Rs. 18 crores does not come, it will be Rs. 418 crores. That means that there is a clear drop of Rs. 100 crores in two years.

Now, we come to the expenditure side. Here, there has been some mixing up. Direct demands on the Revenue were formerly Rs. 15 or Rs. 16 crores and now they have been raised to Rs. 32 crores by adding the payments to be made to the States out of Excise Revenue, to this Account. If those items had been separated, we would have seen that the expenditure on the tax collecting Department has steadily increased from 1951-52 onwards. Again, under the item 'Civil administration' in 1951-52, it was Rs. 53 crores; it went up to 56 crores and now it has been stated to be Rs. 71 crores. I admit that in this item also some other amounts have been entered but if we exclude these amounts, it will be Rs. 60 crores. So, from Rs. 53 crores, it has gone up to Rs. 60 crores. I fail to see, Sir, that if things go like this on and our expenditure steadily goes on increasing and the income goes on diminishing, how we are going to balance the Budget.

Further, under the item of Defence Services, in 1951-52, the expenditure was Rs. 170 crores. It has now gone up to Rs. 200 crores.

In the capital budget another Rs. 15 crores has been allotted; that means that we are spending Rs. 215 crores on Defence in a Budget of Rs. 430 crores, exactly 50%. Well, Sir, if we compare the expenditure incurred by other nations, ours is insignificant.

I admit that the U. K., the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. are spending such huge amounts on army, navy and air-force that we can never compete with them. It is known that our Prime Minister has said that we are a peace-loving nation and we cannot compete with other great powers in the expenditure on our defence forces. The best course will be to reduce our expenditure on the defence forces. I suggest that a ceiling be fixed at

Rs. 160 crores so that we may be able to save all the amount that is spent above this figure and that this money be utilised in nation-building activities which may help to achieve the idea of a welfare State.

Sir, if we look at expenditure from another point of view, the budget has been balanced by cutting down the subsidy on food and in that way Rs. 25 crores have been saved. So, really, what has been given to the States under the head of Excise duty, has been taken away under the head of food subsidies. The States are getting nothing extra.

Similarly, Sir, for the extra expenditure on defence forces the Finance Minister has taken credit for the recovery from Pakistan of two instalments, amounting to Rs. 18 crores, of its partition debt to India. I do not know if it will materialise. So, if these things are taken into account, there is a possibility that the budget may have a deficit of nearly Rs. 20 crores.

If we want to balance our budget and make it a welfare budget, there should be an enormous increase in our resources and in our national income. Until and unless our national income increases and we continue imposing the same taxes we cannot increase our revenue from taxes, nor spent it on nation-building activities. The hon. the Finance Minister will say that the Five Year Plan is going to increase our national income. Well, Sir, the Five Year Plan is only going to give us a few river-valley projects. But if you consider the effect of this on the rural population, I do not think that it is going to materially affect their standard of living. If at all, it may lead to about 5 per cent increase in food production which may help the rural population to get 5 per cent, increase in their national income standing at the low level of Rs. 150 per head per year.

This greater expenditure in Civil Administration is leading to more

waste and more corruption in Government Departments and I do not think that the Five Year Plan is going to succeed with this amount of corruption. There is, Sir, so much corruption that this Plan cannot succeed; especially when well-known black-marketeers and profiteers are given, responsible posts in Government undertakings. They are made Directors and no effort is made to stop their nefarious activities. I certainly welcome the small benefit given to the upper middle class by raising the limit of income-tax from Rs. 3,600 to Rs. 4,200. I would only suggest that considering the fact that formerly the exemption limit was Rs. 1,500 when the index of living was 100, now that the index has increase to 400, the exemption limit should be raised to Rs. 5,000. If the exemption limit, is raised to Rs. 5,000, nearly two lakhs of people will be removed from the list of assesseees and the Income-tax Department will have plenty of time for taking more care of other assesseees, and collect the additional amount from them which is going to be lost by raising the exemption limit in the case of individuals to Rs. 5,000 and in the case of joint Hindu families to Rs. 10,000. Well, Sir, as I pointed out, before this is not a welfare budget. The hon. Finance Minister will say that education and health are related to State expenditure. We find that there is continuous duplication in all items of expenditure. The States are given the responsibility of all these river valley projects. They have got to borrow money and they have got to pay interest at the expense of nation building activities. Will it not be better if the States concentrate on nation-building activities? The Centre should impose a condition on the States that 50 per cent, of their revenues should be spent on education and health services, and all river valley projects and all expenses in connection with development schemes should be borne by the Centre. If this policy is adopted, the States will not be borrowing, only the Centre will be borrowing money from the market. If the Centre can raise the

[Shri Kishen Chand.] rate of interest from 3 per cent. to 34 per cent, or 34 per cent., I am sure the Central Government can get at least Rs. 200 crores every year from internal borrowing alone, so that there will be no need for external borrowing or external aid.

This brings me to the question of balance of payments. We find that gradually our position with regard to foreign payments is becoming worse and worse. In this connection I beg to point out that foreign investments in India amount to about Rs. 600 crores. In today's "Hindustan Times" an estimate has been made that the foreign investments in India at their present value stand at the figure of Rs. 600 crores. If they are earning 10 per cent. profits on these Rs. 600 crores, it means that Rs. 60 crores have to be paid out of our foreign exchange for repatriation of these profits. Besides, the World Bank is charging on its loan of about Rs. 200 crores nearly 5% interest, which means, another Rs. 10 crores are paid by us every year. Then, Sir, all these foreign concerns are employing highly paid foreigners in our country. You are well aware that the previous Government sent out a large number of Indians to foreign countries to get technical training. Those young men have come back, and are sitting idle; they do not get any jobs. And yet our Government gets foreign experts. The Foreign firms also, in the name of experts, employ a very large number of foreigners. Supposing there are about 1,000 foreign firms in our country and each of them employs 6 to 7 foreigners, it means there are about 6,500 foreigners in our country under the heading of "experts", and as these foreigners are getting very high salaries, at least five crores of rupees are drained away from our country as their saving which is being repatriated. That means we are paying over Rs. 75 crores from our Foreign Exchange. If we can stop that, there is no need of any foreign loan, and we shall be able to build a large favourable balance of payments, and import i

capital goods without borrowing any further money.

7 P.M.

Well, Sir, I will end up by saying that in order to make India a welfare State, we should recast our Budget on quite different lines. This mere adjustment of one crore here or two crores there won't do. The hon. Finance Minister has suggested a grant of two crores for -basic education or six crores for handloom industry. Of course they look big figures, but in reality they are not going to make any material difference in our economy. In order to recast our Budget, as I have suggested, the entire responsibility for the Five Year Plan should be taken up by the Centre and the States should be left to tackle the problem of illiteracy and disease.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Pillai.

EVICTED OF SHRI P. SUNDARAY-YA
FROM NO. 1, WINDSOR PLACE

SHRI P. SUNDARAYYA (Madras): Sir, before the House proceeds further, I want to bring to the notice of the Chair as well as the House some grave happenings in Delhi affecting the Members of Parliament themselves. I am raising a point of privilege which affects this House.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question of privilege has to be raised immediately after the Question Hour.

SHRI P. SUNDARAYYA: Whatever the Rules of Procedure be, Sir, I want to bring to the notice of the House and the Chair that the police have come with arms and with rifles and have entered No. 1, Windsor Place, which is the office of our Parliamentary Group and our residence—I am myself living there and other M.Ps. are also living there and our staff are also living there. It is from that place we have been functioning for the last ten months. Without giving previous notice, the police have come there to