

MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

FIRST SESSION OF THE SECOND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935.

24th, 25th, 27th, 29th, 30th, 31st May, 1st and 3rd June 1946.

Volume I (Nos. 1-8).

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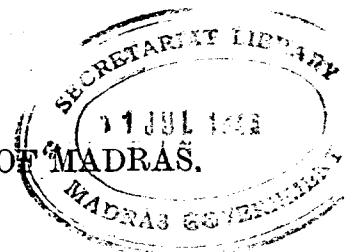
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PERSONNEL OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.



GOVERNOR OF MADRAS.

HIS EXCELLENCY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR ARCHIBALD
EDWARD NYE, G.C.I.E., K.C.B., K.B.E., M.C.

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

1. THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM, Prime Minister in charge of Public, Home, Police, Food and Finance.
2. THE HON. MRS. RUKMINI LAKSHMIPATHI, Minister in charge of Public Health and Medical.
3. THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI, Minister in charge of Industries, Labour, Electricity, Co-operation, Planning, Forest and Cinchona.
4. THE HON. SRI K. BHASHYAM, Minister in charge of Law, Courts and Prisons and Legislation.
5. THE HON. SRI M. BHAKTAVATSALAM, Minister in charge of Public (Works) (General), Irrigation and Highways.
6. THE HON. SRI K. KOTI REDDI, Minister in charge of Hindu Religious Endowments and Revenue (other than Land Revenue).
7. THE HON. SRI T. S. AVANASHILINGAM, Minister in charge of Education.
8. THE HON. MR. DANIEL THOMAS, Minister in charge of Local Administration.
9. THE HON. SRI K. R. KARANTH, Minister in charge of Land Revenue.
10. THE HON. SRI P. S. KUMARASWAMI RAJA, Minister in charge of Development—Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries.
11. THE HON. SRI VEMULA KURMAYYA, Minister in charge of Public Information and Emigration.

MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS.

Speaker.

THE HON. SRI J. SIVASHUNMUKHAM PILLAI.

Deputy Speaker.

SRIMATHI C. AMMANNA RAJA.

Secretary to the Assembly.

SRI D. K. V. RAGHAVA VARMA, B.A., B.L.

Assistant Secretary to the Assembly.

SRI T. HANUMANTHAPPA, B.A. (Hons.), B.L.

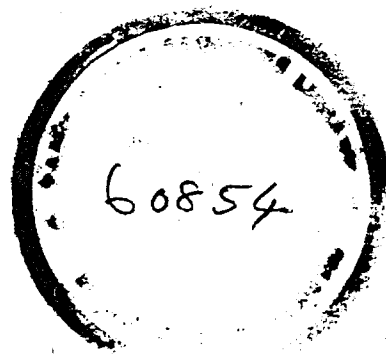
ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE
MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Name of member.	Name and class of constituency.
1 Aaron Rao, Alladi	Guntur <i>cum</i> Nellore Indian Christian.
2 Abdul Hameed Khan Sahib ..	Kurnool, Muhammadan, Rural.
3 Abdul Majeed Sahib, M. S. ..	Chingleput <i>cum</i> South Arcot, Muhammadan, Rural.
4 Abdul Rawoof Sahib, Khan Sahib D. ..	Bellary, Muhammadan, Rural.
5 Abdul Salam Sahib, Muhammad ..	Guntur, Muhammadan, Rural.
6 Vacant	Chirakkal, Muhammadan, Rural.
7 Ahmad Kutty Haji Sahib, K. ..	Malappuram, Muhammadan, Rural.
8 Allerton, D.	European.
9 Amiruddin, Begam Sultan Mir ..	Madras City, Women, Muhammadan, Urban.
10 Ammanna Raja, Srimathi C. (Deputy Speaker).	Ellore Town, Women, General, Rural.
11 Ananda Nambiar, K.	Railway Trade Union, Labour.
12 Anantachar, B.	Hospet, General, Rural.
13 Anjalai Ammal, Srimathi	Cuddalore, Women, General, Rural.
14 Annamalai Pillai, N.	Tiruvannamalai, General, Rural.
15 Arunachalam, T. S.	Trichinopoly <i>cum</i> Srirangam Towns, General, Urban.
16 Ataullah Sahib, M. S.	Salem <i>cum</i> Coimbatore <i>cum</i> the Nilgiris, Muhammadan, Rural.
17 Avanasilingam Chettiyar, The Hon. Sri T. S. (Minister).	Palladam, General, Rural.
18 Balakrishnan, S. C.	Palni, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
19 Bapineedu, M.	Ellore, General, Rural.
20 Bhaktavatsalam, The Hon. Sri M. (Minister).	Tiruvallur, General, Rural.
21 Bhashyam, The Hon. Sri K. (Minister).	University.
22 Bhupathiraju Bangarayya, Srimathi.	Bhimavaram, General, Rural.
23 Bokkai Gowder, K.	The Nilgiris, General, Rural.
24 Brahmanandam Reddi, Kasu ..	Narasaraopet, General, Rural.
25 Chandu, A.	Calicut, General, Rural.
26 Chandramouli, K.	Tenali, General, Rural.
27 Chengam Pillai, O.	Tiruvallur, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
28 Chidambara Ayyar, S.	Villupuram, General, Rural.
29 Damodaran, M. P.	Kottayam, General, Rural.
30 Daniel Thomas, The Hon. Sri (Minister).	Tinnevely, Indian Christian.
31 Devanayakayya, A.	Cuddalore, General, Rural.

