

COUNCIL OF STATES

Thursday, 17th July 1952

The Council met at a quarter past eight of the clock, Mr. CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE**REPORTS REGARDING RAILWAYS**

THE MINISTER FOR FINANCE (SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH) : Sir, I lay on the Table—

(1) Appropriation Accounts of Railways in India for 1949-50 (Parts I and II) [Placed in Library. See No. IV. U. (a) (75)] together with—

(a) Capital statements, Balance Sheets and Profit and Loss Accounts of India Government Railways for 1949-50 [Placed in Library. See No. IV. U. (a) (74)], and

(b) Balance Sheets of Railway Collieries and Statements of all-in-cost of Coal, etc., for 1949-50 [Placed in Library. See No. IV. U. (a) (71)] ; and

(2) Railway Audit Report, 1951. [Placed in Library. See No. IV. U. («)(7*)].

REPORT OF TARIFF COMMISSION

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : Sir, may I lay on the Table the papers on behalf of the Minister for Commerce and Industry ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Yes.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : Sir, I lay on the Table a copy of" the Report of Tariff Commission on the Fair Retention Prices of Steel produced 18 C. S. Deb.

by the Mysore Iron and Steel Works, Bhadravati [Placed in Library. See No. P-29/52], together with a copy of the Government of India Resolution No. SC (A)-2 (87)/52, dated the 1st July, 1952 [See Appendix II, annexure No. 20].

**APPROPRIATION (No. 2) BILL, 1952 —
{continued}**

MR. CHAIRMAN : We can take up further discussion of the Motion moved by the Finance Minister for consideration of the Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1952. Dr. P. C. Mitra.

SHRI TAJAMUL HUSAIN (Bihar) : Sir, before we begin the proceedings of the day I would like to suggest to you that as there are several speakers on behalf of the Congress Party and no doubt as many on the Opposition side, I would suggest that a time limit « should be fixed so that it may be possible that all those Members, whose names have been submitted before you by the Whips, can have a chance to speak. That is my suggestion to the House through you, Sir. You may take the opinion of the House if you so desire, Sir.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE (West Bengal) : A time-limit has been fixed as 15 minutes.

SHRI E. K. IMBICHIBAVA (Madras) : *Mr. Chairman, Sir, as I am unable to speak effectively either in English or in Hindi, I had sent in an application in the month of May to be allowed to speak in my mother tongue, Malayalam. My request was that I may be permitted to speak in Malayalam and arrangements be made for the translation.

SHRI T. PANDEY (Uttar Pradesh) :

श्री टी० पांडे (उत्तर प्रदेश) : जनाब, यह क्या बोल रहे हैं कुछ समझ नहीं पा रहा हूँ। श्रीमान्, ऐसी व्यवस्था करें जिससे कि भाषा हम समझ सकें।

*English translation of the speech delivered in Malayalam.

[SHRI T. PANDEY (Uttar Pradesh): *Sir, I am unable to understand what he says. Kindly make some such arrangement that we may be able to understand the language.]

SHRI E. K. IMBICHIBAVA : ji humbly request you in the name of democracy to concede my demand, so that I may be able to do my duties to my constituency. The translation is necessary so that the other Members of this House too are enabled to understand what I say.

(Many hon. Members rose to speak.)

MR. CHAIRMAN : There is no use of so many people getting up. Here is a gentleman who says he does not know any of the official languages— Hindi or English. Therefore he wishes to speak in Malaya am which is his mother tongue. The Chairman has got the power to allow it provided there is a translation which is submitted to us. We have to take such exceptional cases also into account and our Constitution does take those cases into account.

DR. P. C. MITRA (Bihar) :

डा० पी० सी० मित्रा (बिहार) : मिस्टर चेरमैन, मैं हिन्दी में बोलूंगा क्योंकि मैं बिहार से आया हूँ। यहाँ फूडग्रेंस पर कंट्रोल और डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन को ले कर के बहुत विवाद हुआ है। इस कंट्रोल की एक हिस्ट्री (History) है। कंट्रोल कब आया था? कंट्रोल आया था ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट के जमाने में, वार टाइम (war-time) में। १९३९ में जो वार (war) हुई थी उसके बाद कंट्रोल हुआ। फर्स्ट ग्रेट वार में ब्रिटिश के साथ इंडियंस ने कोऑपरेट (co-operate) किया था लेकिन १९३९ की ग्रेट वार में कांग्रेस ने डिक्लेयर (declare) किया था कि “एक पाई और एक भाई” नहीं जायेगा। इसी वास्ते गवर्नमेंट ने कंट्रोल किया था। सब चीज का कंट्रोल किया था और मिलिटरी डिपार्टमेंट में जो रिक्रूटमेंट (recruitment) होता

*English translation of the speech delivered in Hindi.

† English translation of the speech delivered in Malayalam.

था उनके वास्ते सब चीजें होती थीं। उनको फ्री राशन मिलता था और उनकी फ्रेमिली के वास्ते बहुत सस्ता मिलता था। इसी वास्ते बहुत रिक्रूटमेंट हुआ। हमारे रांचो से एक लाख आदमी रिक्रूट हुआ था। रिक्रूटमेंट पालिसी के वास्ते ही गवर्नमेंट ने कंट्रोल किया था और वह कंट्रोल अभी तक वैसा ही है। उस वक्त जो कंट्रोल था वह था not for the equitable distribution amongst the people but for the war, only to help the recruitment policy.

अब जो कंट्रोल होता है, यह ह्यूमैनेटेरियन प्वाइंट (humanitarian point) से होता है। गवर्नमेंट जो कंट्रोल करती है वह इसलिये करती है कि सब आदमियों को चीजें अच्छी तरह से मिलें। इसी वास्ते कंट्रोल किया गया, लेकिन जो प्रोसेस (process) था वही प्रोसेस आज भी चल रहा है। कंट्रोल जरूर अच्छा है लेकिन उसमें दिक्कत हुई और वह दिक्कत इसलिये हुई कि प्रोसेस आफ डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन (process of distribution) ठीक नहीं था। अभी मद्रास में जो प्रोसेस शुरू किया है वैसा ही प्रोसेस सब जगह में हो तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बहुत अच्छी चीज होगी और सब आदमी सैटिसफाइड (satisfied) रहेंगे।

एक बात में फैमीन (famine) के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। अभी मैन मेड (man-made) फैमीन है। मैंने अपनी उम्र में, जब से अक्ल हुई है, १८७६ का फैमीन देखा है। १८७६ के फैमीन में चीजें नहीं मिलती थीं, खाने की चीज नहीं मिलती थी। उस वक्त देखा है कि एक आदमी झोली में सोना लेकर पहुंचा और कहा कि इसके बदले में चावल दीजिये, लेकिन पा नहीं सका। आजकल ऐसा है कि रुपया देने से सब चीज मिलती है, ब्लेकमार्केट से जितनी चीजें मांगें, मिलती हैं। तो यह जो आज फैमीन है वैसा फैमीन उस वक्त नहीं था। वह फैमीन लोकलाइज्ड (localised) था, वह फैमीन एक डिस्ट्रिक्ट के

भीतर था, एक प्राविस के भीतर था, आज की तरह वाइड स्प्रेड (wide-spread) इंडिया भर में नहीं था। ऐसा फ़ैमीन जैसा कि १९३९ के बाद मैन-मेड फ़ैमीन है वैसा कभी नहीं सुना था।

एक बात यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट की जो प्रोक्योरमेंट पालिसी (procurement policy) है उसमें जो गोडाउंस में चीज़ें रखते हैं, उसको रखने के लिये जो आफ़िसर्स हैं, वे यह जानते भी नहीं कि उसको किस तरह से रखना पड़ता है। इस वास्ते भी बहुत सी चीज़ें सड़ जाती हैं और बहुत चीज़ें नुक़सान होती हैं और उस चीज़ के नुक़सान होने से चीज़ का दाम बढ़ा और इसी वास्ते दाम बहुत ऊंचा हो गया। होर्डर (hoarder) तो नफ़े के वास्ते चीज़ें होर्ड करता है और गवर्नमेंट करती है डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन (distribution) के वास्ते। फ़र्क़ यह है कि होर्डर जो रखता है वह अच्छा करके रखता है लेकिन गवर्नमेंट गोडाउंस में हम देखते हैं कि २५ परसेंट गल्ला सड़ जाता है और आदमियों के पास नहीं जाता है। यह इस कारण है कि जिन लोगों के हाथ में गोडाउंस हैं वे जानते नहीं कि किस तरह से चीज़ों को रखना चाहिये और इसी वास्ते दाम दुगुने हो गये हैं। कंट्रोल बहुत अच्छा है और सब जगह रहना चाहिये परन्तु डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन का तरीक़ा ठीक करना चाहिये।

एक बात कैपिटल आउटले आन मल्टी-परपोज़ेड रिवर स्कीम्स (capital outlay on multipurposes River Schemes) के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ। मेरा कहना है कि कोसी प्रोजेक्ट (project) को प्रायोरिटी (priority) दी जाय क्योंकि दरभंगा ज़िले में कोसी से जो डिजास्टर (disaster) हुआ है वह पेपर्स में आपने देखा होगा। लाखों लाख आदमी एकदम होमलेस (homeless) हो गये हैं। इसी वास्ते कोसी प्रोजेक्ट को प्रायोरिटी देनी चाहिये और नार्थ बिहार

(North Bihar) और साउथ बिहार (South Bihar) का कम्युनिकेशन (communication) ठीक करना चाहिये क्योंकि अभी रिलीफ़ (relief) वगैरह पहुँचाने में बड़ी दिक्कत है। फ़्लड (flood) में गंगा के ऊपर से पास होना भी मुश्किल है और नाव के जाने में भी दिक्कत है। इसी वास्ते बहुत ज़रूरी है कि नार्थ बिहार और साउथ बिहार को कनेक्ट (connect) करने के वास्ते पटना के पास में एक ब्रिज बनाया जाय जिससे आने-जाने में जल्दी हो। मेरा कहना है कि नेक्स्ट (next) मानसून में ऐसा कोई डिजास्टर न हो, इसका उपाय अभी से मिनिस्ट्री करे। मुझे यही कहना है। बस इतना ही कहकर ख़तम करूंगा।

[For English translation, see Appendix II, Annexure No. 21.]

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Chairman, since we discussed the Budget in May last, the policy of Government has undergone a change in a very important respect. I refer, Sir, to its food policy. Notwithstanding the speeches made by the Prime Minister and the Food Minister, it is not clear what the new policy is. The Food Minister said the other day at a press interview at Calcutta that gradual relaxation of controls on food grains was the new policy of the Government. Sir, this policy seems to involve two things—the abandonment of rationing and of procurement of food grains. The Prime Minister has stated that there is no question of the abandonment of the old policy but that in certain States changes had been made because the situation warranted a change. Now, I should like to know how this change in policy has come about. Was this change agreed to only by the Prime Minister and the Food Minister, or was it the result of the consideration of the matter by the whole Government? The policy of control was introduced after a great deal of discussion and deliberation of all the requirements of the situation, and it

seems to me to have been changed without adequate reasons being given in favour of this change.

Sir, if we take the all-India position, I should like to state that although the production in the year 1949-50—the agricultural year 1949-50—was on the whole good, taking various factors into account, the Government of India decided to import about six million tons of food grains. Actually, by the end of 1951 we had imported 47 lakh tons of food grains. The production for the year 1950-51 has, unfortunately, been much less than in the previous year. While in 1949-50, the production amounted to about 4½ million tons, for the year 1950-51 it was only about 41·7 million tons. That is to say, the difference amounted to about 3 1/2 million tons, and the Government of India decided to import 4 million tons of food grains in 1952. The facts that I have submitted provide no reason for thinking that the situation has undergone a satisfactory change.

Now, let us take the position in Madras where decontrol was brought about first. Sir, if rationing and procurement can be given up over the whole country, nobody will be happier than myself. But hard experience, particularly the experience of decontrol in 1947 convinced the country that however distasteful controls may be, they were a necessity, and they would be a necessity unless food grains were available to such an extent as to enable the people to satisfy their requirements without an undue rise in prices. But was Madras really the proper place for trying the experiment of decontrol, if an experiment in so important a matter is allowed? The Planning Commission has drawn our attention to the danger of making changes here and there or of trying experiments in regard to a matter of such vital importance to the country as the supply of food grains. But if the warning of the Planning Commission was to be disregarded, was Madras a fair place for being chosen for the experiment of decontrol? Sir, we all know that Madras has been suffering for five

years from drought. On account of this the production in food grains has fallen there. Calamities have overtaken other States too. But no State, I believe, has suffered so much and so continuously as the State of Madras. In the year before the drought commenced, the total production in the State of Madras was about 78 lakhs of tons. But in the year 1950-51 it amounted to only 66 lakh tons. In other words, there was a shortage of 12 lakhs. Besides, so far as I know, Madras has been, since the policy of control was laid down, a deficit State. It is hard to believe, Sir, that in Madras the prices could have been going down when they were fairly high in other States.

PROF. G. RANGA (Madras) : They were always lower there than in other States.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU : If they were always lower there than in other States, then it is not surprising that even now they are somewhat lower than in the other States. But the relative position in Madras as compared to that in other States remains the same. If formerly, while the production was much higher, it was not considered safe that there should be no control in Madras, how can decontrol be justified in the present circumstances?

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY (Mysore) : Political reasons.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU : My friend here says that this is done for political reasons. If so, that policy will prove to be a very short-sighted one.

Now, Sir, let us take the U. P. where Mr. Kidwai says that in one of the districts the off-take from the rationing shops had gone down considerably.

Now, in Uttar Pradesh the policy of decontrol, that is the abandonment of rationing and procurement of food grains, was adopted on the 1st June and I gather from the papers that prices are already rising there. Though the U. P. is in a much better position than Madras and if

prices are rising there.....

SHRI B. B. SHARMA (Uttar Pradesh) : On a point of information, Sir. Does the hon. Member know that in the Eastern U. P. prices have gone considerably down ? Eastern U. P. is the problem of U. P. because it is a deficit part and even there prices have gone down.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU : I come from U. P. and I believe I am not less informed of the situation than my hon. friend who has just interrupted me. We shall see what the future course of prices will be, but, considering the fact that the U. P. too relied on assistance from the Government of India, to me it is not surprising that prices have risen since the policy of decontrol was adopted. We have been assured, Sir, that the policy that has been adopted is a very cautious one and that the rationing and procurement staff is not going to be retrenched so that the Government may be in a position to re-introduce control if the need for it was felt.

Now, Sir, it is somewhat difficult for me to assess the value of the assurance given by the Prime Minister. The Chief Minister of Madras said publicly some time ago that he would not be the Chief Minister if the procurement policy was re-introduced, i.e., if controls were re-introduced. He is reported to have said : " Do not think controls will come back. If controls are to come back, I shall go away." I cannot reconcile the Prime Minister's assurance with this emphatic statement of the Chief Minister of Madras. Sir, Mr. Kidwai himself assured the other House some time ago that the staff employed in procurement and rationing would not be reduced but, he is reported to have said at Indore two or three days ago that it was not necessary to retain the whole of the staff and that it would be reduced to some extent. Now, in view of these two statements, it is difficult to believe that this policy is going to remain unchanged.

Sir, I should like to add to what I have said. In Madras about 10,000 persons will be retrenched. The Government of Madras has assured these

persons that they would be helped in seeking employment, but the fact remains that the rationing staff is going to be dismissed very soon. Sir, in the light of the facts before us we should consider—there is still time for us to reconsider—what our policy should be. It is true that owing to the inability of the Government of India—owing to the high prices of imported food grains—to maintain prices at the old level, prices of food grains had shown a tendency to rise and have, in fact, risen appreciably. But, was that a reason for the policy that has been adopted ? While, after a great deal of experience it was decided that the same policy should be adopted throughout India, now it seems that different policies are going to be adopted in different States and what is the basis of these policies ?

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKER-
JI (Nominated) : Will the speaker kindly consider the position whether decontrol would not bring to the surface much of the rice that is held underground ?

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU : Sir, we all know this. This was drilled into our ears during the last four or five years. That was the main reason why the policy of decontrol was followed in 1947 and it led to disastrous results.

PROF. G. RANGA : It was not tried enough.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU : We all know what the total production is. However incorrect our statistics may be relatively they have not become more incorrect than they were four or five years ago. We also know what the total requirements of the country are. It seems to me, therefore, that hopes of the kind entertained by the hon. Member who interrupted me last are not justified by facts. In any case, Sir, how is this policy of treating different States differently justified ? In Madras, the present policy can be maintained only if the Government of India undertook to go on supplying

[Shri H. N. Kunzru.] Madras continually with whatever quantity of food grains it may need. Now, if the Government of India is prepared to supply the other States with whatever they may need in order to have a free market, no State will be prepared to have rationing and procurement.

(Time bell rings.) MR.

CHAIRMAN : It is time.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU : How are these States going to be treated differently ? Is there commonsense ? What is the justification for treating the States differently ? Why should not the other States also get the option of being supplied with as much food grains as they require in order to remove controls ?

(Time bell rings.)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Time is up.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU : If you will permit me, Sir, I will finish this by making one more remark. It seems to me, Sir, that in respect of the policy that has been adopted, the Government of India should have impressed on those States which have failed to procure as much as could have been legitimately expected of them to do their duty. The total procurement in the country is of the order of 10 per cent, of the total production, and some of the States are procuring as much as 15 per cent, of the production—Bombay and Madras are among these States. But, some of the surplus States - are not discharging their duties, for instance, Madhya Pradesh, which procured in the year 1950-51 only half of what might have been expected of it. In the U. P. too, the procurement was only 50 per cent, of what might have been expected.

Now, in Madhya Pradesh it would not have been too much to ask that the procurement should be 15 per cent. of the production. I think, Sir, this is the end of the maintenance of controls and not the policy adopted

by the Government or India, particularly when we consider that the entire plan as formulated by the Planning Commission is based on control. We are told that the Planning Commission was consulted before adopting the new policy. If so, I should like the Finance Minister to tell us how the Planning Commission have agreed to this change in policy and what the effect of the change would be on the economic position and the ability of Government to find the funds required for the execution of the plan drawn up by the Planning Commission.

SHRI R. A. PODAR (Rajasthan) : Mr. Chairman, the short time at my disposal will not allow me to develop the points on which I would like to speak, and therefore, I would make only a few observations.

We are passing through critical times due to international tension, and we have unfriendly neighbours—neighbours who always threaten us in many ways. For example only yesterday we saw in the papers that some of the Indian industries have been sealed in Pakistan, although the Government of India has yet to say whether the news is true or false.

The only redeeming feature in the present conditions is the falling prices in the finished goods and raw materials, although recently again, say in the last month or so, we find that there is a tendency towards a rise in some of the commodities. The production in the industrial sector is increasing continuously although, there again, the cost of production is going up, of course due to reasons not within the control of the industries, but mostly because of higher labour charges, higher cost of imported machinery and stores, higher coal charges and many types of indirect taxes by the States particularly the sales tax which is now being converted into a multi-point sales tax, in most of the States. So there will be more and more price, that will have to be paid by the consumer as a result of these taxes. We find that although the direct taxation system in the country, at present, is

not so harsh as it was during the war years or a little after, the indirect taxation is increasing every day and there seems to be no end to it because the State Government, particularly must spend in their own expensive manner and to balance their budgets, they must have revenues which mostly they wish to get from the consumers and therefore all this additional taxation.

Even about the direct taxation, Sir, I would like to observe that, although I would not grudge much about income-tax rates, particularly the Corporation Tax in the country is very very high—two annas and nine pies in a rupee, or say, roughly three annas is a very high figure—a very high rate. I think that this is one of the main factors that there has not been much of capital formation in recent years. The small investor as a result gets scared away when he knows that whatever he is earning from his investment, two annas and nine pies in a rupee will be definitely taken away by Government which is not refundable. As it is, income-tax can only be refunded if lower rates should apply to a particular investor, but the Corporation Tax cannot be refunded and therefore it is a direct loss to the enterprise in which he would like to share. Of course, we are not now in the British times when the policy was that there would be almost no tax but no development either. Now we are spending so much on development and there will have to be comparatively higher taxes but there are certain reasons for considerations for reducing tax rates as far as the Corporation Tax at least is concerned. I am glad that recently a Taxation Enquiry Committee has been appointed by Government. I hope that the work will be proceeded with at great speed and that this aspect, particularly of the Corporation Tax will be very seriously examined and relief will be given to the companies.

I would also like to say that the taxation rates on the Banks and Insurance Companies are also very high.

The very low prices of the shares of the Banks and Insurance Companies can be attributed to this high rate of taxation. There should be special lower rates of taxation for Banks and Insurance Companies. I would also like to observe that section 23 (a) of the Income-tax Act should not be applied where the income is ploughed back into the industry for expansion and other purposes. In such cases the provision of section 23 (a) should be exempted.

There is another point which I would like to make and that is about rehabilitation allowance. Sir, most of the machinery and plants of pre-war period in the country are wearing out and very soon there has to be rehabilitation or replacing of these machinery and plants, so that we may have up-to-date and modern plants in order, more particularly, to compete in the export market. Therefore I would suggest that the hon. the Finance Minister should look into this subject and make a proper assessment of the position about the machinery rehabilitation allowance and give it due consideration.