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Name of member.	Name and class of constituency.
32 Doraikannu, M.	Tiruttani, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
33 Dorairaja Pandyan, D.	Tinnevely, General, Rural.
34 Easwaran, M. A.	Erode, General, Rural.
35 Fernandez, W. J.	Anglo-Indian.
36 Ferrelly, F.	European.
37 Fowler, H. O.	Anglo-Indian.
38 Giri, The Hon. Sri V. V. (Minister).	Sarvasiddhi, General, Rural.
39 Gopala Reddi, B.	Kavali, General, Rural.
40 Govinda Dasu, D.	Bellary, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
41 Govinda Menon, M. P.	Malappuram, General, Rural.
42 Govindan Nayar, C. K.	Kurumbranad, General Rural.
43 Govindan Nair, P.	Ponnani, General, Rural.
44 Govindaraju Naicker, Sri Vadyar S. K.	Saidapet, General, Rural.
45 Govindaswami Nayudu, N.	Textile Workers Trade Union (Madras), Labour.
46 Guruvulu, Saketi	Chicacole, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
47 Hassan Koya Sahib, Puthiya Pommami Chintakath.	Calicut, Muhammadan, Rural.
48 Howard Gerry	Madras Planters
49 Hussain, Khan Sahib H. S.	Mangalore, Muhammadan, Rural.
50 Hussain Sahib, Muhammad	Tinnevely, Muhammadan Rural.
51 Hydross, M. V.	Palghat, Muhammadan, Rural.
52 Ibrahim, Khan Sahib, V. S.	Trichinopoly, Muhammadan, Rural.
53 Ibrahim Sahib, Sinna Kaziya Haji Moulvi S. A. F.	Madura, Muhammadan, Rural.
54 Ishwara, K.	Coondapoor, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
55 Ismail Sahib, Muhammad	Vizagapatam cum East Godavari, Muhammadan, Rural.
56 Jaffar Mohideen Sahib	Anantapur, Muhammadan, Rural.
57 Jebamoney Masilamoney, Mrs.	Tinnevely cum Palamcottah cum Tuticorin Towns, Women, Indian Christian, Urban.
58 Jogi Nayudu, Allu	Vizianagram, General, Rural.
59 Kaderkutti Sahib, A. K.	Kottayam, Muhammadan, Rural.
60 Kadirappa, D.	Penukonda, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
61 Kakkan, P.	Ariyalur, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
62 Kaleswara Rao, A.	Bezwada cum Masulipatam Towns, General, Urban.
63 Kamaraj Nadar, K.	Sattur, General, Rural.
64 Kamakshi Chettiyar, K. P.	Palani, General, Rural.

Name and class of constituency.	Name and class of constituency.
65 Kameswara Rao, Annapragada	Guntur cum Tenali Towns, General, Urban.
66 Kandaswami Gounder, P. R.	Pollachi, General, Rural.
67 Kandaswami Pillai, P.	Salem Town, General, Urban.
68 Kannappa Mudaliyar, V. T.	Gudiyattam, General, Rural.
69 Kanniyappan, M.	Madras City Dock and Factory Labour (excluding Textile and Railway Labour), Labour.
70 Karanth, The Hon. Sri K. R. (Minister).	Puttur, General, Rural.
71 Kosalarama Nadar, K. T.	Tuticorin, General, Rural.
72 Koti Reddi, The Hon. Sri K. (Minister).	Cuddapah, General, Rural.
73 Krishna Kudumban, C.	Pollachi, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
74 Krishnaswami Vandiar, A.	Kumbakonam, General, Rural.
75 Kulasekara Doss, K.	Tindivanam, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
76 Kumarakrishna Yachendra Bahadur Varu of Venkatagiri, Sri Sarvagna.	Northern Central, Landholders.
77 Kumaran, M.	Chirakkal, General, Rural.
78 Kumaraswami, Garembella	Chicacole, General, Rural.
79 Kumaraswami Raja, The Hon. Sri P. S. (Minister).	Srivilliputtur, General, Rural.
80 Kunhi Kammaran Nambiyar, K. T.	West Coast, Landholders.
81 Kuppaswami Nayudu, A.	Conjeevaram, General, Rural.
82 Kuppaswami, R.	Textile Workers, Non-Union, Labour.
83 Kurmayya, The Hon. Sri V. (Minister).	Bandar, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
84 Kuttimalu Amma, Srimathi A. V.	Tellicherry cum Calicut Women, General, Urban.
85 Lakshmanaswami, P.	Amalapuram, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
86 Lakshmi Ammal, Srimathi K.	Dindigul, Women, General, Rural.
87 Lakshmi Ammal, Srimathi V.	Sermadevi, General, Rural.
88 Langley, W. K. M., C.B.E.	European.
89 Leonard, D. G.	European Commerce, The Madras Chamber of Commerce and the Madras Trades Association.
90 Linga Raju, K.	Rajahmundry, General, Rural.
91 Mahboob Ali Baig Sahib	West Godavari cum Kistna, Muhammadan, Rural.
92 Mahin Muhammad Schamnad Sahib.	Puttur, Muhammadan Rural.
93 Mallayya, U., Padmanabha	Mangalore, General, Rural.
94 Mallikarjuna Rao, B. S.	Vizagapatam cum East Godavari, Dock and Factory Labour, Labour.
95 Manickam, R. S.	Sattur, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
96 Marimuthu, M.	Tanjore, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).