We have also to be careful about the depression, now that the economic effects of the war are over. Of course in between the Korean war brought about a rising trend and we had a lot of hardship. But at the same time we have also to see that the prices when they go down, do not go down to an extent that the growers or the manufacturers will not find them remunerative, which conditions may result in an enormous depression which may lead to a lot of unemployment. Therefore the Government should keep a very vigilant eye on the possibilities of depression and try to avoid it.

Though not much has been said, the idea of deficit financing in the extreme case has been mooted. We may have to resort to it although in a very careful manner, but we would like to hear about this from the hon. the Finance Minister. I am saying this, because we find that it is not possible.

[Shri R. A. Podar.] Under the present circumstances for the Government to raise large scale loans at the present rates of interest. If we increase the rate of interest, the institutional investors, i.e., Banks, Insurance Companies, Trusts, etc., will suffer very much as a result of the decline in the present security rates and if we do not increase the rate, there will not be much response to the floatation of new loans because of the high rate of interest in the market. Therefore we have to look into all the aspects and consider them in the larger perspective. As it is, there is also shrinkage of money because of the Government having introduced—of course, it is a welcome move—the system of speedy collection of income-tax and also finishing off of the arrears, but the result is that there is about Rs. 175 crores less currency in the market and that has caused a lot of shrinkage of money which has led to this high rate of interest.

There is also another reason why there is a high rate of interest. The agricultural prices are much higher in comparison to the prices of finished goods, after allowing proper margins for manufacturing charges and profits to industries. This has resulted in a lot of money having been transferred to the rural areas from the urban areas. The people of the rural areas do not believe in investment in shares or securities and so on ; they believe in keeping cash or bullion with them. The result is that the public who was the investing public has got very little money left with it.

Another point which I would like to make is this. We often hear that the English sterling may be devalued again. I would like to suggest that whatever happens to the English pound, we should not devalue our rupee any more and there may be no link between our rupee and sterling. If sterling is to be devalued again, it will have to settle down to its own international level, which may be very low. But there is no reason why we should any more follow the sterling rupee link if the sterling is to be devalued again.

SHRI GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): We will have more exports.

SHRI R. A. PODAR : Yes, we will have more exports, but for a lesser value received in fact.

Much has been said about decontrol. My hon. friends from the Opposition have made a lot of angry speeches about the decontrol policy of the Government. I have not been able to understand what actually they meant to say. If it was only for the sake of opposing the Government, well, I would not have very much to say. But if it was that many of our Opposition friends were dreaming of getting power through discontentment in the masses because there would always be a food shortage and there would be discontentment and they would always have the ear of the masses. If therefore they are getting worried, I cannot help them. An increase in the production of the country is bound to have a very healthy effect, and decontrol will give a greater incentive to the people to increase wealth by growing more food and cash crops, and industrial production will also expand.

I would now like to say a word about conditions in Rajasthan, from where I come. Rajasthan, as everybody knows, is a very under-developed State. Many of my friends here and in the country think that it is a desert area and it cannot be developed. But that is not the case. It will, however, require a lot of financing. Actually it was a commitment on the part of the Government of India with the covenanting States when the agreements were made that Rajasthan would be properly developed and in course of time would be brought into line with Part A States. Therefore, I request that there should be large allocations of funds for Rajasthan.

In the end, I would say that the only saviour of Rajasthan is the Chambal River Valley Scheme, which is not yet included in the Five Year Plan. I would request the hon. the Finance Minister with all the emphasis that I command that the Chambal Valley Scheme must be included in the first

Five Year Plan, otherwise Rajasthan ! has very little scope to develop and it] will always be a drain on the Centre] and it will always be a source of anxiety for all concerned.

9 a.m.

SHRI T. V. KAMALASWAMY (Madras') : Mr. Chairman, I desire to speak a few words about the industrial policy of the Government of India and about certain rules that have been framed which have a discriminatory aspect. But before doing so I would like to say a few words about the de-control of food in the State of Madras. There is a lot of misapprehension in the minds of hon. Members ; because decontrol was introduced all of a sudden they seem to think that this measure was conceived overnight and that it jumped like Jupiter fully armed from the thigh of Zeus. But these measures, or 85 per cent, of them, were correlated more than 12 months back by the food officials of the Madras Government, about six months before the elections. But the then Chief Minister and the Food Minister did not have the courage to implement them because they thought that the elections were in the offing and it might affect them adversely. And nature also was not kind to us last year. It is also a moot point whether, even if they had adopted these measures, they would have received the co-operation and the sanction of the Central Government. Sir, my hon. friend Pandit Kunzru said on another occasion that Rajaji's "intuitional economics" are a poor substitute for "hard facts". As I have said, Rajaji's measures are all based on hard facts. Rajaji is a practical man. If anything, he is practical. As regards the beneficial results of de-rationing, we can have the full benefit only after the close of the next harvest. But already the common people have heaved a sigh of relief that they are now saved from the perennial harassment of petty procurement officials and rationing *chowkidors*.

Now, Sir, I would like to refer to the utter neglect of South India in the matter of river valley projects and the development of the other natural resources of

South India. Whenever the Krishna-Pennar Project, the Ramapadasagar Project and other projects of South India are put forward, the Government of India is ready with all kinds of excuses, and these projects are being postponed. We are now promised that the Krishna-Pennar Project will be included in the Five Year Plan. We hope it will be taken up. But even here we are not safe, because the investigation will take another five or ten years more, and the lot of South India will be that it will be without any of these projects for a long time to come. Even if South India is not going to have any of these projects in the near future, at least out of the existing acreage in the projects already taken up a certain acreage of land should be set apart for the production of rice which is the staple diet of South India.

The same neglect is evident in the matter of the development of natural resources. South India is rich in ores and minerals, but the Government of India have not devoted the same attention to them as they have done to other provinces. To quote only one example : lignite. In South Arcot District there are millions of tons of lignite which can easily be exploited and which will go a long way to meet the entire demands of the Southern Railway for coal. In addition to that, thermal power using this coal will be very useful to augment the hydroelectric power of the Madras Government which has nowadays come to be a more or less seasonal supply. Another advantage from the development of the lignite mines is the tapping of subsoil water which is there in enormous quantities : it is estimated that the subsoil water in artesian wells in South Arcot District, if properly tapped will supply water for irrigation to the two districts of Chingleput and South Arcot and improve the water supply position of Madras City. I commend to the Central Government the suggestion that at least they should sanction more money for the expeditious development of lignite mines in South Arcot District. It is still in the investigation stage, and they have pro-

[Shri T.V. Kamalaswamy.] mised to have pilot mines, but I do not think they will do it soon.

And apart "from any new projects to be started, even in the distribution of essential raw materials needed for the development of industries in South India there is some spirit of discrimination evident there. It is a well-known fact, Sir, that the industrial potential of a country is always judged by its production and consumption of steel. I shall confine myself only to these steel processing industries which get their quotas of steel direct from the Central Government. The Ministry of Industries and Commerce fixed the 31st March 1950 as a basic date to assess the capacity of all the industries on the basis of the list of machines installed upto that date for the purpose of steel quotas. It was also said if there were any more additions, the merchants will not be eligible for additional quotas. Sir, this affects very adversely such of those backward States which want to develop their industries after 1950 and which have still to develop. This sort of check puts a permanent break upon the expansion of the few industries which are established in South India. So I would suggest that the steel processing quota should not be strictly on the basis of established installed capacity in March 1950 but in the case of backward States it should be interpreted very liberally. And when the industries in other States are allotted 30 per cent, of their capacity, in the backward States the quota should be fixed at 100 per cent, of their capacity.

I will give only one example, Sir, to show how this affects Madras. Recently the Integral Coach Factory in Madras called for tenders for the construction of factory sheds for about Rs. 5 crores. Many firms in Madras have tendered for this work. Their tenders were the lowest on record. But still the Government of India said they have not got machinery to fabricate and therefore the tenders should not be given to them. But ultimately under pressure from the Madras firms, the Government have revised their orders and I

am happy that the Madras firms received the tenders. If the tenders had not been given to the Madras firms, the Government of India would have lost about 20 lakhs because the firms in Calcutta and Bombay though they had better machinery could not quote lower than those quoted by the Madras firms. So if the Government of India adopts a liberal policy for allocating more steel to industrially backward States, that will pay in the long run.

I will say only one thing more about planning of production in steel. There is a lot of waste. It is a curious fact. Sir, I have before me a letter from the Executive Engineer of Central Stores, C. P. W. D. who says that he is not able to get 2 cwts. of i"X3/S" Flats. It was required for an important Government building. He was not able to get that category of steel throughout the length and breadth of India, although enquiries were made from all the stockists throughout India as desired by the Iron and Steel Controller. This shows that there is a great shortage of this particular category of steel. At the same time, as people who are conversant with iron and steel trade know, for the past one year, about 2 to 3 thousand tons of the so-called unwanted categories of steel which were indented by the State Governments without consulting the dealers or the common people, are lying unsold. They are allowed to be sold without permits and even then these merchants are put to distress and many of these categories of steel have now been re-rolled by other re-rolling mills and they have to undergo a further process. I therefore suggest, Sir, that when there is such a scarcity of certain categories there is also a huge waste of other categories due to the wrong planning of the Government of India and because of not consulting the traders in the line. I therefore submit that the Government should do something to remedy these things by associating traders with the scheme of Control. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI KRISHNA MOORTHY RAO
(Mysore): In the short time at my disposal I would like to bring to the

notice of the Government and this august House two or three vital matters that are agitating the minds of the people in the Mysore State whom I have the honour to represent in this House.

Before I do that, I would like to say a few words about the food policy of the Government. Much has been said about the food policy of the Government. Some have said that for political reasons decontrol was introduced and that it is a political dishonesty that they did not introduce it before the elections. Well, Sir, if the Government had even mentioned before the elections that they would carry out the policy of decontrol, these friends would have said that it was only for election purposes that they were making such statements. If now they have introduced decontrol, the same accusation is hurled at the Government. What is the political reason that the Congress can have when they have won the elections with a thumping majority? Well, Sir, gradual decontrol is the policy of the Government and the same has been adopted after careful consideration when the Government thought that the proper time had come. Today we have plenty of stocks of food with the Government of India. I come from Mysore, Sir, which is a deficit State but my district is a surplus district. Every day the Government was sending four to six wagons of rice to Bangalore. Today they have stopped those wagons and they have issued instructions to the mills not to husk paddy because the draw on the ration depots has been a much less. Well, Sir, it was Mysore that led the way for gradual decontrol. The policy of decontrol followed by the Chief Minister of Madras has certainly brought a new psychology among the people of that Presidency. I can say Sir, with some confidence that the Madras politics have veered round to sanity and stability. Prices are going down. I have seen that in the State of Mysore everywhere in the open market better quality rice is selling at slightly cheaper rate than in the ration depots. Rice is being sold at less than the controlled price. So there is some satisfaction among the people after this

gradual policy of decontrol has been introduced by the Government.

Then coming to the two or three points that are agitating the people of Mysore, I find, Sir, that in the Planning Commission's Report there are certain plans. Certain irrigation projects have been mentioned here. One of the most important items is the Tungabhadra River Valley Project. The Mysore Government has undertaken that project at an estimated cost of Rs. 20 crores. It has already spent one crore of rupees. It has got technical personnel. It has got the material and it has got the establishment also. They have already spent one crore of rupees over the project and laid the foundation. But here, Sir, it is contemplated under this plan that it is to be finished in three stages of 15 years and at the rate at which it is going on it will take 50 years to be finished. Well, Sir, this is a project of vital importance to the people of Mysore. It brings in an additional acreage of 180,000 under food crops. It gives irrigation facilities to the three dry districts of the Mysore State and the annual earning of those people is only 75 to 80 rupees whereas the annual earning of the people in other parts of India is estimated to be Rs. 135.

If this project is finished early, the food deficit of the State Government will be wiped out. The Mysore Government has its own Post-War Plans but most of our reserves are spent on giving food subsidies. Due to financial integration, all our elastic sources of revenue from Railways and income-tax are coming to the Centre, and the amount that is being paid by the Central Government is being spent on the day to day expenditure of the Government. The Mysore Government finds it impossible to give any finance to its projects. In fact the annual expenditure on these projects is Rs. 40 lakhs as mentioned in the Five Year Plan. In fact last year only Rs. 14 lakhs was spent on this project. If we are to continue this rate at this rate, probably it will take a century to complete and none of us will be alive to see it completed. If we are to face the people with some confidence, then

[Shri Krishna Moorthy Rao.] face them with some courage, then I suggest that the Government should find funds for this project and see that it is completed. It may be done either under the Grow More Food Scheme or by the grant of some loan or by any other method which the Central Government may think fit. All projects costing more than Rs. 10 crores are, I understand, to be taken over by the Centre. And this project costs Rs. 20 crores. The Mysore Government has no objection to this project being taken over by the Centre. I can say with some confidence that the estimates have been carefully prepared and there will be no need to revise them, and there is no need to appoint any Enquiry Committee, as they have done in the case of other schemes taken over by the Centre. By this scheme in addition to 180,000 acres an additional 120,000 acres of land can be brought under irrigation.

Then, Sir, I would refer to another scheme that was contemplated and has been given up, the Malnad Development Scheme. Three years ago, a Malnad Development Conference was¹ held to which I had the honour of being invited. They appointed an Expert Committee and that Expert Committee has given a report. They have given a long-term Report and also a short-term Report. The short-term Report was to be pushed through under the Grow More Food Scheme. Sir, I cannot know the reason why the scheme has been dropped. This scheme covered an area of a length of 600 miles and a breadth of 40 to 60 miles on either side of the Western Ghats. The main crops of this area are cardamom, teak, pepper, coffee, tea, paddy and *supari*. These are very rich crops. Paddy is a food crop and all the others are money crops. These are the only crops that they can grow, but on account of adverse natural conditions, the population is going down, the acreage is falling and what is known as the granary of Mysore is now being devastated on account of adverse circumstances. It was to remedy this that the Scheme was contemplated. The Expert Committee's Report is before* the Government of India. I would

request the hon. the Finance Minister to revive this scheme and see that something is done to this area which has such rich potentialities. The difficulty about this area is lack of proper communication. Sir, a rail connection should be given to this area. The rail link can be from any point in Mysore State, but there should be a rail link to facilitate the export and import of commodities from and to this area.

Then, I would like to refer to the hydro-electric schemes in Mysore. Today they are developing 120,000 k.w. from the hydro-electric station at Jog. If I learn from the Chief Electrical Engineer that in the next two or three years they will be unable to give any power to industrial advancement in the State. We have undertaken to give power to the Dharwar District in the Bombay Presidency and Manglore and Bellary Districts in the Madras Presidency. If we are to push through our own industrial schemes—I say with some confidence that Mysore has always followed a very advanced and progressive policy so far as industrial development is concerned—production of more power is the *sine qua non* of all industrial programmes. They have other schemes. The Honnemarelo project will produce 500,000 k.w. I request the Government of India to be sympathetic and enable the Government of Mysore to push these schemes through.

Then, I would like to mention about one small matter. The other day the hon. the Minister of Education gave us figures of grants for adult education schemes. Well, Sir, the Mysore Government has been following this adult education scheme for a very long time. In fact, recently an Adult Education Seminar was held in Mysore. The Seminar was held in Mysore by the U.N.E.S.C.O. authorities not to enjoy the salubrious climate of Mysore. It was held there because the adult education and social education policy followed by the Mysore Government has been appreciated by the U.N.E. S.C.O. experts that came there. I find that no grant is given to the Mysore Government. The Mysore Govern-

ment is spending Rs. 5 lakhs every year on adult education and social education. I would request the Government of India to give them an equal amount so that they may carry out this adult education scheme with some better benefit to the people of the State.

One other point I would like to mention and that is to say that our Government must do something by way of providing housing for the poor people. Whenever I go to Bombay, I see so many thatched huts covered with tin. This is an insult to the city of Bombay. In the rural areas also, millions of people are without proper housing. Our Government must do something to construct cheap houses for the poor people of our country. Food, clothing and housing are the main basic needs of the people of India. If you want to enthuse the common man, something must be done in this direction. Again, the Mysore Government have got a scheme for providing cheap housing for the scheduled classes. They have already spent about one crore of rupees during the last three or four years. I would like that this scheme should be followed up in every other State so that thatched huts would become a thing of the past in this country. I would request the Government to consider this suggestion and bring it into immediate effect.

MAJ.-GENERAL S. S. SOKHEY
(Nominated): Mr. Chairman, with your permission I should like to refer to a very important aspect of our defence problem. I refer to the supplies of arms for our armed forces. It is true that our enlightened foreign policy has brought some sanity in the disturbed political situation of the world, but we cannot afford to forget that war is still a recognised instrument of State policy. Whatever we may think of war, its bestiality, its utter uselessness, war is still with us. In the last war, which by the way, began in 1932 and has not really ended yet, in Asia alone China, Indo-China, Indonesia, Burma were involved, although they did not desire to be so involved. Therefore, com-

monsense demands that we should be fully prepared to defend our homes and our freedom. I want to stress the significance of being prepared. Today brave soldiery is not enough. We are fortunate in having citizens who have given countless demonstrations of their bravery. They must have modern armaments. They must have planes, naval vessels, field guns, motorised transport and other items. And they must have petrol. Let us not forget food, for food is the most important single piece of armament. I shall not deal with it, as the Government is already working to achieve self-sufficiency in food. If I am informed correctly, we are depending entirely on foreign sources for our supply of armaments. We make no planes; in fact we do not make internal combustion engine at all and what is equally serious, we have no indigenous sources of petrol. The same is true of naval vessels, guns and motor transport. Imported supplies of armaments can be of great value for training purposes while we are developing our own industry, but we must clearly

understand that we cannot and must not depend on imported supplies of armaments during a war. During a war sea lanes may be cut, and what comes to the same thing the interests of our country and sense of fairplay may find us on a side not to the liking of the countries that supply us with the armaments and our supplies would be completely cut. The mere stoppage of petrol supplies would stop dead in their tracks the motorised transport of our army and keep our planes glued to the grounds. This is not a flight of imagination. We have not forgotten, I hope, the tragedy of the Spanish Civil War. During that civil war the leading nations of the world conspired to prevent the supply of armaments to the legal elected Republican Government of the country while the armaments continued to flow freely to the reactionary rebels. This may happen any time to us; we must disabuse our minds of being able to defend our liberties and our homes on the basis of imported armaments. We must be perfectly clear

[Maj.-General S. S. Sokhey.] that in the world in which we live today, armaments are not commodities for sale and purchase. They have definitely become very important counters in the game of politics. We have read lurid tales of the pedlars of instruments of death. We all remember the notorious Sir Basil Zarahof. But we must remember that that was in the nineteenth century when Britain ruled the world. They carried on an extensive trade in armaments to serve their own purposes. The world is different today and as I have said before, the armaments are not a commodity for sale and purchase. They can be had in time of war by bartering our liberty. If that be the case, what is the solution? There is only one solution and that is that we should give top priority to organising within a reasonably short time, say in five to seven years, while the time is still with us, fully integrated basic heavy metal and chemical industries to put us on the road to make all the armaments ourselves. Unless we sacrifice all else to this effort and put ourselves to the road to make full range of armaments ourselves, we may lose all that we value in our lives as a free people. We must not forget that we have no indigenous sources of petrol but fortunately we have ample supplies of coal, therefore we must put up plants converting coal into petrol. The petrol refineries that we are putting up cannot take the place of production of petrol from coal in time of emergency

I am conscious that some of my kind hearted friends here in this house must think that I am indulging in a bit of fire-eating when I am suggesting that we should give top priority to armament making, when we are faced with such grave problems of the poverty of our people to solve. But I am making this suggestion in all seriousness because I am sure that my suggestion will not interfere with the raising of the standard of living of our people. It is perfectly true that in highly industrialised countries where production of consumer goods is very highly

developed if a big shift is made towards armament manufacture, it does have the effect of lowering the standard of living of the people. We all know what is happening in United Kingdom today. Unnecessarily large resources of the country are being turned over to armament manufacture, with the result that the standards of living of the workers are being lowered. But fortunately the matter is quite different in the case of under-developed countries like our own. The basic heavy metal and chemical industries that are necessary for the manufacture of armaments are exactly the same as are needed for the manufacture of machines for making consumer goods. Thus if we do give top priority to organising basic industries for making armaments, we shall at the same time be giving ourselves means for making machines or making consumer goods to raise the standard of living of our people. There is another advantage to be gained. An hon. Member the other day was telling us that there is great pressure on land, if land was equally divided among all the peasants—the share per person would hardly measure one acre. If that be the case, then our devoting a great deal of attention to providing ourselves with basic industries for armaments would also progressively release the pressure on land. Thus every consideration indicates that the interests of the nation demand that we do undertake this effort and not waste time. The opportunity may be lost not to return again.