Name of member.	Name and class of constituency.
97 Mohammed Rafeudīn Ahmad	Nellore, Muhammadan, Rural.
98 Moideen Kutty, P. K.	Palghat, Muhammadan, Rural.
99 Moses Wilson, John	Northern Circars, Indian Christian.
100 Muhammad Anwar Sahib, N.	North Arcot, Muhammadan, Rural.
101 Muhammad Ibrahim, M. A.	Tanjore, Muhammadan, Rural.
102 Muhammad Ismail Sahib, M.	Madras City, Muhammadan, Urban.
103 Muniswami Pillai, V. I.	Tirukkoyilur, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
104 Murti, B. S.	Cocanada, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
105 Muthiah Chettiyar, Kumararaja Sir M. A., of Chettinad.	The Nattukottai Nagrahar's Association.
106 Muthuramalinga Tevar, U.	Ramnad, General, Rural.
107 Nachiyappa Goundar, K. A.	Omair, General, Rural.
108 Nagappa, S.	Kurnool, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
109 Nagaraja Ayyangar, N.	Namakkal, General, Rural.
110 Nagaraja Manigar, S.	Hosur, General, Rural.
111 Nagayya, S.	Cuddapah, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
112 Nageswar Rao, Meduri	Guntur, General, Rural.
113 Narasimha Rao, Guntur	Madras City North, General, Urban.
114 Narasimharaju, P. L.	Vizianagaram, General, Rural.
115 Narayana Reddi, K. B.	Rajampet, General, Rural.
116 Natesa Chettiyar, M. G.	Dharmapuri, General, Rural.
117 Natesan, P.	Southern India Chamber of Commerce.
118 Pais, L. C.	West Coast, Indian Christian.
119 Palaniswami Goundar, V. C.	Coimbatore, General, Rural.
120 Pallam Raju, M.	Cocanada, General, Rural.
121 Paramananda Royar, S.	Chidambaram, General, Rural.
122 Parameswaran, B.	Chingleput, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
123 Parisutha Nadar, A. Y. S.	Tanjore cum Madura cum Ramnad, Indian Christian.
124 Pattabhirama Ayyar, M. S.	Dindigul, General, Rural.
125 Pattabhiraman, T. S.	Tiruchengode, General, Rural.
126 Pazhia Kudumban	Koilkatti, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
127 Peddarayappa, A.	Gooty, General, Rural.
128 Periyaswami, M. P.	Namakkal, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
129 Perumalla Nayudu	Kandukur, General, Rural.
130 Pocker Sahib, B.	Calicut cum Cannanore, Tellicherry Towns, Muhammadan, Urban.

Name of member.	Name and class of constituency.
131 Ponnambala Goundar	Trichinopoly, General, Rural.
132 Ponnuswami Gounder, V.	Tiruppattur (North Arcot), General, Rural.
133 Ponnuswami Mudaliyar, A.	South Arcot cum Trichinopoly cum Salem cum Coimbatore, Indian Christian.
134 Prakasam, The Hon. Sri T., (Prime Minister).	Madras City, South Central, General, Urban.
135 Raghava Menon, R.	Palghat, General, Rural.
136 Raghavan, K.	Malappuram, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
137 Raghavayya, V.	Nellore, General, Rural.
138 Rajagurunatha Chettiyar, Zamindar of Elampalli.	Southern Central, Landholders.
139 Rajamannar, G.	Madras City, North Central, General, Urban.
140 Rajaram Nayudu, K.	Tirumangalam, General Rural.
141 Ramachandra Rao, Dr. D. S.	Madras cum Chingleput, Indian Christian.
142 Ramakrishna Reddi, T. N.	Madanapalle, General, Rural.
143 Ramamurthy, Rokkam	Tekkali, General, Rural.
144 Ramanujalu Reddiyar, P.	Cheyar, General, Rural.
145 Ramaswami Mudaliyar, V. M.	Vellore, General, Rural.
146 Ramiyah, N. P.	Musiri, General, Rural.
147 Ramaswami, D. V.	Vizagapatam, General, Rural.
148 Rangaswami, N.	Mayavaram, General, Rural.
149 Ratnaswami, S.	Dharapuram, General, Rural.
150 Ratnavelu Tevar, P.	Trichinopoly, General, Rural.
151 Raza Khan Sahib	Chittoor, Muhammadan, Rural.
152 Rukmini Lakshmipathi, The Hon. Mrs. A. (Minister).	Madras City, Women, General, Urban.
153 Sahajananda, Sivaprakasa	Chidambaram, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
154 Sami Goundar, S. K.	Gobichettipalayam, General, Rural.
155 Samuel, Dr. M. J.	Central Districts, Indian Christian.
156 Sangam Nayudu, Palavalasa	Palakonda, General, Rural.
157 Sanjeeva Reddi, Neelam	Anantapur, General, Rural.
158 Sankarasubrahmanya Mudaliyar, V. S.	Tinnevely cum Palamcottah Towns, General, Urban.
159 Sattanatha Karayalar, L.	Koilkatti, General, Rural.
160 Satyanarayana Raju, Alluri	Narasapur, General, Rural.
161 Satyanarayana Raju, Bhupatiraju.	Viravalli, General, Rural.
162 Seetharamaswami, Gona	Bobbili, General, Rural.
163 Seethi Sahib, K. M.	Malappuram, Muhammadan, Rural.
164 Shah Alam Khan Savoi Sahib	Cuddapah, Muhammadan, Rural.