What I am saying is a fairly obvious proposition. It is almost a truism. Therefore I have no reason to believe that our Government is not paying careful attention to this problem. Unfortunately, however, the draft plans say nothing about it. It may be that reasons of military secrecy have prevented Government from telling us anything about the matter in the Draft Plan. However I take the liberty, if military secrets permit, of asking the hon. Minister in charge to tell us what we are doing in this matter of very vital importance to this country

How soon does he think we will be self-sufficient regarding armaments and not depend on foreign resources ?

I should like to draw the attention of the House to one more consideration. I suggest that the Government itself should develop these industries either in State-owned or State-controlled plants. There is a good reason for taking this course. Even the great citadels of capitalist enterprise, the U. K. and the U. S. A. found in World Wars I and II that they had to have armaments produced in State plants or in State-controlled plants. Private enterprise could not produce armaments either in adequate amounts or in proper time. We must learn by their experience and give top priority to basic industries to be organised in State plants or State-controlled plants. Such action as I suggest is an undoubted war time practice, but then we must remember, we are at war, we are at war with poverty and defencelessness.

SHRI C. N. PILLAI (Travancore-Cochin) : Sir, I did not want to add to the number of speakers on the Appropriation Bill, but after listening to the speech of Mr. M. Manjuran I thought I should intervene and correct some of the misrepresentations made by him before the House. Sir, his speech is replete with misstatements, invectives and vituperations and I know that it will be futile on my part to attempt to contradict them. I want to refer primarily to one statement in his speech wherein he says that the Prime Minister during his election tour in Travancore-Cochin had said that as soon as he returned to Delhi, he would dismiss all the Malayalees employed in the Delhi Secretariat. This is a misquotation and a mis-statement made by him. He has trotted out a few sentences out of context from the Prime Minister's speech and has given thereon his own interpretations. Actually, what happened was that when the Prime Minister was touring a place called Mattancheri near the Cochin harbour, he found there exhibited certain placards and posters asking the Marwaris and Gujaratis to

quit Travancore-Cochin. The Prime Minister was very much perturbed and pained at this misguided agitation and he was constrained to refer to this incident in a subsequent speech wherein he said, that when the people of Travancore-Cochin wanted the Marwaris and Gujaratis to quit, if somebody in retaliation started an agitation asking him to dismiss all the Malayalees from the Delhi Secretariat, he would be in a very embarrassing position.

SHRI M. MANJURAN (Travancore-Cochin) : I stand by my speech as reported in the papers.

SHRI C. N. PILLAI : I may also add that this agitation was started by a political party called the K. S. P.— Kerala Socialist Party of which my friend there is one of the leading lights, and he has come here and misrepresented the Prime Minister as having said that he would dismiss the Malayalees from Delhi Secretariat. A word here, Sir, about this Kerala Socialist Party will not be out of place because I think it is not much known outside my State. Originally it was a part and parcel of the Indian Socialist Party but they rebelled against the parent organisation on the leadership issue later and set up a party of their own confining international socialism within the four corners of Travancore-Cochin.

SHRI M- MANJURAN : Sir, these are not facts.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I request the Member to confine himself to the Appropriation Bill. We need not go into the history of the Kerala Socialist Party.

SHRI C. N. PILLAI . But my hon. friend should be careful when he is quoting persons like the Prime Minister of India. I wanted only to state the correct position.

In supporting the Appropriation Bill I would like to make only one representation. I am not suggesting anything new. In fact his representation has been made not only before this House but also before the Lower House time

[Shri C. N. Pillai.] and again and had it not been for the fact that it has not received the attention it deserves, at the hands of the Government, I would not have attempted to repeat it at the fag end of this debate.

Sir, I come from the State of Travancore-Cochin—one of the part B States in the Indian Union. I need not inform the House that Part B States are labouring under certain disabilities and under Article 371 of the Constitution, it will be another ten years before they can attain equality of status with the States in the Part A category. As a student of Roman history I have learnt that in ancient Rome the Plebeians had to undergo a period of training at the hands of the Patricians before they could become, free ; that seems to be the case here also, I do not know why. When the Constitution Act was on the anvil before the Constituent Assembly and Article 371 was discussed, the States of Travancore-Cochin and Mysore, • led the spear-head of agitation against this provision and their case was so unassailable that the then Minister for States, Sardar Patel, was constrained to declare on the floor of the House that this Article would not be applicable to progressive States like Travancore-Cochin and Mysore. But after the sad demise of Sardar Patel, Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar who became States Minister expressed sentiments dissimilar to those expressed by the late Sardar. Legally and constitutionally he may be right as the statements of the late Sardar Patel made in the House may have had no legal or constitutional validity. But we feel that Travancore-Cochin should not have been brought under Article 371 and put down as a part B State at all. I do not know what reasons, historical or otherwise, there can be for this state of affairs. Since then Mysore has been liberated from the operation of this Article and I am glad of the matter. I have no quarrel with the Government of India for liberating Mysore. It should not have been included at all in the Part B list pv~n at the start. I ask what . shj hist'Acation for retaining

Travancore-Cochin under this Article even now. Is it because our State is backward ? That can't be, for it stands foremost in the matter of education and it is much ahead of almost all the other States in the Indian Union. Is it because we had no democratic institutions and experience of working them ? In fact we have had democratic institutions long before they were heard of in most of the other States. Is it because we have no administrative efficiency ? We have had a galaxy of able administrators and they have built up a first-rate civil service in our State which is second to none in the whole of India. Then what reason is there for keeping such a state in subjection under Article 371 ? Before coming here, I was listening to some of the speeches on the floor of the State Legislature and I know the depth and intensity of feeling prevailing in our State on this matter. Perhaps this House cannot appreciate the resentment of the people over this insult and indignity offered to them. We are the most progressive people in the land and are we to be kept under this tutelage for an indefinite length of time ? I would request the Government of India to kindly consider this matter and respect the sentiments of the people of the State and liberate them from the operation of this Article. If not today then to morrow Travancore-Cochin will have to be liberated. At any moment interested parties may start an agitation on this issue and all parties—the Opposition and the Government—are agreed on this one question. If some agitation is started by any party, the Government will be placed in a very embarrassing position. Therefore, I request that this matter may be given the consideration it deserves and the State of Travancore-Cochin be liberated from the operation of Article 371 of the Indian Constitution at the earliest. Sir, I have done.

SHRI B. RATH (Orissa) : Mr. Chairman, much has been said on the Appropriation Bill and I am not going to touch upon the matters which have already been referred to. I shall deal with a matter on which the Government

has given very scanty consideration— the human aspect at large.

Sir, we find that in the Appropriation Bill a sum of no less than Rs. 450 lakhs has been provided for the privy purses of the ex-rulers. We also know that the condition of the common people remains just as it was before. Sir, I may tell you something about the workers, the people who actually do work in the factories and who are employed by the Government, also the workers who are toiling in the mines and other concerns that are run by the Government. What is the attitude of the Government towards these workers ? I will not deal with vague generalisations, but give a few concrete instances to show what scanty consideration is shown to these persons under the employ of the Government.

Sir, although persons are permanently employed in the Postal Department, there are occasions when certain of them are dismissed without even being charge-sheeted, without even being asked to submit any explanation, without their knowing what the charges against them are.

THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR FINANCE
(SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI) Where is that ?

SHRI B. RATH : I give you two particular instances which happened recently. In Calcutta one Telephone Operator by name Mrs. Anima Munsu was suddenly dismissed and there was no charge against her. She was never asked to explain. I ask the Department with which she was connected to tell me as to why she was dismissed in such a way and in that manner. I give you another instance. The Director of Posts and Telegraphs sends in a letter to a particular individual in my Province saying that his name has been entered on the list of approved candidates and when a vacancy occurred he will receive an offer from the Superintendent of Post Offices, Sambalpur Division. Now, Sir, this man, who was in private employ, leaves the job, waits for months and months and, in the meantime, tries to ascertain as to

the time when he will be taken into service. Ultimately, he is informed by the Superintendent of Post Offices, Sambalpur Division, in his letter— I have got it here, but will not quote the number — dated the 6th June 1952, that his name has not been sent to him. He the Superintendent also refers in a letter to the Director of Posts and Telegraphs which says "Reference is invited to this office letter of even number dated the 23rd April 1952 in which it was intimated that the name of the candidate was not published in the D.P.T. circular No. 6 dated the 19th April 1952 " and ultimately this gentleman who had received a letter from the Director saying that he has been selected finds that the Director of Posts and Telegraphs wants him to be informed about certain facts, e.g., roll number and the division to which he was allotted. A letter has gone from his own office, two months before that, saying that he has been selected and now comes a letter expressing surprise and asking him to give his roll number and also the Division to which he has been allotted. Ultimately, his appointment is cancelled in a subsequent telegram saying " your success in examination is cancelled ".

Now, Sir, this is how the poor clerks who are recruited, are being treated. Perhaps if a big officer is recruited, these sort of things will never happen, his appointment will not be cancelled. In the case of poor men or the Class IV employees, in other Departments too, such things do happen very often. Sir, these are two individual cases— of course Government might say that there may be one or two cases— but they are being literally practised everywhere.

Sir, I would like to know if they have accepted the recommendations of the Central Pay Commission which they had set up. Have they accepted the recommendation with regard to payment of House Rent allowance to the Central Government employees in cities in which the population has gone over one lakh ? It is mentioned in the Central Pay Commission's Report on page 50 that persons who are

[Shri B. Rath]

getting below Rs. 55 will get Rs. 5 and those getting upto Rs. 100 will get Rs. 7 as house rent allowance. What happens to places like Kharagpur and Cuttack where, according to the 1951 census the population has gone over a lakh ? Have they honoured their pledge ? If not, when are they going to honour it ? Practically a year has elapsed—it was in April last year that the provisional census figures were published and it was but the duty of the Government to immediately translate the promise they had given to the workers. Fourteen months have passed and nothing has been done. Yesterday, an Unstarred Question was replied to with regard to railway employees at Cuttack. The question was "whether Government has paid any house rent allowance to railway employees at Cuttack " and the Government says " No ". Then, my second question was " If they have given, since when they have given " and the reply was " Does not arise". It is very strange. Fourteen months have passed and the workers there have not been given any house rent allowance. I would also like to get an assurance from the Government as to when they are going to give effect to their own decisions. This affects a large number of workers, not one or two.

I come from Cuttack and I know the difficulty of the people living there. They do not get houses, small rooms of 6 feet measure costs even Rs. 15 or even Rs. 20. There are postal employees, railway workers and other categories of Government employees such as the Central Excise Department, etc.

Sir, another thing. We are building a dam, called the Hirakud Dam, near Sambalpur. I have with me the Orissr, Government's budget about Hirakud Dam and on page 37 of that paper is given the progress of major works. In one of the paragraphs, para. 5 of page 37, they mention about the outbreak of cholera recently, that is on 21st March 1952. It says: "Cases were mostly confined to unskilled la-

bour. Cases amongst : killed labour were very few. In spite of immediate steps being taken there were some deaths and a number of 1 nskilled labourers left the area due to panic."

I had recently gone to Hirakud and saw that a large number of unskilled workers are working daily, for six to eight hours, in the heat of Sambalpur having a temperature of about 116 to 117° — same as in Delhi itself—and they are living in the open. They have no drinking water ; they have no shelter. They have not even small thatched huts and live outside for four to five months in the summer. During winter also they have to live outside and work, with a wage of Rs. 1-8-0 per day. Price of rice is going higher and higher. This year in Sambalpur — the granary of Orissa — price of rice has gone up and it is selling at 1 seer and 4 chhattacks per rupee. Recently, of course, some wells have been dug. No consideration is being given to them for the work which they are doing, whereas we are giving cheap electricity, cooling plant, refrigerators and other amenities to the persons..... (Time bell rings).....at the top. In Hirakud, Government is giving 20 per cent, as construction allowances to the higher officers and those who are really doing the construction are not given anything. I have a lot of things to say about Hirakud, I hope, Sir, that the Government will consider these things and will do the needful. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI R. THANHLIRA (Assam) : Mr. Chairman, since day before yesterday we have been hearing speeches of several hon. Members offering useful suggestions, but, Sir, it has been a matter of great regret for me that no Member has made any particular mention of the problems of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes of India. Sir, we know that in India a large part of the population is formed of the scheduled tribes and these scheduled tribes are very backward economically, educationally and socially. The scheduled tribes are found all over India—, in every province. In spite of the achievement of independence by India for the last five years, even today we see that the scheduled tribes remain very

backward. Of course, this is not the fault of our Government. The fault, in my opinion, lies with the system of administration given to these scheduled tribes by the British. During the British period in most of the States, the scheduled tribes were given an administration which is given to the political area. Sir, I feel that top priority should be given by our Government to uplift and develop these scheduled tribes. I know that there is a provision in the Constitution of India which will give grants in aid to the various States specially for the development of scheduled tribes. But looking over the budget papers I feel that the amounts of grants given to the various States for the development of these scheduled tribes are not adequate. On page 25 of the Explanatory Memorandum, I find a statement of the Grants-in-aid given under Article 275 (I) and I find that the grants given to the various States are very small in comparison with the problems to be solved regarding these backward tribes.

Sir, a few minutes back one of the hon. Members spoke of the need for the development of Assam and I am very grateful to him. I come from Assam and I am a member of the scheduled tribe. In Assam the population of scheduled tribes is very big and the area inhabited by them is also very large. In Assam out of 13 districts six districts are inhabited purely by scheduled tribes and the area covered by these scheduled tribes is about two-thirds of the whole area of the State. So practically speaking, the problem of Assam is the problem of the scheduled tribes.

10 a.m.

Again, Sir, I find from the Explanatory Memorandum, which I have mentioned before, that 40 lakhs of rupees have been sanctioned specially for the development of scheduled tribes of Assam. I am afraid that this sum will, not be sufficient at all. As I have already mentioned, the population of the scheduled tribes in Assam is so big and the system of administration has now changed. Till now there was no democratic system of administration in

those areas. Those areas used to be known as what is called Excluded Areas and people were not allowed to take part in politics nor allowed any freedom of speech. «It is only since the independence of India that the tribal people of Assam have been allowed to play their part in politics. They have also been allowed the freedom of speech. As a consequence in order to raise the level of the administration and in order to raise the level of the people there, a special provision has been made in the Constitution. It will be found in the VI Schedule. It provides a sort of district autonomy with wide powers of administration and it will be run by the tribals themselves. In pursuance of this provision, the tribals of Assam are now forming their district councils. But the Government of Assam, being always deficit in budget is of little help to these tribes. If these tribal people are to be raised at the shortest space of time, it is imperative that the Central Government should come to the help of the Assam Government as quickly as possible especially for the development of these tribal areas.

I also want to mention, Sir, that when I studied the Budget papers I was surprised to find that no grant has been made to the province of Assam out of the Central Road Fund. Communication is a necessity of Assam. Assam is a very far off State—far away from this Capital—and I am afraid that its problems have not been fully realised by the Central Government. The main problem of Assam now is communications in the hill areas of Assam which are all bounded by foreign countries. In the east we have the Naga hill districts, and in the west we have the Khasi hills and the Garo hills. All these are bounded by foreign countries such as Burma and Pakistan. In these hill territories communications are very poor. As an instance, I can say that in my own district, that is the Lushai Hills, which is the southernmost part of Assam, communications are so bad that even to get supplies of necessities aeroplanes have to be employed. Salt, which is in deficit, supply, cannot be had because of the difficulty of transport. So, it is an

[Shri P. Thanhhra.] urgent necessity that good roads should be constructed in the hill areas of Assam because they are the most hard hit areas after partition. ' So, I earnestly request the- Government that grants-in-aid given to the various^States for the development of scheduled tribes, especially those given for Assam, should be given top priority.

MR. CHAIRMAN : We have two hours more for general discussion, and the Finance Minister will reply immediately after 12 o'clock. I think some time limit has to be prescribed hereafter, a maximum of 10 minutes—not the minimum.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE : I believe, Sir, the purpose of discussion on this Appropriation Bill, now that we have sanctioned practically all the grants, is to impress upon, or to bring to the notice of, the Government some important problems or issues or issues bearing upon any facet of administrative policy. I should like to say a few words on planning, a subject on which the Government have laid very great emphasis. An impression has been created that it holds the key to economic prosperity and improved standard of living. Great hopes have been raised, hopes whose fulfilment unfortunately appears, as years pass by, to recede progressively. It is not possible to deal exhaustively with the subject within 10 or 15 minutes, and my emphasis today shall be not on any theoretical problems but problems bearing upon the execution of a plan. I should like to say two things : (a) about the special difficulties in a backward country, and (b) about the machinery for the implementation of a plan. In so far as the special difficulties of a backward country are concerned, I am not going to say anything today about the technical difficulties or difficulties of finance, because I want to confine my attention to problems relating to the execution of the plan. In this context, the special difficulties of a backward country centre around the absence of a strong, competent and incorrupt administration, which is essential for the execution of any plan. In particular, the administration must be incorrupt, for whereas men will

bear many restrictions from a Government which they believe to be acting fairly, impartially and without respect for persons, they will sooner or later violently resist measures which they believe to be corruptly administered, however, acceptable those measures themselves may be. And I believe that here our Government faces a special difficulty. For the implementation of a plan, therefore, we must first try to set up a machinery which is incorrupt and which can be expected to achieve with some fair measure of success the objectives that we have put forward. In the meantime it is not advisable to load the machinery with tasks which are more numerous or delicate than it can handle. The quantity and forms of planning, it has been aptly said, must be strictly within the competence or capacity of the machine. In the second place, the machinery that we have set up is one of the weakest. Until now I believe what we have done has been mostly to fix targets and exhort people to make the plan a success. Targets we have had in abundance, both from official and non-official sources ever since the publication of the famous Bombay Plan. There has been no dearth of targets. But it is not the targets which make a plan a success. And what targets stand for is something that we wish to see achieved. But we must have some machinery to achieve those targets. But what we have done in the matter of setting up a machinery ? I believe the chapter on Planning and Administration in the Draft Five Year Plan is one of its weakest. In fact only one page out of 250 pages has been devoted to this subject. I hope that when the final Five Year Plan is placed before us, it will give more consideration to that subject. It is no good for us here to quote the Russian experience, because objective conditions there are totally different, although I believe that there are many things we could learn and with profit borrow from the Russian experience. But even, if you take Great Britain, you will find that the machinery that they have set up there is not quite satisfactory even now, even after the administration of the Labour Government that they have had there, because

this complicated machinery consists of the planning departments of the Government, the production and sponsoring department, the regional organisations, the national services, and the enormous number of joint committees and consultative bodies on which the Government and both sides of industry are represented. It is not a tidy machinery, but at the same time there is a constant endeavour to see that these agencies co-operate and 'are co-ordinated so that certain objectives are reached.

I do not know exactly what the planning machinery in this country is. I hope the Finance Minister—who unfortunately is absent here, but who also fortunately is a member of the Planning Commission, will give us some idea of what the machinery is. I know that recently a Planning Ministry has been set up and various departments are charged with the task of implementing certain parts of the Plan. But from what little I know of this machinery, it appears to me to suffer from at least two technical difficulties. Whatever be the machinery that we may have, it appears to me that we have two layers of planning authorities, one at the Centre and the other in the States, each working more or less independently of the other. It is true that State Governments have all established development departments, but these departments are independent and are not controlled by the Centre. It is also true that when State development plans are elaborated they are sometimes sent to the Centre for approval, particularly if Central assistance is required. But even so this procedure appears to me to be suffering from two disabilities. The one is that -the Centre does not know the merit of the machinery which is responsible for evolving State plans. As far as I know, in many States the plans which are now called development plans are nothing but those borrowed from a list of schemes that were drawn up in pre-partition days in the Secretariat without consultation with the people or affected interests or experts. Secondly the Centre has no power to oversee or supervise the plans executed

by the States except of course in respect of such plans which the Centre itself might have sponsored. And it is no wonder, as one hon. Member stated here, that much of the resources that are given to the States are being wasted. I am aware that there is a recognition in so many words of this difficulty in the Draft Five Year Plan. But no indication is given as to how it can be resolved. The second technical difficulty to which I want to refer is that whatever machinery we have, there appears to be an absence of co-ordination between the different Government Departments for the execution of our plans. These Departments seem to work independently of each other without having a sufficient appreciation of the fact that their policies and actions act and react upon each other. To cite one or two examples. Suppose a Development Department plans the progress of a particular industry. Let us take electrical industry. One of the basic assumptions here is the estimated progress of electricity projects. On the basis of such estimates certain plans are made and permission is given to import machinery. Unfortunately the electricity projects do not materialise.

But the machinery is imported, is set up and the result is that we have excess capacity involving wastage and dissipation of our none too large capital resources. It is necessary to realise that a plan is an integrated whole and not merely a conglomeration of many independent schemes. Take* another example. It certainly cannot be the intention of the Government or I should rather put it the other way round, that I believe it is the intention of the Government to foster and encourage national enterprise and capital. Yet strange as it may appear in many fields of industrial activity, foreign enterprise and capital is outstanding national enterprise and capital not because the products manufactured by the former are superior to those manufactured by the indigenous industry but because of larger financial resources. All this shows that there is a lack of co-ordination in the Government departments which must be remedied if the Plants to be a success

(Time bell rings.)