Name of member.	Name and class of constituency.
165 Shanmuga Rajeswara Sethupathi of Ramnad, Raja Sri R.	Southern Landholders.
166 Shanmugam, K.	Gudur, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
167 Shetty, A. B.	Coondapoor, General, Rural.
168 Sitamahalakshamma, Srimathi Vallabhaneni.	Bandar, General, Rural.
169 Sitarama Reddi, H.	Bellary, General, Rural.
170 Sivashanmukham Pillai, The Hon. Sri J. (<i>Speaker</i>).	Madras City, South Central, General, Urban (Scheduled Castes).
171 Srinivasa Padayachi, P. R. ..	Tirukkoyilur, General, Rural.
172 Srinivasa Rao, W. S.	Ranipet, General, Rural.
173 Subbanna Gounder, K. K.	Gobichettipalayam, General, Rural.
174 Subbaraman, N. M. R.	Madura Town, General, Urban.
175 Subbarao, Kallur	Penukonda, General, Rural.
176 Subbiah, P.	Ongole, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
177 Subbiah, R.	Chingleput, General, Rural.
178 Subrahmanya Ayyar, Dr. S. ..	Tiruppattur (Ramnad), General, Rural.
179 Subrahmanyam, A.	Salem, General, Rural.
180 Subrahmanyam, K.	Coimbatore Town, General, Urban.
181 Sumangalamma, Srimathi Allum ..	Bellary, Women, General, Rural.
182 Surayya, Kollipara	Bezwada, General, Rural.
183 Suryarao Bahadur, Sri Raja Rao Venkata Kumara Mahipati.	Northern Landholders I.
184 Swaminathan, R. V.	Sivaganga, General, Rural.
185 Syed Muhammad Sayabu, Khan Sahib M. R. P.	Ramnad, Muhammadan, Rural.
186 Thangavelu, R.	Thiruvannamalai General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
187 <i>Vacant</i> .	
188 Thiagoo Voikkarar	Mannargudi, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
189 Thompson, A. E.	European Commerce, The Madras Chamber of Commerce and the Madras Trades Association.
190 Thyagaraja Pillai, M. D.	Negapatam, General, Rural.
191 Thyagaraja Sholagar, G.	Tanjore, General, Rural.
192 Town, H. S.	European Commerce, The Madras Chamber of Commerce and the Madras Trades Association.
193 Vaidyanada Ayyar, A.	Melur, General, Rural.
194 Varadachari, K.	Tiruttani, General, Rural.
195 Varadachari, N. S.	Madras City, South, General, Urban.
196 Vedaratnam Pillai, A.	Mannargudi, General, Rural.

Name of member.	Name and class of constituency.
197 Veeranna Padal, Kankipatti ..	Backward areas and tribes.
198 Veeraraghavalu, Nukala	Bezwada, General, Rural.
199 Velayudapani, P. M.	Ranipet, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
200 Veluswami Gounder, P. S.	Periakulam, General, Rural.
201 Venkanna, G.	Ellore, General, Rural (Scheduled Castes).
202 Venkata Rao, Kala	Amalapuram, General, Rural.
203 Venkata Reddi, Gopavaram ..	Nandyal, General, Rural.
204 Venkata Reddi, Reddivari ..	Chittoor, General, Rural.
205 Venkatachalam Pillai, B.	Ariyalur, General, Rural.
206 Venkatakrishna Reddiyar, K. S. ..	Tindivanam, General, Rural.
207 Venkatanarayana, Pydah	Cocanada Town, General, Urban.
208 Venkatanarayana Reddi, B. ..	Gudur, General, Rural.
209 Venkataratnam, B.	Rajahmundry, General, Rural.
210 Venkataraju, M.	Ongole, General, Rural.
211 Venkatarama Ayyar, P.	Tanjore cum Kumbakonam Town, General, Urban.
212 Venkatasubbayya, Nivarthi ..	Kurnool, General, Rural.
213 Venkateswarlu, P.	West Godavari cum Kistna cum Guntur Factory Labour, Labour.
214 Viswanatham, T	Vizagapatam Town, General, Urban.
215 Zamindar of Mirzapuram (Sri Meka Venkataramaiah Appa Rao Bahadur).	Northern Landholders II.

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

FIRST SESSION OF THE SECOND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935.

Friday, the 24th May 1946.

The House met in the Assembly Chamber, Fort St. George, at eleven of the clock.

I.—SWEARING IN OF MEMBERS.

The Temporary Speaker appointed by His Excellency the Governor under sub-section (3) of section 65 of the Government of India Act, 1935, Mr. H. S. Town, M.L.A., made the prescribed oath or affirmation of allegiance to the Crown in front of the Secretary, and after bowing to the empty Chair, took his seat thereon.