SHRI B. C. GHOSE : I wish to take one minute more. Lastly, Sir, whatever may be the machinery, it is a truism to say that our Plan will not succeed unless we have popular support and mass enthusiasm behind it. But unfortunately, however, much the Government may resort to exhortation or set up organisations like the Bharat Sevak Sangh, the unfortunate fact remains that the public have not got confidence in the sincerity of purpose of the ruling Party today. Unless that changes, i.e., unless the public regains its confidence in that Party, of which unfortunately I find no indication at the moment, I am afraid that these plans even with their limited objectives will not succeed even though we may have a good plan and the machinery for planning may be reasonably satisfactory.

SHRI J. N. KAUSHAL (PEPSU) : Mr. Chairman, the efforts which our Government is making to put the nation on a sound footing are certainly laudable but with your permission I want to draw the attention of the Government to one aspect. I feel that that subject should be given a top priority. That is the subject of education.

Well my submission is that I want to draw a distinction between education and literacy. Till now whatever education was being given to us in schools as well as colleges, its only object was to teach us as it is popularly known the three R's, Reading, Writing and 'rithmetic. Well we know that after spending about 10 years in schools and 4 years in colleges when a person gets a degree and he graduates, what is his equipment ? What has he learnt in the schools and colleges ? Well I make bold to say that he is most ill-equipped to enter the battle of life. He only finds himself fit enough to be a petty clerk somewhere and if unfortunately he does not find a job of a clerk, he feels wretched. He feels helpless. He does not know what to do.

Well so long as we were under a

foreign Government, perhaps this suited them best that they should only make a nation of clerks. That was their object and they succeeded admirably. But my submission now is that after achieving independence the mere effort for literacy is not enough. The word 'education' means something much more than a person's becoming a literate. Well I do not find any change in the method of imparting education in the schools. Still our children are to be under the care of an under-Matriculate teacher who has failed miserably in life and who does not know what to teach and how to inculcate it and how to take charge of the younger generation.

Well the first effort on the part of the Government, I submit, should be to scrap the present system of education because this system can never put the future generation on a sound footing. The Government is making plans for putting the country on a sound footing. My object in drawing the attention of the Government is that this also needs a very great priority at their hands because this is a matter of training our future generations. A beginning has got to be made immediately because any moment which we are losing we are losing one set of schoolgoing people who are ultimately going to be the future generation of this country. Well, as I was submitting, after a graduate enters life and he becomes a petty official in the Government Department, he finds himself unable to make his both ends meet. Well then normally speaking he tries to find some easy money from one source or the other and this tendency on his part, I should say, is not very much to be regretted because in the schools and colleges he was never taught the virtue of honesty.

He was never taught the duties of a citizen. He was not taught not to behave dishonestly even though he may be able to amass a few rupees more for his family. His be all and end all in life is to try to live comfortably. Society, I make bold to say, has not been inculcated with that spirit where

honest people are given their due respect and dishonest people are despised. We have got to evolve a new society where, as soon as a rich man who has amassed his wealth by dishonest means enters a place, the people there would turn their backs on him. If society has no means of preventing him from amassing his ill-gotten wealth, at least it has the means of despising him and making him feel that he has no place in our free country. These things were never taught in our schools and colleges. I would therefore submit that the present system of education must change. We must bring in another system. It may not be possible for me to suggest another system, because that is the work of the educationists of this country. I would only say that the younger generation should be put in charge of the intellectuals of the country. They should not be in charge of such non-Matriculates, who could not find any other profession to follow but just managed to get Rs. 20 or so a month in the teaching profession in the primary schools. In the India of old, education was in the hands of our sages and *rishis*. You call them *ashrams* or public schools, they are the need of the present day. I suggest that the intellectuals of the country must be got hold of by the Government and they must be given this job. Miserable failures in life can never raise a nation. Mercenaries can never raise a nation. It is the people with a missionary spirit, it is the people who have got the good of the country in their hearts who should be in charge of the younger generation. It may not be possible to reform the present generation because we have gone too far. We have been brought up in an atmosphere of corruption, but we can certainly make a beginning for our future generation.

While on the subject of education I would like to say a word on the subject of cinemas. It is admitted on all hands that cinemas are one of the most potent ways of educating the people. But what do we find? It is in the hands of money-seekers, who do not bother whether the pictures they produce corrupt the morals of the younger

generation or not. 'I make bold to say that every parent today knows that the younger generation has become immoral by seeing the pictures which are produced by these money-seekers. If the Government cannot nationalise this industry just at the moment, they should wrest the control of the industry from the hands of such people and hand it over to people like my hon. friend here, Shri Prithviraj Kapoor, who have got a national bent, who have got the good of the country at heart. But as it is, this industry is degrading the younger generation, and thus eating into the very vitals of the nation.

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA (Madras) : Mr. Chairman, in the course of the debate today, a number of Members have spoken and I was pained to see that Pandit Kunzru was opposing the decontrol policy which has recently been adopted, especially in Madras. I can boldly say that the figures which were mentioned by Pandit Kunzru are not properly gathered by the Government agents. I know that in some of the villages the production of food grains was not reported to the Government authorities, on account of the ill-treatment meted out to the peasants by the officials of the Food Department, especially in Andhra Desa. The production is hidden to escape the malpractices of the Food Department officials, who have become the agents of the mill-owners. In this way, they are not able to get the correct figures from the *kisans*. In our *Shastras*, we have got only *Saptagrahas* but in the Food Administration we have *Ashtagrahas*, and we the producers are suffering from the evil influences of these *Ashtagrahas*. The highest officials in the Government offices may not know all these difficulties, which are experienced in the districts, at the railway stations and at the procuring centres. Amongst these *grahas*, one is F.S.O., Firka Supply Officer and the T.S.O., the Taluk Supply Officer. Then there is the D.S.O., the District Supply Officer. Then there are M.Os., Marketing Officers. There are A.Os., Accounts Officers. There are G.M.Os., Grain Movement Officers. Then the G.P.Os.,

[Shri K. Suryanarayana.] Grain Procuring Officers and they have got their own Assistants. Then there is the F.I., the Food Inspector. We have suffered and we are suffering at the hands of these eight *gralias*. Now we, especially the producers, feel that our troubles are over. Now, Sir, whatever we have produced we give it to the Government. We know that in some places the prices of paddy have risen by one or two rupees ; there is no export of paddy and rice from surplus areas to deficit and there is no release from the Government stocks lying down in the mills. I am a merchant also, but not personally. I am the President of the Co-operative ^Marketing Federation who are the wholesale dealers for some commodities under the Government and we are running a rice mill. We have got one lakh rupees worth of stock of paddy and rice in our mill. We have applied for wagons and permits but there is no supply of wagons and the Government do not care for our petitions and requests. Now, Sir, fortunately Government have come forward to help us on hearing some of our practical difficulties and they have de:ontrolled food grains. We are very thankful to them. In the last session, at the time of discussion on the General Budget, at least 95% <5f Members of this House appealed to the Government to remove controls, and now the Government have at last done it.

Now, Sir, I understand that there is lack of wagons for the movement of grains. There is no proper co-ordination between the Food Department and the Railway Department which is essential for food movement. One more question, Sir, the Government recently issued an order regarding food grains prohibiting storage of more than 15 maunds. This order empowers the State Governments to direct persons holding stocks of food grains to sell them to persons described by the State Governments for the purpose of maintaining and increasing supplies of any food grains or for securing equitable distribution. There is no clarification that the *kisans* •can store their paddy in their granaries

and sell them to local people. The Government should immediately clarify that also. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI B. P. AGARWAL (West Bengal) : Mr. Chairman, much has been spoken already on this Appropriation Bill and I would not like to go into great many details but I would place a few points before this august House. Sir, in the criticisms that have been offered regarding the Budget by various speakers of the Opposition as also from the Congress Party side, it has been said that our budget is very heavy and the country finds great difficulty in carrying this burden say of this Department or that Department. If we compare the size and population of our country and also that of various countries which are advanced, our budget is, in my opinion, not at all heavy but it is a poor-man's budget. We need to spend much more to make our country prosperous but unfortunately our resources are limited and under these conditions we can spend only what we can within our resources. To improve the resources the most essential thing is to increase production in all directions. Our agricultural production and the industrial production need to be increased. We find however that much is being said and discussed about controls, against and for, but this basic problem of control is never likely to be solved properly unless we have sufficient food grains in the country. That is not being looked into properly. As long as we continue talking of distribution and mal-distribution we can go on for any length of time but ultimately our solution will come only when we have sufficient food grains in the country. For that certain steps have been taken by our Government in the right direction. The Fertilizer Factory, the Irrigation works— all these are in the right direction but what is needed to encourage production in every field is that we must provide sufficient incentive so that production may proceed on progressively. But this aspect is not fully looked into. It is assumed that production will increase by various

lanning and other methods but the fundamental fact is not often fully realised. We cannot increase production to its full extent unless we provide incentives at every stage. If you fix the prices of the commodities at a very low level, «you cannot expect that the food crops will be grown to the fullest extent. What has been our experience so far ? For one reason or other the prices of jute and cotton went high. Immediately you find a bumper crop of these. This would not have been possible had we simply satisfied ourselves by making the various schemes without giving incentive to the grower. Similarly it is necessary that the industrial enterprise must also receive sufficient incentive. I find it has become a fashion to criticise business people and industrialists as if they have so much resources that they are making unlimited profits to which there is no end. You can see sugar was controlled till now very rigidly. Some relaxation has been made and some incentives have been provided to the sugar manufacturers. Immediately you find there is surplus of sugar in the country. This is a clear proof that wherever we have provided incentives to the industries, the production has followed suit. So if economic incentives are provided for, then there is no reason why we should not be having sufficient production all round. Same is the case with labour. There is a good deal of misunderstanding about it between the capital and labour. The labour is also entitled to proper consideration and if we give the necessary fillip to the industry and to production, then there is no reason why our country should not become self-sufficient in a very short time but unfortunately when we devise our schemes, we often overlook the central fact that unless and until we can make provision for sufficient incentives to the people working in different directions, we cannot get production and there is a good deal of fight now going on all round about distribution. Our Prime Minister said that while we fight on distribution so much, where is the material for distribution. Unless we

produce sufficiently what is there to distribute. We have plenty of poverty in this country and if we are not able to produce sufficiently it is poverty alone that we can distribute which none of us desire. If we want to be happy and prosperous, the main thing I would suggest is we should pay our attention to this, we should pool our heads together and find out ways and means to provide sufficient incentives for all of us—capital, farmer and the labour so that production can be increased. With these words, I commend this Bill to the House.

(MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.)

THE LEADER OF THE COUNCIL (SHRI N. GOPALASWAMI) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I wish to intervene in this debate at this stage just for a few minutes with a view to meet such criticisms as have been offered in respect of the Ministry of which I am in charge. But before doing so, I should like to make one or two general observations. We are at the moment considering the Appropriation Bill and as I have listened to these debate, during the last two days, it has struck me that perhaps the manner in which we are conducting this debate is not the best way of using parliamentary time. I say so with a certain amount of conviction. I say it also with a certain amount of hesitation. I do not want hon. Members to get away with the impression that I am against any procedure which gives them the opportunity of the fullest possible discussion of Budget proposals. But we are not at the stage of Budget proposals merely. We have come to consider the Appropriation Bill. The proposals were placed before this House at the beginning of this session and we have had, I believe, a fairly longish, general debate on the proposals placed before the House. Now, after the other House had also engaged itself in a similar discussion for a number of days, the Demands for Grants were put before the other House and those Demands were granted. As the Constitution requires it, the granted Demands have to be authorised by law

[Shri N. Gopalaswami.] in the shape of a Bill, and the Appropriation Bill was introduced by my colleague the Finance Minister in the other House. That Bill has been passed there. It has come to us for the purpose of considering the contents of that Bill. As many Members have already said, there is nothing that we could do by way of changing anything in the provisions of the Appropriation Bill, because they have already the authority of the other House which is supreme in financial matters.

SHRI B. GUPTA (West Bengal) : On a point of submission. This kind of interpretation which is being given here does not conform to the provisions of the Constitution. In this debate, Sir, we can make certain recommendations regarding the provisions of this Bill. We know that under the Constitution, we have no power to initiate money Bills, but we can make certain recommendations to the Lower House. But we find that there is an attempt on the part of the Government to take away even this power as far as possible. This power does lie with this House and that must be protected.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order: order.

SHRI B. GUPTA : And the interpretation given by the Leader of the House is inadmissible.

SHRI N. GOPALASWAMI : I am used to strong language from the hon. Member who has just spoken. There is nothing very new in that, so far as he is concerned. But I am as jealous of the rights of this House as he ever can be, and I simply want to put before the House certain suggestions for its consideration, before we come to take up a similar Bill for consideration perhaps in the next year. I am trying to give the House the experience which I have gained of the debate on the Appropriation Bill during the current session. What have we done ? We have repeated the general debate. We have travelled over all manner of things, and what is attempted is not the

prevention of the consideration of the Bill before us, nor is it going to be followed by suggestions of any amendments to the provisions of the Bill. It is simply a general debate which enables hon. Members to put forth the same kind of things that were put forth during the general discussion. When that general discussion takes place before the Budget was considered it might have some influence in changing the Budget provisions. But when the whole Budget has been settled and when we are here only for the purpose of giving legislative authority to the...

SHRI P. V. NARAYANA (Madras) : Then what for were these two days allotted here ?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order, order. I find there is a tendency to speak even before catching the eye of the Chair. That is not contemplated by the rules. No Member can make a speech before he catches the eye of the Chairman. Let there be no interruption from anyone before catching the eye of the Chair. Let the Member first catch the eye of the Chair and then begin to speak. That is the rule and I believe the hon. Member there knows it. I request hon. Members to observe the rule.

SHRI P. V. NARAYANA : But, Sir, on a point of order. All these things he could have told us at the very beginning, that is, day before yesterday. What is the use of wasting further time like this by saying all this now ? Have these two days been provided for the debate only to praise the Government ?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : There is no point of order.

SHRI N. GOPALASWAMI : I do not wish to reply to these criticisms I would only point out that the procedure followed in the other House was that in the discussion on the Appropriation Bill, the Opposition had to make up its mind as to one, two, three important matters which alone could be discussed, and the discussion was

confined, as my hon. colleague will support me, to those principal matters. That, I think, is the general practice in the House of Commons also where such discussions are held. We know that that is the procedure that has been generally followed. I should like hon. Members to think over this matter in the light of the experience we have gained of the present debate.

Sir, coming to the Defence Ministry, a number of hon. Members have put forth certain observations to some of which I wish to make a reply.

My hon. friend representing Orissa from the other side suggested that as far as possible capital funds should be provided only for the purpose of expenditure which is remunerative in character, or expenditure which might yield interest—income in the shape of interest. A general proposition of that sort nobody can take exception to. But the only amendment I would suggest to a proposition of that sort is that we cannot altogether avoid using capital funds—borrowed funds, as he would put it—for the purpose of incurring expenditure which does not come under these two categories. There is expenditure which creates assets of a lasting character. There is expenditure involving large amounts, expenditure which has to be incurred at once and which it is not possible to finance out of current revenues. In such cases, we have to borrow funds for the purpose of finding money to meet such expenditure. If he takes the Rs. 17 crores to which he made reference, he will find that most of it is really allocated to expenditure of the character I have mentioned. The moneys spent, for instance, on the construction of works projects, for various training establishments and other units and formations, money spent on manufacturing establishments, purchase of plant and machinery, acquisition of land and things of that kind, are not always remunerative in the sense contemplated by the hon. Member. They help the creation of assets which are of some lasting value. *Per contra*, I would also draw the attention of hon.

Members to the fact that even such expenditure on the purchase of aircraft for the Air Force which means, as hon. Members know, a very heavy outlay, and, indeed expenditure of a heavy character on very costly armaments and so forth, all are financed, even today, out of revenue. Now, the hon. Member also asked the question as to why Rs. 17 crores provided under Capital expenditure could not be accommodated in the Rs. 198 crores provided for expenditure under Revenue. The mere fact is that the expenditure that is required both on Capital and Revenue, amounts to Rs. 198 crores plus Rs. 17 crores. In allocating this expenditure we have taken out the items which could, with the least possible objection, be defrayed through Capital and we have allocated the rest to Revenue. That is the procedure that has been followed in financing Defence expenditure.

Now, Sir, with regard to certain other matters which have been raised in the course of the debate, I do not think I would deal with many of them. I see that there is a certain amount of credit given to the Army for the ameliorative work which they have done in the south of India in famine stricken areas, and an appeal was made to me that the extension of these activities in certain other districts of Madras State is a welcome step forward and that I should not be hasty or quick in withdrawing Army help and that it should be continued so long as it is necessary. I can give the assurance that the Army is still engaged, the Units that have been sent out to give this help in other districts are still there, engaged on this work. In certain areas where they have been doing work rains have come in and improved the situation there with the result that the Army's help has been rendered unnecessary. But, they have not been withdrawn. They have been sent to other places which are drought stricken and they would continue their work there. So long as that help is necessary in drought affected areas, that help will be continued to be given.

[Shri N. Gopalaswami.] 11 a.m.

A number of suggestions were made by my hon. friend Shrimati Alva, in the course of her very interesting speech. It is hardly necessary for me to traverse them all but I would only refer to one or two points. With regard to physical and semi-military training which she advocated, a great deal is being done already. We have considered various alternative methods of dealing with this problem whose importance we recognise as much as the House does. We have written to State Governments that they might, in order to reduce their expenditure on this item, recruit ex-servicemen and we should be prepared to arrange for their training. Physical Instructors are being trained everywhere. The State Governments' reports are due and when they are received we shall finalise this scheme. We have also, in a few educational institutions where the managements are willing to accept the expenditure involved, encouraged them to start schemes for physical and semi-military training. We have, of course, our National Cadet Corps in the different States. They are being expanded from year to year. The States have not been able to expand them more than it has been done due to their own difficult financial position, but every inducement is being offered to persuade them to expand this system which is so important in the interest of the country.

SHRI J. R. KAPOOR (Uttar Pradesh) : Will the hon. Minister be pleased to say in what concrete and substantial form encouragement and inducement is contemplated to be given by the Central Government to the educational institutions ?

SHRI N. GOPALASWAMI : As I say, we have sent up suggestions to different institutions. After we receive their replies, we shall see how far they are prepared to go and if it is necessary for us to give help which may enable them to take this scheme and work it, we shall do all that is possible.

SHRI J. R. KAPOOR : Is financial aid contemplated to be given ?

SHRI N. GOPALASWAMI : Well that is to be considered when we have received their replies.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : You want to give them concrete instead of silver.

SHRI N. GOPALASWAMI : Some comparison was made between the size of our Army and the sizes of our Air Force and the Navy. This comparison is really not of much value. The Air Force and the Navy are young careers. Practically we started them only after the transfer of power, though, of course, we had a small nucleus, before that it was nothing worth mentioning. We have been expanding it from year to year. If the allocations that are made are considered to be inadequate, well, they can be made adequate only in due course of time and it is impossible for us to bring the expenditure on the Air Force or the Navy to anywhere near what we at any time may require for spending on the Army,

Sir, there is one other important point—there are a number of smaller points and I do not want to exceed too much the time you have allotted. There is one point to which some Members drew attention. Perhaps Dr. Sokhey laid the greatest stress on that particular point and that was the establishment of basic heavy industries in this country with the objective of making our position with regard to armaments self-sufficient. Self-sufficiency is too comprehensive an expression to use in this connection. We are only in the beginning of the endeavour to produce more and more of our armaments in our own country. We are still very largely dependent upon imports. But, we have started making some of these armaments, ammunition and so on in our own country with a view to reduce or diminish the dependence to the greatest possible extent and, as you know, the establishment of armament industries would involve very heavy financial outlay.

We have pursued this policy of diminution of our dependence on imports from foreign countries consistently with the finances we can spare for the establishment of industries in our own country. But I can assure hon. Members that one of the things on which I most feel is the expansion of vital defence industries in the country. Steps are being taken to establish some of them. Some have been started ; others are in the process of investigation. Some investigations have been completed and negotiations are in progress with experts both here and abroad who will help us in establishing those industries here. It would not do for me, within the short space of time at my disposal, to detail all the activities that we are engaged on in this direction at the present moment. Sir, I do not wish to say more.

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY (Orissa) : Mr. Deputy-Chairman, as has been pointed out by an hon. Member on this side of the House, in the Appropriation Bill before us—item No. 115—Loans and Advances by the Central Government—you will find an amount of Rs. 121 crores in round figures. This amount is mainly meant for advances to the States for development projects which are interest yielding assets. I do not know when the money is advanced—and huge sums are really given to the States—whether there is any machinery put up by the Central Government to see that this money is utilised for the purposes for which they are advanced to the States.

I can speak for the State of Orissa where this matter has been raised in the local Assembly also. There is a feeling and a complaint was raised that large sums of money had been advanced just to enrich Congress favouritis and adventurers. A person belonging to the Congress Party was advanced lakhs of rupees for so called experiments on many enterprises without any security whatsoever. Further, Sir, very recently it has been debated in the local Assembly also a matter how a factory which was advanced Rs. ten lakhs has stopped working after a year.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : May I know if the hon. Member is talking of the Central Government advancing some individual large sums of money or any State Government ?