MR. H. S. TOWN (*Temporary Speaker*):—"Hon. Members are no doubt aware that I have been appointed by His Excellency the Governor under sub-section (3) of section 65 of the Government of India Act, 1935, to perform the duties of the office of Speaker till the Speaker or Deputy Speaker is elected. It is hardly necessary for me to remind hon. Members that the only business on the agenda is for them to make the oath required by section 67 of the Government of India Act, 1935.

"I propose to ask the Secretary to call first upon the Hon. the Ministers to make the oath, then the Leader of the Opposition, then the ex-Ministers, and then the other hon. Members in the order in which they appear in the alphabetical list of Members of the Madras Legislative Assembly. To shorten the time required for this ceremony, I will ask the hon. Members to come to the Secretary's desk in single file in groups of six and make the oath.

"I may be permitted to remind the hon. Members that the latest hour for the receipt of nomination papers for the Speakership and the Deputy Speakership are 12 noon and 3 p.m. to-day respectively. The nomination forms are available with the Secretary."

The following members then made the prescribed oath or affirmation of allegiance to the Crown and took their seats:—

The Hon. Sri T. Prakasam.	Muniswami Pillai, Sri V. I.
The Hon. Sri K. R. Karanth.	Gopala Reddi, Sri B.
The Hon. Sri M. Bhaktavatsalam.	Aaron Rao, Mr. Alladi.
The Hon. Sri T. S. Avanashilingam Chettiyar.	Abdul Hameed Khan Sahib Bahadur.
The Hon. Sri K. Koti Reddi.	Abdul Majeed Sahib Bahadur, M.S.
The Hon. Mr. Daniel Thomas.	Abdul Rawoof Sahib Bahadur, Khan Sahib D.
The Hon. Mrs. A. Rukmini Lakshmi-pathi.	Abdul Salam Sahib Bahadur, Mohammed.
The Hon. Sri P. S. Kumaraswami Raja.	Ahmad Kutty Haji Sahib Bahadur, K.
The Hon. Sri V. Kurmayya.	Allerton, Mr. D.
The Hon. Sri K. Bashyam.	Amiruddin, Begam Sultan Mir.
Muhammad Ismail Sahib Bahadur, M.	Ammanna Raja, Srimathi C.
Muthiah Chettiyar of Chettinad,	Ananda Nambiar, Sri K.
Kumararaja Sir M. A.	Anandaachar, Sri B.

24th May 1946]

Anjalai Ammal, Srimathi.
 Annamalai Pillai, Sri N.
 Arunachalam, Sri T. S.
 Ataullah Sahib Bahadur, M. S.
 Balakrishnan, Sri S. C.
 Bapineedu, Sri M.
 Srimathi Bhupathiraju Bangarayya.
 Bokkai Gowder, Sri K.
 Brahmanandam Reddi, Kasu, Sri.
 Chandu, Sri A.
 Chandramouli, Sri K.
 Chengam Pillai, Sri O.
 Chidambara Ayyar, Sri S.
 Damodaran, Sri M. P.
 Devanayakayya, Sri A.
 Doraikannu, Sri M.
 Dorairaja Pandyan, Sri D.
 Easwaran, Sri M. A.
 Fernandez, Mr. W. J.
 Ferrelly, Mr. F.
 Fowler, Mr. H. O.
 Govinda Dasu, Sri D.
 Govinda Menon, Sri M. P.
 Govindan Nayar, Sri C. K.
 Govindan Nair, Sri P.
 Govindaraju Naicker, Sri Vadyar S. K.
 Govindaswami Nayudu, Sri N.
 Guruvulu, Sri Saketi.
 Hassan Koya Sahib Bahadur, Puthiya
 Pommami Chintakath.
 Howard Gerry, Mr.
 Hussain Sahib Bahadur, Khan Sahib
 H. S.
 Hussain Sahib Bahadur, Muhamad.
 Hydross, Mr. M. V.
 Ibrahim Sahib Bahadur, Sinna Kajiyar
 Haji, S. A. F.
 Ishwara, Sri K.
 Ismail Sahib Bahadur, Muhammad.
 Jaffar Mohideen Sahib Bahadur.
 Jebamoney Masilamoney, Mrs.
 Jogi Nayudu, Sri Allu.
 Kadarkutti Sahib Bahadur, A. K.
 Kadirappa, Sri D.
 Kakkan, Sri P.
 Kaleswara Rao, Sri A.
 Kamaraj Nadar, Sri K.
 Kamakshi Chettiyar, Sri K. P.
 Kameswara Rao, Sri Annapragada.
 Kandaswami Gounder, Sri P. R.
 Kandaswamy Pillai, Sri P.
 Kannappa Mudaliyar, Sri V. T.
 Kanniyappan, Sri M.
 Kosalarama Nadar, Sri K. T.
 Krishna Kudumban, Sri C.
 Krishnaswami Vandiar, Sri A.
 Kulasekara Doss, Sri K.
 Kumaran, Sri M.
 Kumaraswami, Sri Garemella.
 Kunhi Kammaran Nambiyar, Sri K. T.
 Kuppuswami Nayudu, Sri A.
 Kuppuswami, Sri R.
 Srimathi Kuttimalu Amma, A. V.
 Lakshmanaswami, Sri P.
 Srimathi Lakshmi Ammal, K.
 Srimathi Lakshmi Ammal, V.
 Leonard, Mr. D. G.
 Linga Raju, Sri K.
 Mahboob Ali Baig Sahib Bahadur.