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY : Through the State Government from the Grants given by the Central Government to the State Government. I referred to item 115—Loans and Advances by the Central Government. Sir, I do not for a moment say that Grants should be stopped. Rather, for under-developed States like Orissa it is necessary for the Central Government to make more Grants, to leave more funds at their disposal to tap natural resources. But there must be some check to see that the money is utilised for the purpose it is meant. I think I am serving the people of my State better by bringing this matter here and by exposing her exploiters and profiteering racketeers. These are interest yielding assets and after all the people of Orissa will have to bear the burden. As you know perhaps, there is already a proposal to tax people who would be benefited by the Hirakud Project—God knows when and how ordinary people will be benefited—just to pay the interest. So it might be the case in some other projects also. Hence it has become necessary that the people of Orissa should see that those in the Government of India make a searching enquiry about the finances of the Government of Orissa especially as regards this Grant—whether this money is spent in a proper manner. That is the point which I wanted to bring before you.

There is another matter which I want to mention. This Five Year Plan will end in 1955-56. Will the Minister of Finance give us an idea about the probable size of the so called interest yielding asset capital, which is likely to be there after this period? That is all, thank you, Sir.

SHRI J. R. KAPOOR :

श्री ज० आर० कपूर : उपसभापति महोदय, इस समय हमारे सामने विनियोग

[Shri J. R. Kapoor.]

विधेयक अर्थात् एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल (Appropriation Bill) उपस्थित हैं, जिसके सम्बन्ध में हमें विचार करना है और अपनी सिफारिश भेजनी है। मैं माननीय श्री गोपालास्वामी आयरंगर जी से पूर्ण रूप से सहमत हूँ कि इस बिल के सम्बन्ध में हमें कोई विशेष अधिकार नहीं है। केवल हमें ही नहीं, बल्कि दूसरे सदन को भी, जब उसने इस बिल को पास कर दिया है और इस बिल में लिखी हुई धन-राशि मंजूर कर ली है, तो अब किसी तरह की तब्दीली करने का इस समय अधिकार नहीं है। इस समय हमें क्या सिफारिश करनी चाहिये, यह प्रश्न हमारे सामने है।

मैं समझता हूँ कि हम इस समय इसमें केवल यही सिफारिश कर सकते हैं कि जो धन-राशि हमने स्वीकार कर ली है खर्च करने के लिये, उसका उचित रूप से उपयोग किया जाय। जनता की गाढ़ी कमाई का जो रूपया लिया जाता है, उसका एक एक पैसा इस रूप से खर्च किया जाना चाहिये कि वह जनता की ही भलाई के काम में खर्च हो और पूर्ण रूप से उसका उचित उपयोग किया जाय। लेकिन केवल इस तरह से सिफारिश कर देने से ही कोई विशेष लाभ नहीं होगा क्योंकि यह तो आशामात्र होगी। इसलिये हमें सोचना यह चाहिये कि जिस धनराशि को हम स्वीकृति दे रहे हैं, उसमें से समय समय पर जो खर्च होता है, वह ठीक तरह से खर्च किया जा रहा है या नहीं उसकी देखरेख कैसे हो, हमें इस बात का अवसर, हो इस सदन को इस बात का अवसर हो, कि वह उस खर्च पर नियंत्रण रख सके। इसके लिये मेरा यह मुझाव है कि इस सदन की एक एस्टीमेट कमेटी (Estimate Committee) बनाई जानी चाहिये जो समय समय पर, बल्कि मैं यह कहूँ कि निरन्तर इस बात को देखती रहे कि यह धन उचित रूप से व्यय किया जा रहा है या नहीं।

इस वक्त प्रश्न यह उठ सकता है कि दूसरे सदन की ओर से एक एस्टीमेट कमेटी बनी हुई है और दूसरी एस्टीमेट कमेटी का बनाया जाना उचित नहीं होगा। मगर मेरा निवेदन यह है कि उस सदन की ओर से जो एस्टीमेट कमेटी बनी हुई है, वह पांच वर्षों में सिर्फ आठ-दस मंत्रालयों का काम देख सकती है, इस तरह से वह उचित रूप से सारे मंत्रालयों का काम नहीं देख सकती है; जबकि हमारे सारे मंत्रालयों की संख्या २० तक है। मैं पिछले सदन का सदस्य था और एस्टीमेट कमेटी का भी सदस्य था। मुझे इस काम का काफी अनुभव है। एक वर्ष के अन्दर वह एस्टीमेट कमेटी सिर्फ दो ही मंत्रालयों का काम देख सकती है। इस प्रकार से पांच वर्षों के अन्दर वह केवल दस ही मंत्रालयों का निरीक्षण कर सकती है जबकि २० मंत्रालय हैं। अगर इस सदन की ओर से एक एस्टीमेट कमेटी बना दी जाय, तो वह आठ-दस मंत्रालयों का निरीक्षण कर सकेगी, जिसका फल यह होगा कि ५ वर्षों के अन्दर सारे मंत्रालयों का निरीक्षण हो जायेगा, जो कि एक सरकार का साधारणतः जीवनकाल है। पांच वर्ष के बाद नय निर्वाचन होंगे और दूसरी सरकार बन जायेगी। भले ही बाद में कांग्रेस सरकार ही क्यों न हो। लेकिन इस सरकार की पांच साल की ज़िन्दगी में इतना तो अवश्य होना चाहिये कि उन २० मंत्रालयों का, जिनके द्वारा सरकार का कार्य किया जाता है, उनके कार्यक्रम का पूर्ण रूप से निरीक्षण हो सके। यह कहना व्यर्थ होगा कि इस सदन को कोई अधिकार खर्च के ऊपर नहीं है। यह एक अलग धारणा है। हमारे संविधान के अनुसार निश्चय ही इस सदन को मनी बिल (Money Bills) के ऊपर कोई विशेष अधिकार नहीं है। हम उस पर केवल सिफारिश ही कर सकते हैं। लेकिन जहाँ तक फाइनेंस बिल (Finance Bill) का ताल्लुक है उसके ऊपर हम लोगों का उतना ही अधिकार है, जितना कि

किसी अन्य बिल के ऊपर होता है। इस विषय में मुझे ज्यादा नहीं कहना है क्योंकि मेरे पास समय नहीं है। लेकिन यह प्रत्यक्ष है कि एस्टीमेट कमेटी बना कर सचिवालयों द्वारा लिये जाने वाले खर्च का निरीक्षण करना हमारा अधिकार व कर्तव्य है।

इसी तरह से एक पब्लिक एकाउन्ट्स कमेटी (Public Accounts Committee) भी दूसरे सदन में बनी हुई है। इस समय मैं यह नहीं कहता कि इस सदन की भी एक पब्लिक एकाउन्ट्स कमेटी बनाई जाय। लेकिन मुझे यह कहना है कि इस तरह का कोई प्रबन्ध होना चाहिये कि दोनों सदनों की एक संयुक्त पब्लिक एकाउन्ट्स कमेटी हो। लेकिन जहाँ तक एस्टीमेट कमेटी का ताल्लुक है, मेरा सविनय निवेदन है कि इस सदन की एक अलग एस्टीमेट कमेटी होनी चाहिये। इसमें और उसमें किसी प्रकार का झगड़ा होगा, इस चीज का तो बिल्कुल ही भय नहीं है। वहाँ की एस्टीमेट कमेटी और सचिवालयों का काम देखेगी और यहाँ की एस्टीमेट कमेटी दूसरे सचिवालयों का काम देखेगी। इस तरह से पूर्ण रूप से २० सचिवालयों के कार्यों का निरीक्षण अच्छी तरह से पांच वर्ष के अन्दर हो सकेगा।

इसके बाद उपसभापति जी, मुझे यह निवेदन करना है और इस सरकार को बधाई देनी है, विशेषकर खाद्य मंत्रीजी को जिन्होंने बहुत बहादुरी के साथ खाद्य पर से नियंत्रण हटाने की नीति अपनाई है। उसके लिये मैं उनको बधाई देना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने यह एक बहुत ही बहादुरी का काम किया है। इसके साथ ही साथ मैं श्री राज गेपालाचार्य जी को भी बधाई देता हूँ जिन्होंने मद्रास में खाद्य से नियंत्रण हटा लिया है। उन्होंने भी एक बहुत ही बहादुरी का काम किया है। मैं

यहाँ तक कहने को तैयार हूँ कि हमारे माननीय किदवाई साहब ने अपने पिछले जितने भी कार्य किये हैं वे सब सराहनीय हैं। अगर हम उन्हें मैजिसियन मिनिस्टर (Magician Minister) अर्थात् जादूगर सचिव कहें तो कोई अनुचित नहीं है। वह किसी हवाई सिद्धान्त के ऊपर ही नहीं जाते हैं बल्कि वह देखते हैं कि जनता इस समय क्या चाहती है। जनता का सहयोग इस समय किस तरह लिया जा सकता है, वह इस बात को अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं। उन्हें जनता की भावनाओं का स्थान है और वह इस बात को अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं कि किस समय जनता की क्या भावना होती है।

जनता बहुत समय से जोर-जोर से चिल्ला-चिल्ला कर यह कह रही थी कि कंट्रोल और नियंत्रण को हटा दिया जाय। इसके हटाने से सब को सुख मिलेगा। मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं है कि जनता बहुत दिनों से यह चाह रही थी कि हमारे देश से खाद्य से नियंत्रण हटा दिया जाय। मैं पिछले दो डेढ़ सालों से संसद्, प्रान्तीय विधान-सभाओं के सदस्यों, प्रान्तीय कांग्रेस कमेटी के मेम्बरों, और दूसरे लोगों से इस प्रश्न पर पत्र-व्यवहार कर रहा था कि उन लोगों की खाद्य पर से नियंत्रण हटाने के बारे में क्या राय है। मेरे पास इसके बारे में जो उत्तर आये उनमें से बहुमत इस पक्ष में था कि अन्न पर से कंट्रोल हटा दिया जाय, मगर पूर्ण रूप से नहीं। उसमें इस प्रकार बन्दोबस्त किया जाय कि गरीबों को सस्ते दामों पर अन्न मिल सके, इसके लिये सब जगह दुकानें खोली जायें और जो व्यक्ति १०० रुपया और १५० रुपया पाता हो, या कोई हद बना दी जाय कि इतनी आमदनी वाले व्यक्ति सस्ती दुकानों से अन्न ले सकते ह, और जो ज्यादा आमदनी वाले हैं वे खले बाज़ार से अन्न खरीद सकते

[Shri J. R. Kapoor.]

हैं। यही नीति इस समय सरकार ने अपनाई है। इसी नीति को संसद के सदस्यों ने और बहुत से लोगों ने सरकार से देश में अपनाने के लिये कहा था और बार-बार चिल्ला-चिल्ला कर कहा था।

मैं यह निवेदन करूंगा कि हमारी डेमोक्रेसी प्रजातंत्र में जनता का यह अधिकार है कि वह जिस बात को कहे उसको सरकार को मानना चाहिये। भले ही कुछ नेता यह समझें कि हम ज्यादा बड़मान हैं और हम जनता के बड़े बाप की तरह हैं। पुराने जमाने में अंग्रेज कहा करते थे कि हम जनता के मां-बाप की तरह से काम करते हैं और कहते थे कि जनता यह नहीं जानती थी कि उसका लाभ किसमें है। यह बिल्कुल गलत तरीका है। प्रजातंत्र का यह दावा है कि जनता जिस बात को चाहे, भले ही कुछ नेता उसके फायदे को न समझें, मगर उनको जनता की राय का आदर करना ही चाहिये। मैं तो यह कहता हूँ कि जनता अगर किसी काम को कराना चाहती है और उसे अधिकारी ठीक नहीं समझते हैं, तब भी उनको यह काम करना चाहिये क्योंकि थो दिनों के बाद जनता को मालूम हो जायेगा कि वह काम ठीक नहीं है और वह उसको छोड़ देगी।

उपसभापति जी, मैं इस सभा का ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगा, मैं सिर्फ दो-तीन मिनट लेकर इस विषय को समाप्त कर दूंगा। मैं यह कह रहा था कि इस समय देश में एक बड़ी आशा की लहर फैल गई है। नियंत्रण के हटाने से सब में संतोष की लहर छा गई है और चारों ओर हर्ष ही हर्ष दिखलाई दे रहा है। उत्पादन करने वाले हर्षित हो रहे हैं कि उनकी चीज अब अच्छे दामों में बिक सकेगी। वितरण करने वालों में इस बात का संतोष हो गया है कि उनको व्यापार करने का ज़िया मिल गया है।

परोक्षताओं में इस बात की आशा हो गई है कि

वह बाज़ार से जब और जिस मात्रा में चाहेंगे, सामान ले सकेंगे।

मुझे बड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ, जबकि हमारे माननीय मित्र डाक्टर कुंजूरू साहब ने यह कहा कि उत्तर प्रदेश में डीकंट्रोल करने से अनाजों के दाम चढ़ गये हैं। मैं भी उत्तर प्रदेश का रहने वाला हूँ और मैं इस बात को निश्चय से कह सकता हूँ कि वहाँ पर पहले चोरबाज़ार में गेहूँ का भाव २१ रुपया और २२ रुपया मन था, मगर जब से नियंत्रण हटा दिया गया है, तब से वहाँ भाव १८ और १९ रुपया प्रति मन आ गया है। ऐसी परिस्थिति में मैं नहीं समझ सकता कि किस तरह से कोई कह सकता है कि दाम बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं। अगर काफी समय तक हम इसी तरह से चलते रहे तो निश्चय ही दाम धीरे धीरे गिरते ही चले जायेंगे।

अंत में मुझे एक बात की ओर विशेष रूप से सरकार का ध्यान दिलाना है और वह शरणार्थी समस्या की ओर है। एक मिनट में इस बारे में जो कुछ निवेदन मुझे करना है, वह कर दूंगा। पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से आये लोगों की शरणार्थी समस्या दिन पर दिन बढ़ती चली जा रही है। इसके ऊपर बहुत कुछ कहा जा सकता है, लेकिन समय के अभाव से नहीं कह सकता, परन्तु पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से ज्यादा से ज्यादा तादाद में लोगों का आना फिर शुरू हो गया है, इस पर हमें चुप नहीं बैठना चाहिये। एक बड़ी चिन्ता उत्पन्न करने वाली बात जो यह है कि मैंने परसों ही अखबार में पढ़ा कि हिन्दुस्तानियों के पांच, छः बड़े बड़े कारखाने बिना किसी खास वजह से बन्द किये जा रहे हैं और इससे बड़ी भयानक परिस्थिति उत्पन्न होती जा रही है। मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि सरकार की ओर से इस बात के ऊपर कुछ रोशनी डाली जाय कि क्या कारण है, जो पश्चिम पाकिस्तान में डालमिया जैन के तथा पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में और पांच छः कारखाने, जिनका

नाम आपने अखबारों में पढ़ा होगा, सरकार अपने कब्जे में करने जा रही है। उप-सभापति महोदय, मुझे मालूम हुआ है कि हमारे हाई कमिश्नर जो पाकिस्तान में रहते हैं वह यहां आये हुए हैं। मैं सरकार से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि यदि उनसे सच्ची परिस्थिति का कुछ पता लग सके तो उस पर रोशनी डालें। हम लोग इससे बहुत ही चिंतित हैं।

[For English translation, see Appendix II, Annexure No. 22.]

SHRI CHANNA REDDY (Hyderabad): Mr. Deputy Chairman, as I have promised in the Sansad Hindi Parishad that I will make my maiden speech in Hindi, I should like to deliver my speech here in that form of Hindi to which I am accustomed.

श्री चन्ना रेड्डी (हैदराबाद) : मैं इस मुस्तसर समय में बहुत सारी बातों की चर्चा करने के बजाये जरूरी समझता हूं कि सिर्फ कंट्रोल पर कुछ कहूं, जो कि आजकल का बहुत बड़ा प्राबल्य है और जिस बारे में हमारी गवर्नमेंट ने सालों के बाद एक अच्छा स्टेप उठाया है और जिसके लिये हम तमाम लोग, जो कंट्रोल से बेजार ह, मुबारकबाद दिये बिना नहीं रह सकते।

सर, अपोजिट साइड (opposite side) से कई मेम्बरों ने मुख्तलिफ किस्म के एतराजात, जो डीकंट्रोल की ओर गवर्नमेंट का ख़ान है, उसके बारे में किये ह। किसी एक मेम्बर ने इसके बारे में यह कहा है कि "it is certainly a departure from the controlled economy to which we are wedded" मेरे ख़्याल में हमने अपने को कभी कंट्रोल्ड एकानामी के साथ वैडेड नहीं किया है। हमने कई दफ़ा कहा है कि हमारी जो एकानामी है, वह मिक्स्ड एकानामी (mixed economy) है। इसके अलावा अगर हम कंट्रोल्ड एकानामी को ही फालो (follow) करते हैं तो भी क्या यह जरूरी हो जाता है कि हम उस

एकानामी में अगर नष्ट हों तब भी उसी एकानामी को फालो करते रहें। मैं खाद्य मंत्री, (वज़ीर खुराक) को मुबारकबाद देता हूं कि उन्होंने ने एक बहतरीन स्टेप (step) उठाया और डीकंट्रोल किया। मेरा तो यह ख़्याल है कि इस कंट्रोल से किसी को फ़ायदा नहीं हुआ है। इसकी तारीख है रिश्तसतानी, सफ़ा चरित्र है ब्लैकमार्केटिंग और करप्शन और दूसरी मलप्रेक्टिसेज (mal-practices)। इस कंट्रोल से न तो किसान खुश था, न प्रोड्यूसर (producer) खुश था और न कंज्यूमर (consumer) खुश था। किसान की शिकायत यह थी कि हमारे यहां से गल्ला कम दामों में लिया जाता है और शहरों में पब्लिक को सप्लाई किया जाता है और शहरों में रहने वाले कंज्यूमर्स को यह शिकायत थी और अब भी है कि उन्हें नाकाफी मिक्दार में गल्ला फराहम किया जाता है। मर्चेंट्स (merchants) को, गरीबों को, दौलतमंदों को, सब को शिकायत थी। बहरहाल कंट्रोल की वजह से पूरे मुल्क के गोशे गोशे में, हर इंसान को शिकायत थी। ऐसी चीज़ जिसके विषय में सब को ही शिकायत थी, अगर वह दूर की गई है तो हमको बधाई देना चाहिये और मैं उम्मीद करता हूं कि इस बधाई में हमारे अपोजीशन के आनरेबिल मेम्बर भी विदाउट ऐनी रिज़र्वेशन (without any reservation) हमारा साथ देंगे।

राजगोपालाचारी साहब जो हमारे सदर्न इंडिया (Southern India) के यकीनन एक बहुत बड़े लीडर हैं और जिनका सम्मान इतना ऊंचा है कि उसकी मिसाल कहीं नहीं मिल सकती, उनके बारे में कुछ ऐसे वैसे अल्फाज़ इस्तेमाल किये गये जो मैं समझता हूं कि ठीक नहीं हैं। मैं तो राजगोपालाचारी साहब के बड़प्पन का बड़ा कायल हूं। मद्रास में जहां डिफीशियेंसी है, वहां उसकी परवाह न करने दूये, लोगों के ख़यालात का सही तौर पर अंदाज़ा लगाते हुए उन्होंने डीकंट्रोल का स्टेप उठाया। यह बहुत ही बहादुराना बात है।

[Shri Channa Reddy.]

इस सिलसिले में मैं उनको अपनी श्रद्धांजली पेश करता हूँ—He has led us light amidst the encircling gloom of rigid controls.

मिस्टर डिप्टी-चेयरमैन, इसके बाद मैं प्रोडक्शन के बारे में अपना विचार प्रस्तुत करना चाहता हूँ। प्रोडक्शन के बारे में बहुत कुछ कहा जाता है। एग्रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्ट्स, जिसके साथ मेरा बहुत ज्यादा सम्बन्ध रहा है, यानी ग्री मोर फूड के मुताल्लिक बहुत कुछ किया गया है और किया जा रहा है। सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट और स्टेट गवर्नमेंट दोनों में इसका एक अलग पोर्टफोलियो भी बना हुआ है। इसके बावजूद भी हम देखते हैं कि ग्री मोर फूड के सिलसिले में ऐसी तरक्की नहीं हुई जैसी कि होनी चाहिये। इसकी वजह सिवाय इसके और कुछ नहीं हो सकती कि हम ग्री मोर फूड के सिलसिले में अवाम में, मासेज में, वह जोश पैदा नहीं कर सके, वह इन्सेंटिव (incentive) और तगैका पैदा नहीं कर सके, जिसकी बिना पर प्रोडक्शन बहुत कुछ आगे बढ़े। सबसे बड़ा हिंडरेंस (hindrance), सबसे बड़ी रुकावट जो थी वह कंट्रोल थी। अब मुझे उम्मीद है कि चूंकि कंट्रोल निकल गया है इसलिये किसानों की दिलचस्पी बढ़ेगी और वे इन्सेंटिव (incentive) महसूस करेंगे और अब हमारा ग्री मोर फूड कम्पेन पहले से ज्यादा सक्सेसफुल (successful) रहेगा।

जहां तक मेरी महदूद नालेज है, लिमिटेड नालेज (limited knowledge) है, मैं उसकी बिना पर समझता हूँ कि फिर मुल्क में एक ऐसा स्लम्प (slump) आ रहा है जैसा कि १९२९ में आया था। अगर यही सही है तो मैं कहना है कि किसानों के इन्सेंटिव को बरकरार रखने के लिये यह जरूरी है कि गवर्नमेंट की जानिव से उनको मिनिमम प्राइस (minimum price) की गारंटी दी जाय। यह उनकी डिमांड है और बज्जा डिमांड है और इस पर सरकार को ध्यान देना चाहिये।

जमींदारी तो खत्म हो गई, फ्यूडलिज्म (feudalism) तो खत्म हो गया, इसके मुताल्लिक किसी को सुधार नहीं हो सकता। अगर कोई करते हैं तो वे अपने और उद्देश्य को, मकसद को, पूरा करने के वास्ते ऐसा करते हैं, लेकिन हकीकत में वैसा नहीं है। आज मुल्क में किसी जगह पुराने जमाने में जैसी जमींदारी थी वैसी नहीं रही है, अब वैसा फ्यूडलिज्म भी नहीं है लेकिन अब बड़े बड़े पट्टेदारों और बिग लैंड होल्डर्स का सवाल है। बिग लैंड होल्डर्स के सम्बन्ध में हमारी गवर्नमेंट की पालिसी क्लीयर (clear) नहीं है। इस बारे में सारे हिन्दुस्तान के लिये हमारी एक यूनीफार्म (uniform) पालिसी होनी चाहिये। अगर हम जरूरी समझते हैं कि होल्डिंग की सीलिंग कर दी जाय, जो सरप्लस जमीन हो उसे बांटा जाय, तो मेरा कहना यह है कि वह जल्द हो। बजाय इसके कि किसान को सस्पेंस (suspense) में रखा जाये, जल्दी से जल्दी हमारी पालिसी का ऐलान हो और उस पर जल्दी से जल्दी अमल हो। आज किसानों के अन्दर सस्पेंस की हालत है, वे यह समझ नहीं रहे हैं कि उनके पास कितनी जमीन रहेगी और उनका क्या हथ होगा। इस सस्पेंस की हालत को कंटीन्यू (continue) करने से, मैं समझता हूँ, बहुत खतरनाक नतायज पैदा होंगे।

इसके बाद मैं काटेज इंडस्ट्री के बारे में बोलना चाहता हूँ, जिसका ताल्लुक किसानों से, गरीबों से और रूरल जिंदगी से है। यह कहा जाता है कि बड़ी पट्टेदारी या जमींदारी के खत्म करने से मुल्क में बहुत कुछ सुधार हो जायगा और किसानों की हालत धीरे-धीरे तरक्की करती जायगी, लेकिन मेरा खयाल है कि इससे बेहतर हालत तो जरूर होगी, लेकिन देहातों में जो गुरबत है वह उस वक्त तक दूर नहीं की जा सकती, जब तक कि पेशे जराबत पर जो प्रेशर (pressure) है, जमीन पर जो बोझ है,

उसको कम न किया जाय । It will have to be diluted and diverted to some other profession. इसको करने का एक साधन यह है कि यहां पर हम इंडस्ट्री को बढ़ायें । बिग इंडस्ट्रीज या हाई पावर इंडस्ट्रीज तो हम कायम नहीं कर सकते क्योंकि हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति इस काबिल नहीं है । तो फिर काटेज इंडस्ट्री को बढ़ावा देने की बात ही रह जाती है । इस जानिब सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट और तमाम स्टेट गवर्नमेंट की तबज्जह रही है, लेकिन इस सिलसिले में वह तरक्की नहीं हुई जैसी कि होनी चाहिये । इसकी क्या वजह है ? जैसा कि एक आनरेबिल फ्रेंड ने इसी सिलसिले में फरमाया था कि जब तक काटेज इंडस्ट्री के प्रोडक्शन का स्फेयर (sphere) और हाई पावर इंडस्ट्री के प्रोडक्शन का स्फेयर अलग अलग न बना दें, अर्थात् काटेज इंडस्ट्री को हाई पावर इंडस्ट्री के साथ कम्पीटीशन में न आने दें और उसका मौक़ा न दें, उस वक्त तक काटेज इंडस्ट्री तरक्की नहीं कर सकती । इसके अलावा सरकार को इस बात पर भी ध्यान देना चाहिये कि काटेज इंडस्ट्री और हाई पावर इंडस्ट्री के दमियान में एक किस्म का कोऑर्डिनेशन भी किया जाय । मसलन बाइसिकिल की इंडस्ट्री है । यह हाई पावर इंडस्ट्री है, लेकिन बाइसिकिल के बनाने में एक सौ से ज्यादा पुर्जें लगते हैं । उन पुर्जों में से बाज़ पुर्जें काटेज इंडस्ट्री के पैमाने पर तैयार किये जा सकते हैं । तो सरकार को चाहिये कि वह ऐसा आदेश कर दे कि वे पुर्जें सिर्फ़ काटेज इंडस्ट्री में ही तैयार हों । ऐसी सूरत में काटेज इंडस्ट्री को सही मानों में इंसेंटिव मिलेगा और उसके लिये कोई कम्पीटीशन बिग इंडस्ट्रीज से नहीं रहेगा और वह कार्फ़ तरक्की कर सकेगी ।

[For English translation see Appendix II, Annexure No. 23.]

SHRI P SUNDARAYYA (Madras) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the Leader of the Council said that he was not satisfied with the way in which the genral discussion was proceeding. But what could we do about it ? The Government, backed by its majority, refuses to entertain any of our suggestions either on broad principles or on points of detail. We have been asking in both Houses that economies should be adopted in expenditure, that Defence expenditure must be cut down and that more money should be spent on education and social security services, but the Government refuse to accept our suggestions. Many concrete suggestions have been offered but the Government do not [incorporate them in the Budget. For instance, take the question of salaries.* We have been pressing that the salaries that are being paid to the higher officials and the Ministers are too high and we suggested that the salary paid to any official should not exceed Rs. 1,000. But the Government do not do it.

Take again the housing problem. Everyone knows that in India the working classes, the working classes in the villages also, are living in slums. Once the Prime Minister said that he was horrified by the slums and said he would burn them down, but before they are burnt down, other decent houses for the working classes must be built. The provision made in this respect is very meagre. Let alone the general mass of the people, even the Government employees, even the employees of the Central Government are not having adequate housing accommodation. In answer to one of the questions in the House of the People, it was given out that fifty thousand employees of the Central Government in Delhi are on the waiting list for accommodation. I do not know how many years more it would take for them to get accommodation. Meanwhile, the Government do not make any effort to make an equitable allotment of the accommodation that they have got. Ministers and big officers have got bungalows which I have many rooms. Why should not a rule be made that no one should have

[Shri P. Sundarayya.]

more than three rooms and the remaining rooms distributed among the employees who do not have any housing accommodation ? But the Government do not do it.

Take again the question of decontrol. A decontrol policy has been announced against the declared intention of the Government earlier and against the declared policy of the National Planning Commission also. This has been brought about by the executive after consulting each provincial Government, as if the House of the People and the Council of States do not exist. What is the resulting position today ? Take surplus districts in Andhra, the Godavari and Krishna Districts. Before decontrol, one bag of paddy of two railway maunds used to sell at Rs. 17 to Rs. 20. Today it is selling at Rs. 28 to Rs. 30, an increase of almost 66 per cent., and this in the month of July. The acute months of September, October are still to come and the price will go up still further, but the Government says that this food decontrol policy has been a success. The only interpretation that could be given is that the Government is absolving itself of the responsibility of feeding the people. Otherwise it cannot be explained in any other way. It allows the landlords to sell grains at a very high price and the people have to buy their grains at that price. When people are unable to buy, there will be starvation, and that is why we are saying that the decontrol was a mistake. What is happening in West Bengal ? There is so much scarcity there that people go on hunger marches before the Assembly. They are tear-gassed, lathi-charged. The police are used to disperse them. Is this the policy that the Government want to continue ? On the basis of such decontrol, are you going to build up an industrialised India, a happy India ? You will never be able to do it.

Now, Sir, I come to the Budget and the way it has been prepared. A budget should be prepared in such a way that people can understand how much is being spent on the essential needs of j

the people, how much on the social security services, how much is being spent on the Police, Defence, the general administration, etc. Take for instance here the many items in the Budget which go to the Police, the Defence Forces, to the administration of justice, etc. These are put in such a way that the people cannot find out. Take the tribal areas. Rs. 2,92,00,000 are earmarked for tribal areas, but Rs. 2,50,00,000 are spent on the tribal constabulary, and this Rs. 2,50,00,000 have been accounted for as expenditure on the tribal areas, as if this amount is being given to the uplift of the tribal people. Not at all. Similarly, take the case of States. For the States, certain amounts have been allotted, but 25 to 30 per cent, of that is being spent on the police in those States. This is not the way to prepare a Budget. A budget must be prepared in such a way that the people can readily understand what money is being spent on the essential needs of the people, social insurance, the police, law and order, etc.

Similarly, take the question of the items of revenues. For revenues also figures have been placed before us, but we do not know how much is being collected from each class of people. If this were to be done, it can clearly be brought out that most of our revenues come from the mass of the people and only a small proportion is being borne by the richer classes, the big landlords and the big capitalists. It is only a budget presented in this way that the people can understand easily.

We are making all these suggestions but the Government backed by its majority refuse to accept any of our suggestions. They have not accepted any of the suggestions made by us earlier in our cut motions, etc. and there is no use bringing in fresh recommendations in the Council of States when we know that the Government is not prepared to listen to our suggestions. Sir, I have done.

SHRI D. NARAYAN (Bombay) :

श्री डी० नारायण (बम्बई) : श्रीमान्
चेयरमैन साहब, मुझसे पहिले बहुत से व्यक्ति

इस सदन में अन्न के बारे में कह रहे थे। बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि इस समस्या की ओर इस सदन का और देश का ध्यान आकर्षित हुआ है। इस अन्न के सवाल से हमारे देश का एम्प्लायमेंट (employment) और अन-एम्प्लायमेंट का सवाल सम्बद्ध है। अगर हमारे पास पैसा है तो हम अन्न खरीद सकते हैं और अगर पैसा नहीं है तो हम अन्न नहीं खरीद सकते हैं। चाहे आप गाँव में जायें और चाहे आप शहरों में जायें, जिस जगह भी आप जायें आपको बेकारी ही दिखलाई देगी।

कहा जाता है कि इस मुल्क में ३॥ करोड़ बेकार और बेरोजगार आदमी हैं। अब आप ही बतलाइये कि इन ३॥ करोड़ बेकार आदमियों को किस प्रकार से काम दिया जा सकता है और कौन सा काम दिया जा सकता है। हमारा खास उद्योग खेती है। खेती का उद्योग भी ऐसा है कि जो खेतों में काम करने वाले हैं उन्हें १२ महीने काम नहीं मिलता है। वर्ष में चार पांच महीने ऐसे होते हैं जिसमें कि किसानों को और खेतों में काम करने वाले मजदूरों को बेकार रहना पड़ता है। हमारे और उद्योगों को ले लीजिये। जुलाहों को ले लीजिये। इस समय हर प्रान्त से यह आवाज आ रही है कि जुलाहे सब बेकार होते जा रहे हैं। शायद आप ने हाल ही में पत्रों में पढ़ा होगा कि राजाजी ने अपने एक भाषण में, जो उन्होंने मद्रास में दिया था, कहा कि इस मुल्क के जुलाहों की रक्षा कीजिये हमारे देश में जो छोटे-छोटे उद्योग हैं उनकी हालत इस समय बहुत ही दयनीय है और यह असम्भव नहीं कि अगर उनको कोई सहारा नहीं दिया गया तो वे खत्म ही हो जायेंगे। हमारे देश का बहुत पुराना धरेलू उद्योग तेलघानी आज बहुत ही बुरी हालत में है। एक तरह से वह खत्म ही हो गया है। उसी तरह से जो चमड़े का उद्योग था, वह भी खत्म होता जा

रहा है और जो बड़ी-बड़ी फैक्टरियां इस देश के अन्दर खुल गई हैं उन्होंने उसको मार दिया है। हमारे डाल्टा ने हमारे किसानों का दूध और घी का धन्धा बिल्कुल ही खत्म कर दिया है। इस तरह से हमारे देश के अन्दर जो छोटे छोटे उद्योग थे वे धीरे धीरे खत्म होते जा रहे हैं। इस समय हमारी सरकार की एक बड़ी जिम्मेदारी यह हो जाती है कि वह इन उद्योगों को बचाने के लिये जल्दी से जल्दी कोई आवश्यक कार्यवाही करे। अगर वह इस तरह की कोई कार्यवाही नहीं करेगी तो इससे सारे देश में बीमारी फैल जायेगी, जो अपना असर सारे क्षेत्रों में फैला देगी—वह बीमारी है बेरोजगारी की। अगर हम इस बेरोजगारी की समस्या को अच्छी तरह से हल नहीं करते तो यह देश सुरक्षित नहीं रह सकता है और उसके लिये एक खतरा पैदा हो जायेगा। मुल्क की सुरक्षा के लिये बेकारी को मुल्क में बढ़ाना एक खतरा मोल लेना होगा। यह सब बीमारियों से बड़ी बीमारी है।

हम कहते हैं कि उद्योगों को, इन्डस्ट्री को बढ़ाना चाहिये; मगर मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप कितनी ही इन्डस्ट्री को क्यों न बढ़ायें, हमारा यह मसला हल होने वाला नहीं है। आप कहते हैं कि दो-चार वर्षों के भीतर देश में काफ़ी इन्डस्ट्री बढ़ गई है, मगर मैं आप से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इन इन्डस्ट्रियों के बढ़ने से कितने मजदूरों को और कितने आदमियों को काम मिल गया है। जो मजदूर आजकल मिलों और कारखानों में काम कर रहे हैं, उनकी संख्या २४ लाख से ज्यादा नहीं है। चन्द करोड़ों में २४ लाख आदमियों को काम मिल गया तो क्या हुआ। यह तो बहुत ही कम संख्या हुई। अगर आप ने कुछ इन्डस्ट्री को बढ़ा कर दो चार लाख आदमियों को काम वे भी दिया तो इससे करोड़ों आदमियों की जो समस्या इस समय बनी हुई है वह तो हल नहीं हो सकती है।

[Shri D. Narayan]

में कल ही फरीदाबाद गया था। वहां पर जो नया शहर बसा है उसकी आबादी २६ हजार तक की है। उसमें से करीब १५ हजार आदमी काम पर लगे हुए हैं। इन २६ हजार आदमियों में से सिर्फ १५ हजार आदमियों को काम मिल सका है जबकि उस पर करीब दो और ३ करोड़ रुपया खर्च किया गया है। मेरा सरकार से यह कहना है कि जब तक इस समस्या की ओर विशेष तौर से ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता, तब तक हमारे देश की शान्ति और सुरक्षा ठीक नहीं रहेगी। प्लानिंग कमीशन को जितना ध्यान इस ओर देना चाहिये था, उतना ध्यान उसने नहीं दिया है। वह यह नहीं समझता है कि यह काम आज मुल्क के उद्योगों में है।

कहा जाता है कि उद्योगों को बढ़ाया जाय, ग्राम-उद्योगों को बढ़ाया जाय। मैं आपसे पूछता हूँ कि जब तक आप ग्राम-उद्योगों को फैक्टरियों के कम्पीटीशन (competition) से बचाने के लिये कोई कार्रवाई नहीं करते हैं, तब तक ग्राम-उद्योगों में आप किसी तरह की भी तरक्की नहीं कर सकते हैं। आप तो ग्राम-उद्योगों को मिल और फैक्टरियों के कम्पीटीशन से बचाने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं और उस पर आप कहते हैं कि ग्राम-उद्योगों को बढ़ाना चाहिये। प्लानिंग कमीशन ने भी इस उद्योग के लिये अपनी रिपोर्ट में कुछ भी नहीं किया है। आपने बजट को तो देखा ही होगा, उसमें ग्राम-उद्योगों के लिये सिर्फ २० लाख रुपया रक्खा गया है। इतने करोड़ रुपये के बजट में सिर्फ २० लाख रुपया रक्खा गया है! आप ही बतलाइये कि इतने करोड़ आदमियों को रोज़ी देने का सवाल है, जिसको आप सब लोग मानते हैं। ग्राम-उद्योग ही एक ऐसा जरिया है कि जिसके द्वारा हम लाखों आदमियों को उद्योग दे सकते हैं और हमारी सरकार ने इस काम के लिये सिर्फ २० लाख रुपया ही रक्खा है। प्लानिंग कमीशन ने

भी बड़े बड़े उद्योगों के लिये ८० करोड़ रुपया रक्खा है और ग्राम-उद्योग और छोटे उद्योगों के लिये सिर्फ १५ करोड़ रुपया रक्खा गया है। जैसा कि मैंने अभी कहा कि बड़े उद्योगों के लिये ८० करोड़ रुपया रक्खा गया है, तो आप इससे कितने आदमियों को काम दिला सकते हैं? १५ करोड़ में आप ८० करोड़ से १० गुना ज्यादा लोगों को काम दे सकते हैं। परन्तु इस मामले में हमारी सरकार की नीति जितनी स्पष्ट होनी चाहिये, उतनी नहीं है।

मैं सरकार से प्रार्थना करूँगा कि सरकार इस बारे में देश की मैन-पावर (man power) को देखकर फैसला करे। जब तक हम अपनी मैन-पावर को देखकर अपनी आर्थिक व्यवस्था को नहीं बनायेंगे, तब तक हम इस मुल्क में जो चाहेंगे वह नहीं कर सकेंगे। आज हमारे देहातों की और गांवों की हालत क्या है? कांग्रेस ने अपने मनीफेस्टो (manifesto) में लिखा था कि हम इस ओर खासतौर से ध्यान देंगे कि "पढ़े लिखे लोगों को, बेरोजगारों को उद्योगों की तरफ लगाया जायेगा"। अगर आप कभी किसी एम्प्लायमेंट एक्सचेंज में जायें, तो आपको पता चलेगा कि वहां पर हर महीने कितने मैट्रीक्यूलेट अपने नाम नौकरी के लिये रजिस्टर कराते हैं और कितनों को अब तक नौकरी मिली है। हमारी युनिवर्सिटियों में इस समय विद्यार्थियों का मास प्रोडक्शन हो रहा है। हम मास प्रोडक्शन के इच्छुक हैं मगर हम यह बात नहीं सोच रहे हैं कि इन लोगों का आखिर में क्या किया जायेगा। अगर यही हाल भविष्य में रहा तो हमारे लाखों नौजवान बेकार होते जायेंगे। हमारे विरोधी पक्ष के लोग भी कहते हैं कि मास प्रोडक्शन होना चाहिये और वह भी इस बात को नहीं सोचते हैं कि देश में किस तरह से बेरोजगारी बढ़ती जा रही है। वे लोग यूथ आर्गनाइजेशन (youth organisation) की बात करते हैं मगर वे कभी भी इस बात का

खयाल नहीं करते हैं कि यूथ की इस समय देश में यह हालत हो रही है। तो मैं सरकार से यह प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह इस ओर अवश्य और शीघ्र ध्यान दे। जब तक आप उनका प्रश्न हल नहीं करेंगे तब तक आप उनकी सहानुभूति प्राप्त नहीं कर सकते हैं।

मैं सरकार से फिर प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह सबसे पहिले इस बेरोजगारी के मसले की ओर ध्यान दे। यह कोई छोटा सा मसला नहीं है। यह करोड़ों लोगों का मसला है। जब तक आप इसको अच्छी तरह से हल नहीं करते, तब तक देश में शान्ति और सुख नहीं हो सकता है।

दूसरी बात जो मुझे आपके सामने कहनी है, वह ग्री मोर फूड के बारे में कहनी है। इस विषय में जो कुछ हो रहा है वह एक विचित्र सा मालूम पड़ता है। यह देश ऐसा अभाग्य है कि इस देश के किसी न किसी हिस्से में अकाल पड़ता ही रहता है। हमारे प्रान्त से अभी खबर आई है कि वहाँ बहुत दिनों से वर्षा नहीं हुई है। वहाँ सब जगह सूखा पड़ गया है। लोग गाँवों को छोड़ कर शहर की तरफ चले आ रहे हैं। हम इस ग्री मोर फूड के सिलसिले में जो भी योजनाएँ बना रहे हैं, जो भी रिवर वैली (river valley) का काम कर रहे हैं, उनको इस तरह से बनाना चाहिये, जिससे कि हर प्रान्त को, जो उसकी आवश्यकता है, वह मिल जाय। यह न हो कि किसी प्रान्त में पानी की आवश्यकता है, तो उस प्रान्त में पानी का कोई प्रबन्ध ही न किया जाय और जहाँ पर पानी का काफ़ी प्रबन्ध है, वहाँ पर पानी की व्यवस्था की जाय। अन्न के बारे में हर क्षेत्र की ज़रूरत इन योजनाओं द्वारा पूरी की जानी चाहिये। तब ही हम अपनी अन्न की समस्या को हर प्रान्त में पूरी कर सकते हैं।

मुझे इस बारे में एक और भी सुझाव सरकार को देना है, वह यह है कि हम पानी के

बारे में जो योजनाएँ बना रहे हैं और कर रहे हैं, उसमें देहातों और जिलों की ज़रूरत का ध्यान रख कर प्रबन्ध किया जाना चाहिये ताकि हर जिला और प्रान्त अन्न के बारे में पूर्ण हो जाय। बस मुझे इतना ही कहना था। धन्यवाद।

[For English translation, see Appen dix II, Annexure No. 24.]