Mahin Muhammad Schamnad Sahib
 Bahadur.
 Mallayya, Sri U. Padmanabha.
 Mallikarjuna Rao, Sri B. S.
 Manickam, Sri R. S.
 Marimuthu, Sri M.
 Mohammed Rafeuddin Ahmed Ansari
 Sahib Bahadur.
 Mohideen Kutty Sahib Bahadur, P. K.
 Moses Wilson, John, Mr.
 Muhammad Anwar Sahib Bahadur, N.
 Muhammad Ibrahim Sahib Bahadur,
 M. A.
 Murti, Sri B. S.
 Muthuramalinga Tevar, Sri U.
 Nagappa, Sri S.
 Nagaraja Ayyangar, Sri N.
 Nagaraja Manigar, Sri S.
 Nageswara Rao, Sri Meduri.
 Nagayya, Sri S.
 Narasimharaju, Sri P. L.
 Narasimha Rao, Sri Guntur.
 Narayana Reddi, Sri K. B.
 Natesa Chettiyar, Sri M. G.
 Natesan, Sri P.
 Pais, Mr. L. C.
 Palaniswami Gounder, Sri V. C.
 Pullam Raju, Sri M.
 Paramananda Rayar, Sri S.
 Parameswaran, Sri B.
 Parisutha Nadar, Sri A. Y. S.
 Pattabirama Iyer, Sri M. S.
 Pattabhiraman, Sri T. S.
 Peddarayappa, Sri A.
 Periyaswami, Sri M. P.
 Perumalla Nayudu, Sri.
 Pocker Sahib Bahadur, B.
 Ponnambala Gounder, Sri.
 Ponnuswami Gounder, Sri V.
 Ponnuswami Mudaliyar, Sri A.
 Raghavan, Sri K.
 Raghava Menon, Sri R.
 Raghavayya, Sri V.
 Rajagurunatha Chettiar, Sri, Zamindar
 of Elampalli.
 Rajamannar, Sri G.
 Rajaram Naidu, Sri K.
 Ramachandra Rao, Dr. D. S.
 Ramakrishna Reddi, Sri T. N.
 Ramamurthy, Sri Rokkam.
 Ramanujalu Reddiyar, Sri P.
 Ramaswami Mudaliyar, Sri V. M.
 Ramiah, Sri N. P.
 Rangasawmi, Sri N.
 Ramaswami, Sri D. V.
 Ratnavelu Tovar, Sri P.
 Raza Khan Sahib Bahadur.
 Sahajananda, Sri Sivaprakasa.
 Sami Gounder, Sri S. K.
 Samuel, Dr. M. J.
 Sangam Naidu, Sri Palavalasa
 Sanjeeva Reddi, Sri Neelam.
 Sankarasubrahmanya Mudaliyar, Sri
 V. S.
 Sattanatha Karayalar, Sri L.
 Satyanarayana Raju, Sri Alluri.
 Satyanayana Raju, Sri Bhupatiraju.
 Seetharamaswami, Sri Gona.
 Seethi Sahib Bahadur, K. M.
 Shah Alam Khan Savoi Sahib Bahadur.

[24th May 1946.

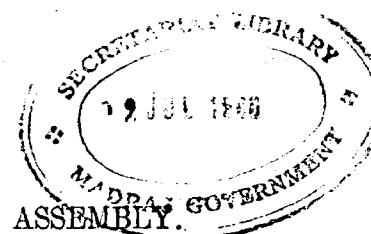
Shanmugam, Sri K.
 Shanmuga Rajeswara Sethupathi of
 Ramnad, Raja Sri R.
 Shetty, Sri A. B.
 Sitamahalakshamma, Srimathi Valla-
 bhaneni.
 Sitarama Reddi, Sri H.
 Sivashanmukham Pillai, Sri J.
 Srinivasa Padayachi, Sri P. R.
 Srinivasa Rao, Sri W. S.
 Subbanna Gounder, Sri K. K.
 Subbaraman, Sri N. M. R.
 Subbarao, Sri Kallur.
 Subbiah, Sri P.
 Subbiah, Sri R.
 Subrahmanya Ayyar, Dr. S.
 Subrahmanyam, Sri A.
 Subrahmanyam, Sri K.
 Sumangalamma, Srimathi Allum.
 Surayya, Sri Kollipara.
 Swaminathan, Sri R. V.
 Syed Muhammad Sayabu Khan Shaib
 Bahadur, M. R. P.
 Thangavelu, Sri R.
 Thiagoo Voikkarar, Sri.
 Thompson, Mr. A. E.

Thyagaraja Pillai, Sri M. D.
 Thyagaraja Sholagar, Sri G.
 Vaidyanada Ayyar, Sri A.
 Varadaachari, Sri K.
 Varadaachari, Sri N. S.
 Vedaratnam Pillai, Sri A.
 Veeraraghavalu, Sri Nukala.
 Velayudapani, Sri P. M.
 Veluswami Gounder, Sri P. S.
 Venkanna, Sri G.
 Venkatachalam Pillai, Sri B.
 Venkatakrishna Reddiyar, Sri K. S.
 Venkatanarayana, Sri Pydah.
 Venkatanarayana Reddi, Sri B.
 Venkataratnam, Sri B.
 Venkata Reddi, Sri Gopavaram.
 Venkatareddi, Sri Reddivari.
 Venkatarama Ayyar, Sri P.
 Venkataraju, Sri M.
 Venkata Rao, Sri Kala.
 Venkata Subbayya, Sri Nivarthi.
 Venkateswarlu, Sri P.
 Viswanatham, Sri T.
 Zamindar of Mirzapuram (Sri Meka
 Venkataramiah Appa Rao Bahadur).