SHRIMATI SAVITRY NIGAM (Uttar Pradesh)

श्रीमती सावित्री निगम (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
चेयरमैन महोदय, देश की मौजूदा स्थिति और रिसोर्सेस (resources) के अनुसार हमारे देश का वर्तमान बजट प्रशंसनीय और सर्वांगपूर्ण है। इसके लिये मैं ही नहीं कहती बल्कि देश-विदेशों से भी हमारे माननीय मंत्री तथा हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी को बधाई मिल चुकी है। इस एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल का समर्थन करते हुए मैं भी उन्हें एक बार अपनी ओर से बधाई देना चाहती हूँ। किन्तु हमारे देश में अभी कुछ ऐसी परिस्थिति है, जिसकी ओर अधिक ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है, जैसे इन्फ्लेमेशन और रेडियो विभाग को ही ले लीजिये।

हमारे इस देश में, जिसके सामाजिक ढाँचे की नींव में हजारों सूरख हो चुके हैं, जिसके आर्थिक शरीर का रक्त बड़े-बड़े अजगर चूस-चूस कर मोटे पड़ रहे हैं, इतना ही नहीं, जिसके राजनीतिक ढाँचे में ब्रिटिश तानाशाही के अवशेष अफसर भ्रष्टाचार, लापरवाही तथा लाल फीते द्वारा अच्छी से अच्छी योजनाओं को असफल बनाने में जुटे हों, नव-निर्माण का कार्य अत्यन्त दुर्लभ हो रहा है। इसलिये मैं प्रार्थना करूँगी, अपने अर्थ-मंत्री जी से कि वह इस रेडियो और सूचना विभाग को अधिक धन, अधिक अधिकार तथा शक्ति द्वारा अत्यधिक उपयोगी और सक्ति बनायें, क्योंकि इस विभाग की सफलता पर स्वास्थ्य, शिक्षा तथा कानून और अन्य सभी विभागों के कार्यों की सफलता बहुत कु निर्भर करती है। आजकल ऐसी हास्यास्पद स्थिति

[Shrimati Savitry Nigam.]

हो रही है कि जब शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य, कानून या अन्य कोई विभाग बड़ी कोशिश, छानबीन और जांच-पड़ताल के बाद जनता तथा देश के हित के लिये कोई योजना, नियम या कानून बड़े यत्नों से तैयार कर पाता है तो फिर उसे कोई ग्रहण करके बलात् लागू और चालू करने वाला नहीं दिखाई देता। वर्षों पहिले के पास हुए कानून भी अभी लागू नहीं हो रहे हैं। हमारी योजनाएँ ऐसी अच्छी हैं जो कि सचमुच देश का पुनरुद्धार कर दें। पर उनसे लाभ उठाने वालों में अशिक्षा, अज्ञान, अन्धविश्वास के कारण इतनी ताव नहीं कि उन्हें ग्रहण करें, उनका महत्व समझें। इसलिये सब कुछ बेकार हो जायेगा और असम्भव हो जायेगा, जब तक कि रेडियो और सूचना-विभाग अपने शंखनाद, अपने प्रचार द्वारा देश के कोने कोने में जागरण-गीत, निर्माण-सन्देश भेजना न प्रारम्भ कर दें।

दूसरा सुझाव मुझे इसके बारे में यह देना है कि हमारे सूचना-विभाग के मंत्री को हर स्टेट के इन्फार्मेशन विभाग के लिये यह डाइ-रेक्टिव भेजना चाहिये कि वे म्युनिसिपल बोर्ड तथा डिस्ट्रिक्ट बोर्ड तथा गांवों की पुलिस चौकियों में रेडियो सैट लगवा दें, ताकि उससे हमारे देश की जितनी भी कार्यवाही होती है, जनता उसके बारे में जान सके कि हमारे देश में क्या क्या हो रहा है। उन लोगों के लिये विशेष प्रकार का प्रोग्राम बनाया जाना चाहिये, जिसमें उनको बतलाया जाना चाहिये कि उनकी सरकार उनकी भलाई के लिये और देश की भलाई के लिये क्या कार्य करने जा रही है और क्या क्या काम अभी तक कर लिया गया है। स्वास्थ्य, सफ़ाई, खेती, ग्राम-उद्योग तथा गांव की उन्नति के अतिरिक्त तमाम सूचनाएँ जो देश के हर नागरिक को मिलनी चाहियें, देना आवश्यक होगा, जैसे अधिक अन्न कैसे उपजाया जाय, अन्न का संग्रह करना क्यों आवश्यक है।

इसी प्रकार इन्फार्मेशन डिपार्टमेंट का काम आवश्यक है। इस विभाग की स्थिति में सुधार की अत्यन्त आवश्यकता है। अभी जो कार्य हो रहा है, वह लगभग इतना कम है कि नहीं के बराबर है यदि यह विभाग उन्नतिशील देशों के तमाम उद्योग-धन्धों, कार्य-प्रणाली, शिक्षा-पद्धति, स्वास्थ्यवर्धक भोजन, नियम तथा ढंग, खेती के वैज्ञानिक नियमों और तरीकों पर छोटी छोटी पुस्तिकाएँ लिखवा सके, तो देश के निर्माण-कार्य में बड़ी सहायता मिल सकेगी। इसी प्रकार अपने देश में बनने वाली योजनाओं, नियमों और कानूनों तथा जनता को उनसे होने वाले लाभों का पूर्ण रूप से वर्णन करके छोटी-छोटी पुस्तिकाएँ प्रकाशित करना भी अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। हर सरकारी संस्थाओं में इन पुस्तिकाओं को भेजा जाना चाहिये, जिससे कम से कम शिक्षित लोगों की तो जानकारी बढ़ सके। इस प्रकार लोगों में यह विश्वास भरा जा सकेगा कि सरकार किसी को भूखा, नंगा तथा अशिक्षित न रहने देगी, यदि जनता भी स्वयं प्रयत्नशील रहे। दूसरी बात मुझे देश के साहित्यकारों के बारे में कहनी है। हमारे इस विभाग को उनकी हर तरह से मदद करनी चाहिये। आज हमारे साहित्यकारों की बहुत गिरी हुई हालत है। कभी-कभी तो उन्हें भूखा भी मरना पड़ता है। उनकी हमारी सरकार को हर तरह से सहायता करनी चाहिये। सूचना-विभाग को प्रतियोगिताओं और पुरस्कारों द्वारा लेखकों को उत्साहित करके साहित्य भी लिखवाना चाहिये, जो देश की तमाम भयानक कुप्रथाओं, कुरीतियों तथा बन्धनों को तोड़ दे; जो आज हमारे निर्माण-कार्य में तथा विकास-पथ में बड़े बड़े रोड़े का काम कर रही है। इस समुदाय को अच्छी स्थिति प्राप्त करने में सरकार हर तरह की मदद कर सकती है और उसको करनी चाहिये।

एक बात मुझे इस सम्बन्ध में और कहनी है कि हमारे इन्फार्मेशन विभाग के लिये प्रत्येक स्टेट में हर जिले में एक या दो पब्लिसिटी वैन होने चाहियें और उनके पास मैजिक लैंटर्न, स्वास्थ्य, खाद्य और शिक्षा सम्बन्धी पुस्तकें हों, जिन्हें कि वे ग्रामों में वितरित करें और एक गायक और एक व्याख्यानकर्ता को लेकर ग्रामों में जाकर अपने देश के बारे में वहाँ के निवासियों को जानकारी प्राप्त करावें। ग्रामवासियों को सामाजिक, नैतिक तथा स्वास्थ्य सम्बन्धी शिक्षा देने का कार्य तुरन्त प्रारम्भ कर देना चाहिये। जब तक हम लोग अपने देश के इन ग्रामों में जागृति फैलाने की चेष्टा नहीं करेंगे, तब तक हमारा कोई भी प्रोग्राम सफलता नहीं प्राप्त कर सकेगा।

अभी हमारे बहुत से साथियों ने इस बात पर प्रकाश डाला है कि हमारे देश में बेरोजगारी को दूर करने के लिये उपाय होना चाहिये। सचमुच देश की बेरोजगारी बहुत ही घातक है, परन्तु मैं एक बात पर विशेष ध्यान दिलाना चाहती हूँ और जोर डालूंगी कि पुरुषों की बेरोजगारी से अधिक घातक स्त्रियों की बेरोजगारी है। इसलिये मैं प्रार्थना करूंगी कि काटेज इंडस्ट्री के अन्तर्गत जितने इंडस्ट्रियल होम्स (Industrial Homes) बनाये जायें, उनमें कुछ विशेष मात्रा में स्त्रियों के लिये इंडस्ट्रियल होम्स बनाये जाने चाहियें, जिसमें कि विशेष रूप से स्त्रियाँ एम्प्लायमेंट (employment) पा सकें। आपको मालूम होगा कि बेरोजगारी, भूख, बेवसी और परवशता के कारण आजकल वेश्यावृत्ति की कुप्रथा कितनी ज़ोरों से बढ़ती जा रही है। आपको मालूम होगा कि भारत की नारियों ने ही अपने स्नेहांचल की छाया में राम और बापू को जन्म दिया और भारतियों में ही सीता और पद्मिनी जैसी सती-साध्वी माताओं ने जन्म लिया है और ऊँचे से ऊँचे सतीत्व के सिद्धान्त को जन्म दिया है। परन्तु आज कभी-कभी नारी पेट के लिये इतनी विवश

हो जाती है कि उसे अपनी और अपने हृदय के टुकड़े की भूख को मिटाने के लिये अपने शरीर को बेचने पर तत्पर होना पड़ता है। तो मैं सोचती हूँ कि जितना अधिक सोसाइटी की व्यवस्था के लिये घातक और नुकसानदेह हमारी स्त्रियों की बेरोजगारी साबित हो रही है, उतनी पुरुषों की नहीं हो रही है। इसलिये मैं कामर्स और इंडस्ट्री मिनिस्टर से प्रार्थना करूंगी कि जब इंडस्ट्रियल होम्स कायम करें तो कुछ इंडस्ट्रियल होम्स स्त्रियों के लिये बनायें, जहाँ शिक्षा पाने पर वे कुछ रोजगार पा सकें और उससे नारी जाति की रक्षा हो सके। इससे उन्हें इस नारकीय पेशे से भी छुटकारा मिलेगा और जो उनकी बेवसी और भूख से फ़ायदा उठा कर उनको धोका देते हैं और ऐसा व्यवसाय उनको करने पर मजबूर करते हैं और उनको इस प्रकार चुंगल में फंसा लेते हैं कि उनके लिये निकलना सम्भव नहीं रह जाता, उससे उनकी रक्षा होगी। वे कभी भी ऐसे नारकीय व्यवसाय को करने के लिये तैयार नहीं होतीं लेकिन यह उनकी विवशता है जो उनको उसके लिये विवश करती है।

12 noon

तीसरी बात जो मुझे कहनी है, वह अपने देश के माननीय ला मिनिस्टर महोदय से निवेदन करनी है। मैं ला मिनिस्टर महोदय से निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि हमारे कानूनों का घना उगा हुआ जो भद्दा जंगल है उसे ला रिवीजन कमीशन (Law Revision Commission) बना कर एक सुन्दर फ़ुलवाड़ी में परिवर्तित करने की कृपा करें। आपको मालूम होगा कि हमारे देश के जितने भी कानून हैं वे इतने अव्यवस्थित रूप से बने हुए हैं कि कहीं-कहीं जो एका कोर्ट का जजमेंट होता है वही कानून का रूप धारण कर लेता है और फिर वही दूसरे कोर्ट के जजमेंट के बिल्कुल विपरीत हो जाता है। इसलिये

[Shrimati Savitry Nigam]

ला रिवीजन कमीशन बनने की बहुत ही आवश्यकता है और यह शीघ्र ही बनना चाहिये। इस ला रिवीजन कमीशन में अच्छे अच्छे वकील, अनुभवी विचारक तथा योग्य जज होने चाहियें, जो कानूनों का निरीक्षण करें और उनको सुव्यवस्थित ढंग से इस प्रकार बनायें कि वे जनता के लिये अधिक से अधिक उपयोगी और लाभदायक सिद्ध हो सकें।

एक प्रार्थना में और करूंगी कि प्राथमिकता उन कानूनों को देनी चाहिये जो कि स्त्रियों से सम्बन्ध रखते हैं क्योंकि आप देखते हैं कि कानूनों के अभाव से ही नारी जाति का कितना पतन हो रहा है और समाज में उनकी क्या स्थिति हो रही है। आज उनकी आबादी आधी होते हुए भी हम अपनी बहनों के प्रतिनिधि के रूप में बहुत थोड़ी संख्या में यहां आ पाती हैं। यह सब हमारी उस गिरी हुई दशा का परिणाम है, जो कि कानूनों की खराबियों के कारण और अधिकारों की कमी होने के कारण उत्पन्न हुई है और जिसके कारण नारी जाति का इतना अहित होता आया है।

अब मुझे कुछ थोड़े से शब्द अपने विरोधी भाइयों से भी कहने हैं। मैंने देखा है कि विरोधी दल के भाई बड़ी तीव्र और कटु आलोचना करते हैं और ऐसे कर्णकटु शब्दों का प्रयोग करते हैं जिन्हें सुनने में बड़ी तकलीफ होती है। इसलिये मैं उनसे निवेदन करूंगी कि अगर उनकी बात में सच्चाई हो तो उनको इतने कटु शब्दों का प्रयोग करने की आवश्यकता न हो। मैं तो कहती हूं कि उनकी बातों में यदि दस प्रतिशत भी सत्य हो, तो उन्हें उस पैनी और तेज भाषा के अपशब्दों का प्रयोग न करना पड़े, जिनका प्रयोग उन्हें करना पड़ता है, क्योंकि सच्ची बात को कहने में यदि साधारण ढंग का भी प्रयोग किया जाय, तो वह बात हृदय अपील करती है। हमारे एक विरोधी दल

के वक्ता महोदय ने कहा था कि “ऋणकर्ता पिता शत्रु”। इस सम्बन्ध में बहुत थोड़े समय में मैं निवेदन करना चाहती हूं कि जिस समय यह नियम बना था, उस समय हमारे पिता और पितामह वृक्ष की छाल और पत्तों के कपड़े पहना करते थे परन्तु इस समय यह बात नहीं है। यदि स्पीकर महोदय को एक छोटा, उनकी पैदाइश के समय बना हुआ, कपड़ा अब पहनाया जाय, तो उन्हें तकलीफ होगी और कुर्ता फट जायेगा। इसी प्रकार यह नियम उस युग का है और उस नियम को इस समय देश के साथ लागू करना घातक होगा। मेरी उनसे प्रार्थना है कि वह अन्य उन्नतिशील देशों को देखें और मैं समझती हूं कि उनको आश्चर्य होगा कि कोई भी ऐसा देश नहीं है, जहां कि नवनिर्माण के लिये देश में कर्ज न लिया गया हो। कर्ज ले कर ही हर उन्नतिशील देश में निर्माण-कार्य किया गया है। इसलिये यदि हम कर्ज लेते हैं और उससे निर्माण-कार्य करते हैं, तो उन्हें चिन्ता नहीं होनी चाहिये। इसलिये मैं प्रार्थना करूंगी कि वे इस तरह की व्यर्थ की आलोचना में भाग न लिया करें, तो ज्यादा कल्याण कर सकेंगे।

[For English translation, see Appendix II, Annexure No. 25.]

SHRI TAJAMUL HUSAIN (Bihar): On a point of information, Sir. I want one information from you, Sir. The Chairman at 10 o'clock told the House that two hours have been allotted for discussion by the Members. Out of those two hours, Sir, half-an-hour was taken up by a Member of the Government, the Leader of the House. I want to know from you, Sir, whether that half-an-hour which was taken from us and given to Government could be given back to us.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Two days had been allotted. (Addressing the Minister for Finance) What time are you prepared to give?

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH: I am prepared to give fifteen minutes out of the half-an-hour, Sir.

SHRI P. V. NARAYAN A: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would like to say a few words about food or no food. Sir, the decontrol and derationing of food was implemented in the State of Madras. Of course, I am opposed to the very constitution of the Madras Government in the way as at present constituted. Whatever my views may be in respect of that Government, I congratulate the Chief Minister, Mr. Rajagopalachari, on the bold step that he has taken in introducing decontrol and derationing which was long overdue. The Madras Government miserably failed in the administration of controls and rationing and now decontrol and derationing is more dangerous and harmful to the people unless it is properly and effectively administered. We find from press reports that in Kistna District, paddy and rice prices have shot up by 10, 20, 30 and even 40%. When I left my place—of course my district is East Godavari—paddy and rice were freely available at rates less than the controlled price and better quality rice at controlled rates. The lean months have already commenced; till October we are not going to get the short-term crops, and unless proper arrangements are made by the Government in consultation with the Government of India there might be chaos and I hope the Central Government would advise the Madras Government to take effective steps. There are some other States, e.g., U.P., M.P., Orissa and Punjab where there seems to be only a sort of gradual decontrol but not full decontrol like Madras. One gentleman said that even prior to the elections the officials had planned for decontrol. I wonder why it could not have been implemented or at least an indication given just before the election because that would have helped a lot in the elections. I confess I am unable to understand the statement that the Government could not implement it because of the General Elections

As regards food grains, the Madras Government's annual requirement is about 78 to 80 lakh tons. The internal production being about 70 lakh tons, the deficit is only about 10% and even this is calculated on the accounts submitted by the *karnam*?. The highest per acre according to the village officials is only ten bags. In my district, in some of the delta areas, the highest is 22 or 23 bags and even then the average was given about 8 bags. On these accounts the requirement was eight million tons. The population of Kakinada was about a lakh but according to the rationing authorities, it was a lakh and thirty thousand and according to the account submitted by the *karnam* the highest yield is ten bags. Strictly speaking, there are sufficient quantities of food grains of all varieties. The scheme would work provided there is no hoarding, provided there is free flow and the new policy is administered properly and efficiently, and there will be a surplus as well. In the East Godavari District in Amalapur and Razole Taluqs there is no quick purchase of the grains because of lack of transport facilities due to insufficient water in the canals.

There are, of course, other deficit areas apart from Madras. Godavari river is one of the biggest which flows through East Godavari. If a dam were to be constructed at Polavaram, more than a million acres could be brought under cultivation and the present area given for second crop. Not only Madras and the whole of South India will be self-sufficient but large quantity of food grains could also be exported to other parts of Northern India, such as Bombay and other Provinces. Government should see that the Rampadasagar scheme is implemented. The detailed estimates have been completed and they are ready. It seems there is a tendency on the part of this Government, on the advice of the Madras Government, to first execute the Kistna-Pennar scheme. They want to take away the

water to a long area, to the other side of Madras without serving the local needs. It will be evaporated and there

[Shri P. V. Narayana.] will be a huge wastage of water. If that amount is invested in this scheme of Rampadasagar it would be more beneficial to the people and there will be no wastage of water. It will irrigate more acreage and the crop will be much more than what one can get under the Kistna-Pennar scheme. If the Nandikonda scheme were implemented there would be no wastage of water. For this, we have no objection. (*Time bell rings.*) I hope the Government will consider this.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I must apologise for having been unable to be present here throughout the discussion, but, as it happened, work in the two Houses clashed and I have just finished piloting a Bill in the other House. However, notes have been taken by my colleague here and during the course of my speech I shall try to deal with the more important points that were raised in the course of the debate.

I shall first deal with the observations that fell from the hon. Member opposite, Shri Reddy. It seems to me that he has a ready disposition to go on arguing still. I made a very categorical statement that this question of subsidies had not been considered for certain reasons, because of preoccupation with the elections and that it fell to be considered at the time when a Conference of Food Ministers was held. The fact is that even when, in normal years, a Conference takes place in November no final decision is taken over Budget matters because the final shape of the Budget does not become clear till a later date. So I can only repeat that there was no conscious intention of hiding anything from the electorate.