The House then adjourned to meet again at 11 a.m. on Satur-
 day, the 25th May 1946.

II.—PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE OF THE HOUSE.

- 1 Notification appended to G.O. No. 1891, L.A., dated 13th Sep-
 tember 1945, excluding certain area from the Tanjore district so as to
 include it within the limits of Kumbakonam Municipality.
- 2 Notification appended to G.O. No. 2254, L.A., dated 17th Octo-
 ber 1945, excluding certain area from the limits of the Ramnad district
 so as to include it within the limits of the Sivakasi Municipality.
- 3 Notification I appended to G.O. No. 529, L.A., dated 16th
 March 1946, abolishing the Saidapet Municipality in order to include
 the area within the limits of the City of Madras and Notification IV
 appended to the same Government Orders excluding certain areas from
 the Chingleput district in order to include them within the limits of the
 City of Madras.
- 4 Notification II appended to G.O. No. 589, L.A., dated 26th
 March 1946, excluding from the limits of the Madura district the local
 area defined in the schedule so as to include it within the limits of the
 Madura Municipality.
- 5 Notification appended to G.O. Ms. No. 860, Home, dated 22nd
 March 1946, making certain amendments to the Madras Motor Vehicles
 Rules, 1940, published with Home Department Notification No. 357,
 dated 29th March 1940, as subsequently amended.
- 6 Notification appended to G.O. Ms. No. 930, Home, dated 28th
 March 1946, making certain amendment to the Madras Motor Vehicles
 Rules, 1940, published with Home Department Notification No. 357,
 dated 29th March 1940, as subsequently amended.



THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Saturday, the 25th May 1946.

The House met in the Assembly Chamber, Fort St. George, at
 eleven of the clock with Mr. H. S. TOWN, Temporary Speaker,
 in the Chair.

[Note.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision
 by the Member.]

I.—SWEARING IN OF MEMBERS:

* Mr. H. S. TOWN (*Temporary Speaker*):—"I will read out
 the names of members who did not make the oath yesterday and
 request such of those who are present to-day to come to the Secre-
 tary's table, make the oath and sign the register."

Thereafter the following members who were present in the
 House and who did not make the oath yesterday made the oath
 or affirmation of allegiance to the Crown and took their seats:—

- (1) The Hon. Sri V. V. Giri.
- (2) Sri Kankipati Veeranna Padal.

II.—ELECTION OF SPEAKER.

* Mr. H. S. TOWN (*Temporary Speaker*):—"The next item of
 business for to-day is the election of the Chief Officers of the
 Chamber, namely, the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker, under
 section 65 (1) and (3) of the Government of India Act, 1935.

"We will now proceed with the election of the Speaker.

"Under rule 7 (4) of the Madras Assembly Rules, I have first
 to read out to the Assembly, the names of members who have been
 duly nominated for the Speakership, together with those of their
 proposers and seconders. They are:

Member nominated.	Proposer.	Seconders.
Sri J. Sivashanmukham Pillai.	Sri V. I. Muniswami Pillai.	Sri P. M. Velayudapani.
Sri J. Sivashanmukham Pillai.	Sri M. S. Pattabhi-rama Ayyar.	Sri B. Parameswaran.
Sri J. Sivashanmukham Pillai.	Sri P. Patnavelu Tovar.	Sri V. C. Palaniswami Gounder.

"As only one member, namely, Sri J. Sivashanmukham Pillai,
 has been nominated, under rule 7 (4) of the Assembly Rules, I
 declare him duly elected.

"It only remains for me to tender to the Hon. Sri J. Siva-
 shanmukham Pillai my sincere congratulations on his election and
 I call upon him to occupy the Speaker's Chair."

Thereupon, Mr. Town left the Chair and the Hon. Sri J. Siva-
 shanmukham Pillai occupied the Chair led in by the Hon. the
 Leader of the House and Kummararaja Sir Muthiah Chettiyar of
 Chettinad, Leader of the Independent Party.

* THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"Sir, I offer you my
 hearty congratulations in having been unanimously elected as
 Speaker of this House. Let me tell you, Sir, that it is one of the
 greatest privileges of the members of this House to aspire for the
 Speakership and succeed in taking up that office. You are not

[Hon. Sri T. Prakasam] [25th May 1946]

new to public work. You filled the Mayor's Chair of the Madras Corporation with great distinction. You are known there for your great qualities of head and heart. Now, this is a much higher place than the Madras Corporation Mayoralty. The Speakership of the Assembly carries great responsibilities with it and you know best how you will have to conduct the business here. (At this stage the members of the Muslim League Party who had stayed out during the election entered the House.) I may tell you in this connexion that during the last Congress Government the Speaker, Mr. Bulusu Sambamurti, devoted much of his time to studying all that is connected with the Speaker's duties not only in Madras and England but generally in all other countries. You also will no doubt be engaged in studying the literature bearing on the duties, powers and responsibilities of the Speaker of a great Assembly like this. Let me tell you, Sir, that this Assembly has distinguished itself even at the beginning of its great career and I have no doubt you will be doing your best to promote the interests of this Legislature and the interests of the country as a whole. I offer my sincere congratulations to you, Mr. Speaker, Hon. Mr. Sivashanmukham Pillai, particularly as you are the only one who has risen to this position in the whole of India from your community—if it can be called a separate community, for I am longing to see the time when it will not be called a separate community but will be one with the rest of the people in India. Once more, Mr. Speaker, I offer you my hearty congratulations."