In regard to subsidies, Sir, although the Socialist Party has now decided to call a truce, apparently the hon. Member has not heard the retreat bugle and he is still wishing to carry on the fray and I must therefore place again certain fundamental facts before the House. One thing is that the withdrawal of

the subsidies was not to the extent imagined by hon. Members. In 1950-51 the subsidy paid was Rs. 20-33 crores. In 1951-52 we paid Rs. 36-66 crores plus the loss on the American wheat which amounted to a little over Rs. 10 crores. So it was Rs. 36 crores plus Rs. 10 crores; it may be about Rs. 50 crores. What we provided in this year's Budget was Rs. 15 crores plus Rs. 10 crores for minor irrigation works which was really subtracted from the subsidies plus Rs. 10 crores of the remaining part of the loss on the American wheat which would be debited to this year. So when hon. Members expressed a sense of grievance that we did not spread the process over years, my answer is that we did try to go half way and that the total subsidy that we provided for was more or less half of what was provided for last year. In my earlier speeches I had said that our difficulty was that we did not know what the extent of the distress was, although we were committed to taking action to mitigate the distress. Now those indications came to our hands a little later—the cost of living indices and so on. And when we discovered that the cost of living in certain cities, especially Bombay, had gone beyond our expectations—I am free to admit—then we decided to reduce the price of the American wheat in our hands. And we made a further reduction of 20 crores in addition, I think, by reducing the price of milo also by one or two rupees with the result that we are, I think, now selling milo at Rs. 11-8-0 which is more or less the price at which we sold it last year. Now this operation is not really increasing the subsidies. On the point of principle the Government still stands where it stood. But it just happens that we are holding large stocks and we are in a position to reduce the price in order to mitigate distress, as I said, at the cost of future development because the proceeds of the American wheat were intended to be used towards the implementing of the Plan.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY: May I ask for information, Sir? Would the hon. Minister tell us what is the in-

crease in the cost of living in Bangalore and Mysore towns due to the increase, by about 50 or 60 per cent, in the price of food grains ?

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH: I am sorry, Sir. I do not know whether cost of living indices are maintained for Bangalore and Mysore or, if they are maintained, whether they are published. I do not think they are published. I have got the cost of living indices for Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Kanpur and various other places, but I do not think there are published indices for Bangalore and Mysore.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY: Is he aware that there has been an increase of 50 to 60 per cent, in the price of food grains because of the abolition of the subsidy ?

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH: It is very probable, Sir. It all depends on • the price at which food grains were issued by, the State Government. What I am trying to point out is that the increase is not due to the withdrawal of the subsidy so much as our inability to find money for additional subsidies to* take care of the increase in prices that had taken place since last year. The American wheat which, I think, was landed here at Rs. 21 per maund last year cost us Rs. 24 per maund and therefore that meant raising by another Rs. 3 per maund. So on the basis of the figures of the previous year we might have to find—I think I have given the figure—if the issue price which is as low as it is in Bombay or perhaps in Bangalore had to be maintained over the whole of the country, that I said was clearly beyond our financial resources.

There was another point in regard to subsidies and that was that we made a special case of Travancore-Cochin only with reference to the elections. Now, that again is not true, because people in Travancore and Cochin must know that even in the previous year when there was no talk of elections we gave a subsidy of Rs. 2-25 crores and this year we raised it to Rs. 3 crores because

the prices had gone up. So the subsidy is generally on the same scale as before and Travancore continues to be special by virtue of the fact that it is very highly deficit so far as cereals are concerned, although it is able to supplement it by tapioca, fish and other articles of food. Now that is as much I need say in regard to subsidies in order to leave no doubt about Government's position.

Now, I shall deal with the various charges levelled by another hon. Member in somewhat violent terms. My only reply to him would be:

ददतु ददतु गालीगालि मन्तो भवन्तः ।
वयमपि तद भावाद्गालिदाने जसमर्षाः ॥

It means you may go on abusing us, because you are rich in abuse. Because we lack that, we are unable to pay you back in the same coin.

SHRI P. SUNDARAYYA: But you pay us back in bullets.

SHRI B. GUPTA: You are paying back in bullets.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH: I am sorry to see that the hon. Members seem to feel so trigger happy.

Well, Sir, the principal charge was in regard to the Food Administration. There are two aspects about this and I will take the minor one and deal with minor irrigation works and so on. It is not correct to say that we are neglecting minor irrigation works. I have figures here which show that nearly 50 per cent, of our grants for Grow More Food were given for the specific purpose of constructing or improving minor irrigation works. I have also held out promise to find more money for minor irrigation works and possibly the Committee which has just reported on the achievements of the Grow More Food campaign has also recommended a grant of about ten crores for minor irrigation works. So, my point in saying this is that the subject is very much in our minis. But one has to balance these short-term remedies together with the long-term ones; and it should be remembered that one

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh.] does not exclude the other. In any case, we stand committed to a large number of river valley schemes, both at the Centre and in the States, and seeing that we have started them and that they are in various stages of completion, I think the House will agree that they must now be completed as soon as possible. "As soon as possible" is an important phrase, because we do not really know what the future holds for us. If prices rise, that means estimates rise, and then all our plans get messed up. But subject to that over-riding necessity I can assure the House that we are determined to find resources to the fullest possible extent and to the extent of our capacity and resources for minor irrigation works. I think that is as much as I need say about the Grow More Food campaign, because the House will have opportunities of studying the report, and, as has been said somewhere else, no one who does not investigate should speak. So, first it is necessary that they should study this report. There is only one point I would like to mention in this connection, and that is that that report shows that our earlier expectations were not fulfilled. Whereas we expected about 3.6 or 3.8 or 3.9 million tons, now I think it is 2.6 million tons. This may be taken as an authoritative figure, which gives us an overall coefficient of efficiency of 55 per cent. That is not too good, but at any rate we have probed into the matter and we now know where we went wrong.

Then, as regards control and decontrol, many hon. Members have spoken of control and decontrol as if these were certain fixed and immutable policies. From the economic point of view, control is merely an instrument, and, therefore, there is no such thing as being anti-control or pro-control. That amounts to saying that you just refuse to use an instrument, or that you insist on using a particular instrument no matter what the circumstances may be. Whether and to what extent you will use the instrument of control must depend primarily on the assessed degree of

scarcity. I think the decontrol experiment in 1948 was wrong primarily because it was not based on any factual appraisal of the situation. There was a vague qualitative expectation that there was plenty of food in the country, and I think an unnecessarily grave risk was then taken, with consequences on our economy which we are still feeling. Now, in the interval that has elapsed since then, there has been a gradual conscious improvement in our array of statistics, although we do not claim that they are infallible—nobody should claim that statistics are infallible. But in those days, whatever estimates that we had were what are known as "eye estimates". And what was worse, in regard to the area which was comprised in the old Indian States there were "conventional" estimates, that is to say, they were repeated from year to year, and no one knew whether they were right or wrong. Since then we have gradually expanded the work of the research section attached to the Indian Council of Agricultural Research and the field of random sampling, and I think we are getting results which could be regarded from a scientific point of view as more and more reliable. The experience of the last two or three years has been that State Governments or their officials, through natural reasons I suppose, have been tempted to underestimate the total production of food grains. I think it was found that they were out by as much as 3 or 4 million tons. It remains to be considered how one checks up on these estimates. The estimates may be there, new and shining, in the tables of the statistician, but finally, any man of common sense would say, they must have some effect on the current economy. The only way to find out what is happening is to have a look at the price level. Now, so far as the North of the country is concerned, I think it can be proved that what are known as the free market prices were very near the procurement prices. The prices are against Hapur. There is a place called Hapur in Uttar Pradesh. There you find that whereas the procurement price is given as Rs. 16 before the recent relaxations, the free market prices varied between Rs. 16-8-0 and

Rs. 17 at the most. That, to my mind, is a clear indication that so far at any rate as the North was concerned, the wheat situation was fairly easy. Then the question has been asked: Why did we choose to make the experiment in the South, because rice continues to be difficult? Now, for that purpose one must consider what one has been regarding conventionally as deficit States. If you excise certain portions of a State, then I think it is a truism that no State can be regarded as a deficit State. It all depends on how much you excise from a particular State. It may be that Madras, taken as a whole, was and is a deficit State. But in the recent relaxations what they have done is, they have excluded the two districts of Malabar and Nilgiris. These two districts used to absorb about 1,00,000 tons of cereals, principally rice, from the rest of the State or from the Centre. Now, in the recent relaxation that has taken place they have excised them and the Centre has taken the direct responsibility of supplying these two districts. As for the rest of the State, another important fact which did not exist before is that they have a total supply of 4 lakhs of tons of rice which, at the rate at which they were issuing rice, amounted to about 12 months' supply, and which at the rate at which rice is going to be issued in the fair price shops, amounts to 15 months' supply.

Now, with all controls, Sir, there is a psychological factor, and any one who is conversant with modern economic literature will realise that to an increasing extent the authorities are chary of using physical controls. It does not mean that they have abandoned them, but I think the view has been veering round to this, that a far more effective instrument is the monetary and the fiscal instrument, and that, I am claiming credit for saying, we have been resorting to for the last two years with good effects which can be demonstrated. I am sorry to fling figures at the head of the House, but here are some figures which I think are revealing. I have got here a statement of wholesale price indices in certain countries, the base being 100 in 1948—the next year

after our Independence. Taking Canada, in April 1952 the figure was 117: that is to say, there was an increase of 17 per cent, there. Then I take Egypt: 117. France: 165. I will not take Germany. Sweden: 150. The United Kingdom: 150. These are all for April 1952, as against 100 in 1948. The United States of America: 107. And India was 103 in April 1952, and 100 in May 1952. I think that shows that generally the fiscal and monetary measures we adopted proved successful.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY: Is that the cost of living index?

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH: It is only wholesale prices. So long as you compare the same thing, it does not really matter. In the short run I agree it is important. For instance, if I claim that the wholesale price indices have gone down, the hon. Member will ask me: "What has happened to the cost of living?" And there is always a time lag and there is not necessarily a parallelism. But if you want to compare over a series of years, I think it is permissible to have the wholesale price index. Anyway, those are the figures, and I only claim it generally—this is only for the sake of general comparison. My point is that we find now that two things are apparent. One is that the fiscal and monetary measures have been attended with a satisfactory degree of success. And the other is that there is not that latent inflation which was such a plague soon after the war between the year 1945 and the year 1950. During these five years a great deal of latent inflation has been absorbed. Therefore one could—if one may use that term—take a little more risk in deciding on the courses of policy—rather I should say on courses of action, I do not like using the word 'policy'—in regard to controls or decontrol. And as I said, against that general background and in view of the condition of our stocks which amount to about 4 million tons—we never had so many stocks before—so much so that we have built up storage accommodation, I think it was permissible to take discriminatory

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh-] action in regard to relaxation of some of these controls. Now it is not correct to assume that control existed in the same uniform shape all over the country. In some States, principally the deficit States, the levy system had been adopted and in other States—surplus States like Madhya Pradesh—there was a very loose form of control which is still in existence. That is to say, there were certain licensed dealers who were permitted to purchase grain freely from the growers and then a proportion of that grain was taken by the State at a fixed price. The proportion itself has been variable—60, 66, 70 and so on—and the prices were to be fixed from time to time by the State. There are various other systems in vogue in Northern India; so that again I think it is wrong to make a generalisation that because certain action was taken in Madras or in Mysore or Uttar Pradesh or wherever it may be, the whole policy has been changed.

The other thing is, Sir, that all the procurement machinery has not been disbanded and I think all concerned are agreed that we should keep an eye on the price level. Although it would not be wise to draw deductions from price levels that pertain to the period immediately following the taking of the action, it is like trying to see the level of the spring bed, when you jump on it. What the level of the spring is, you do not know till it has settled down. I think one ought to allow a certain time to elapse before one draws conclusions. By that time I think we would know what the present harvest is going to be—if Providence is going to treat us kindly or otherwise in regard to monsoons. And if we have to retrace our steps, it won't be a question of abandoning or surrendering any policy, but it will be a question of taking the steps which will be in the best interests of the country and which are calculated to secure the end and that is that every one should be in a position to secure the quantum of grain which he needs for his minimum sustenance. As I said we have a stock of 4 million tons of grain which

includes about a million or so of wheat' a million tons of rice and a little under million are milo and then there are stocks with the State Governments. So altogether I think we are well-placed so far as meeting an emergency is concerned.

Then, Sir, I shall come to the general economic situation. I am sorry; before that, I would like to mention one point

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA: May I request the hon. Minister to make one thing clear before proceeding further? I want to know whether the Order issued on the 10th of this month by this Government permitting merchants to store within the limit of 15 maunds will apply to the producers also?

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH: I haven't got the Order here but it applies to everybody.

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA: What you have published in the Gazette is this: "Storage for sale of any food grains except under a licence". The producers always store food grains and they release according to the Government orders for the prices offered by the merchants.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member may table a question.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH: Well, I am' sorry, Sir. I haven't got the Order before me. It is possible it may have made certain exemptions which operate in favour of the producer or the grower. I know that when the matter was generally considered, the object was to regulate the operations of merchants in order that we should be able to place our hand on the stores and I am glad that the hon. Member has reminded me because that is one of the precautions that we have taken to see that things do not go awry.

In regard to the general economic situation, I do not think I need say very much except that I think that the anxiety of the hon. Member opposite

seemed to be somewhat exaggerated. I welcome the suggestion that the Finance Minister should not disdain the advice of people who know better. I think all Governments should be ready to receive advice. I do not know that the specific suggestion that he has made that there should be an Economic Council Would be a very feasible one. As a matter of fact, in various sectors of Government's activities, principally commerce and industry, there are separate Economic Councils such as the hon. Member envisaged.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY: There is no co-ordinating council.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH: So far as co-ordination is concerned, Sir, that is done by the Ministry of Finance. But the Ministry of Finance, although it may be aided by amateurs and may be assisted by bureaucrats, has available for its assistance a first class team of economic experts in the Reserve Bank, and before the hon. Member feels tempted to join issue with me, again I would request him to go and pay a visit to the Reserve Bank and, to have a talk with the economic talent that is available there.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY: I don't question it.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH I am sure you won't question it. I also do not question his motives at all. I am quite sure that he feels that Government should arm itself with the best economic ' advice that it can secure and my point in saying all this is that we did organize and I had a certain humble part to play in it—I say again amateur—as a Governor of the Reserve Bank, I did take care to organise a proper Economic and Monetary Research Department and I think in a country where there is so much difference of opinion, I believe people will be agreed that the Economic Department of the Reserve Bank is a • very competent one.

In addition to that, Sir, the Planning Commission also has economic
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experts who are available to the Minister and the Minister of Finance has the advantage at the moment of being a Member of the Planning Commission where almost every fundamental issue is brought up for discussion. I do not claim, Sir, that we always arrive at the right conclusions and indeed it would be a sad state of affairs if every one agreed in the final conclusions reached. AU I am pleading is that we do try and secure expert assistance.

So far as the constitution of the economic service is concerned, that is a matter very much before the Planning Commission. I do not think it is necessary for me to give my own views on that although at some stage or other I would say it is necessary to break the nexus between the expert and the administrator.

Hon. Members are not experts. Some of them may claim to be experts, but I do not feel they are really experts in the various matters that they deal with. On the other hand we have the supreme right of representing the Government and the States. Now, the Government is responsible to the House, and therefore the Ministers themselves are not supposed to be experts. Now the question we are up against is, where really do we draw the line between experts and non-experts ? You will agree that especially in some of the technical departments, there should be a line of experts, but where do they meet ? There should be many officials . not very much of experts or politicians either. Therefore my view is—it is not the Government's view—that at the Secretariat level it is much better to have administrators rather than experts. Experts are very difficult to control, whereas an administrator has a certain sense of perspective and balance. This is without meaning to disparage the experts. They are difficult to control because they are so full of then-own subject and they are apt to be carried away by their own enthusiasm.

Now, Sir, in regard to the specific allegations—and the specific allegations have been many—there were some about the Kharagpur Technological Institute. I made enquiries

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh.] about one and that was about the purchase of the petrol gas plant. I may say, Sir, that this complaint was made some time ago to the Ministry who enquired into the allegation and found that to be entirely unfounded, but they are taking steps to ensure that even greater care is exercised in respect of purchase of scientific apparatus, I am sorry I cannot vouch for the correctness of this because I have not seen the papers myself—I am really speaking on behalf of the Minister concerned.

Then the other important matter that was dealt with and which seemed to exercise the minds of some Members, rightly I think, was about the tea industry. I also made enquiries into this complaint that the team which was sent refused to meet the officials or the representatives of the Labour Unions. This is the report of the leader of the team. I shall read a portion of it :

"The team fixed up in Bengal a full programme consisting of two meetings a day for their stay, names of the representatives of the associations being obtained from the Commerce Ministry. While in Bengal, one labour association asked for an interview. Its credentials were being verified with the Labour Ministry of the West Bengal Government. An important office bearer of the Association interviewed one of the members of the team and as he did not have the credentials of the Association that office bearer was asked to send in a written memorandum which he did. We have gone into the question of hearing labour further with our Labour Ministry who are giving us a list of approved associations. The more important ones will be invited to tender evidence if they so desire."

Coming to the question of minimum wages, it is not considered advisable - to interfere with the minimum wages which were prescribed by the State Governments. We made that quite clear to our team when they went to study the problem on the spot. An officer of the Commerce and Industry Ministry met the representatives of the tea industry recently in Calcutta and he reports that they themselves realise that this measure is long overdue and must be enforced. I hope, Sir, this, will allay the suspicion that may still be lingering in the mind of the

hon. Member. I think it was Mr.. Majumdar. I have not received the rest of the report and I am not able to say what steps we shall be able to take but hon. Members may rest assured that they would not be such as would hurt labour. As a matter of fact, the remedy suggested by the trade itself does not lie in the direction of taking away substantially from any advantage which is enjoyed now by labour.

Then, there were various observations made about assistance to the various States, Mysore, Madras, Rajasthan, etc., for carrying out their plans. Now that brings me to the subject of finding finance for the implementation of the plans. When I made observations on this matter, I said that I refused to be drawn in a cursory discussion of this subject of deficit finance. As in the case of controls, you cannot take an exclusive kind of view and say you are anti-control or pro-control, so on the subject of deficit finance, you cannot say you are anti-deficit financing or pro-deficit financing. Now, we are having a deficit Budget. Our Budget deficit is to the extent of Rs. 78 or 80 crores. For all that, you cannot say that I am for deficit finance. The real question is : What are the circumstances ? The answer must depend upon the circumstances themselves. If someone were to give us a guarantee that this slump will continue and will be allowed to continue in the more powerful and more resourceful countries, then we can do something in the nature of deficit finance ourselves. Unfortunately I do not think that a guarantee of this kind would be forthcoming. Therefore one has to keep an eye on the price level. I think every one concerned would care to keep a watch on the price level. There is no way of predicting beforehand how much deficit finance will make what difference in the price line. It is quite impossible, because all the circumstances are not within your control. There are some inflations which you keep on importing from abroad, or you are exporting your own inflations like any other things, and therefore we can only be wise in retrospect. One cannot

have foresight. One must have hind sight. It is just like steering a vessel in a stormy sea. If anyone were to ask me, "You must keep to your chosen course ; You should never deviate one inch one Way or the other," I may as well stop steering. If I know that I am going, out of my course, well I will try and correct my direction. Similarly in economic matters, we cannot move in one direction in the anticipation that a certain condition is going to develop. I must find finance for Konar, Krishna-Pennar and Kosi, I must also start improving the Railways, I must start minor irrigation schemes, I must give money for education and so on, and if I were to indulge in deficit financing of that order and if I find that my basic anticipations are not fulfilled, what would happen. That would be inviting a fall. One has to be cautious. Subject to these general considerations, we shall try and guide our economic policy so that we are able to develop our resources as much as possible and to take up as many schemes as we can. I might add here that some of the schemes are excellent. Whether it is Konar, or Krishna-Pennar or Kosi, they are schemes which we must try our best, strain our every nerve to get started and to get completed. There is no use merely starting them, if you are not in a position to implement and execute them. It would be much better, it would be wisdom, to keep our souls in patience. If we adjudge at any time that conditions are favourable for their execution, then only we should undertake them.

That leads me lastly to this question of indebtedness. Before I come to that there are various points—very useful ones—which the hon. Member, Shri Bhanj Deo made about the form of the Budget. I have taken note of them. I have not the time to deal with them now but I propose to send him a letter in which I shall explain how some of these figures come about. For instance, the Treasury Bills are renewed every three months. When you get a certain gross figure, you a gross figure of Rs. 1200 crores. It is

actually Rs. 300 crores repeated four times. It represents the *ad hoc* treasury -bills that we took for buying military stores and consolidating our pension in our first sterling balance settlement from the Reserve Bank, because the alternative was running down our cash balances. Although we had, I think at that time, cash balances of about Rs. 300 crores, if we had run them all down in order to make these adjustments, then we would have been without any cash balances. Therefore it was very necessary to borrow from the Reserve Bank and that debt is being discharged at a certain rate every year. I will get the figure and I shall communicate it to the hon. Member.

Then he made a general point and that is about the undesirability of borrowing. I will take the liberty of completing the little line that he gave :

ऋणकर्ता पिता शत्रु
मित्रं मन्त्रिवरः परम् ।
ऋणात्पुत्रा विनश्यन्ति
वृद्धिं राष्ट्रं तु गच्छति ॥

The meaning of that is :

A borrowing father is a foe,
A borrowing Minister is never so,
While sons through debts must come to
woe,
Through loans and aid do nations grow.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is :

That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the service of the financial year 1952-53, as passed by the House of the People, be taken into consideration.

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : As there is no amendment, the Bill will now be returned to the House of the People with the intimation that the Council of States has considered the Bill and has no modifications to recommend.