M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, on my behalf and on behalf of my party, I offer you hearty congratulations on your having been elected and deservedly elected to the high office of Speaker of this august Assembly. I have used the words 'deservedly elected' deliberately and advisedly, because you have very high personal qualities of your own and also you belong to a community which, though it has suffered for ages is nevertheless forging ahead and establishing its legitimate and irresistible claim and coming into its own. Though as a party we have refrained from taking part in the election for the reason that we have not been given the treatment which is our right and due, all the same we tender our heartiest congratulations to you. Now, Sir, there are wide and deep differences between the party to which you belonged immediately before your election to the high office and my party. There are also other parties with different ideologies in this House. These differences and divergences may come into play on occasions in spite of our earnest desire for co-operation and ardent wish for rapid progress. On such occasions, I am sure, you will hold the balance even between all sections of the House and render them even-handed justice as the custodian of the rights and privileges of the whole House. I am confident, Sir, that you will so conduct the proceedings of this House as to inspire confidence amongst all the sections of the House and establish traditions of which the whole House will be proud and your successors also will be proud to follow. I am sure that you with your high qualities and undoubted abilities

25th May 1946] [M. Muhammad Ismail Sahib Bahadur]

will be able to establish such traditions which will be a guarantee of the rights of all hon. Members. Once more, Mr. Speaker, I tender you the heartiest felicitations of myself and my party on your election to the high office."

* KUMARARAJA SIR MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD:—"Mr. Speaker, on this historic occasion when the Assembly is meeting again after an interval of about seven years, it is very pleasing to see a member belonging to your community occupy the exalted office of Speaker. I offer you my congratulations on behalf of the Independent Group in this House and I wish to couple my congratulations with an assurance of sincere co-operation. For I believe that that is the best form of congratulation for a Speaker presiding over the destinies of this House. This is the greatest honour that can be conferred on a member of this House. You, Sir, Mr. Speaker, have already occupied the Mayor's Chair in the Madras Corporation ten or twelve years ago and you have discharged your duties there with great distinction. In this connexion I may say it was given to some of us fifteen or sixteen years ago to evolve a convention regarding the election to the Mayoral Chair and thanks to that convention, a member of your community has been elected twice to that Chair including yourself and to-day those of us who took part in evolving that convention feel a legitimate pride in seeing that it has been possible for a member of your community to be elected as Speaker of this august body. Sir, I am not going to offer you any advice regarding your work in the Speaker's Chair, but permit me to say that great traditions have grown round the Chair you occupy and it will be a great task for anyone to live up to those great traditions. Let me wish you the best of luck and express the hope to see you occupy the Chair for a number of years. I have no doubt that you will be able to discharge your duties with great dignity and to the complete satisfaction of all of us. I am sure with your integrity of character we can certainly rely upon you to satisfy all the legitimate demands which we members of the House can make of you. Once more I offer you my sincere congratulations and wish you the best of luck."

* Mr. H. S. TOWN:—"Mr. Speaker, on behalf of myself and the group to which I belong I offer you our sincere congratulations and associate myself with the words that have already been spoken. You have accepted a very great responsibility, the responsibility of protecting the dignity of a democratic legislature and I feel sure that you will carry out those duties with the same impartiality which has marked the work of the many great men who have been Speakers in the leading democracies of this world. One of your principal duties will be to see that the minorities—hated word, let me say—smaller group—in this House are given a fair chance to express their views. My small group look back with pleasure and satisfaction to the way in which your predecessor-in-office looked after us. We almost felt that we not only got our fair chance but we sometimes had a little more weight than we thought we were entitled to. It was freely given to us and

[Mr. H. S. Town] [25th May 1946]

there was no black-market about it. We hope that in times to come we shall look back to the time we spent under your Speakership and say that you have followed the steps of your predecessor. The manner in which you have been elected to this House is an assurance that you carry the good wishes of everybody and all I have to do now is to wish you every success and to assure you that my group will support you whenever possible throughout your term of office."

SRI V. I. MUNISWAMI PILLAI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is a matter of great pride and privilege to me to stand in this House to congratulate you on the occasion of your elevation to the Speaker's gadi. Illustrious sons of India, more so of our Province, have occupied that Chair with great respect and honour. This time it has fallen to you, Sir, one coming of a community that for ages was kept outside society. If you now occupy that Chair, Sir, it is due to the change of heart of Indians who now realize that though Harijans form a minority community, still they have the mettle to carry on things. I have to bring to the notice of my friends here that yourself and the Hon. the Prime Minister have been chosen by the same constituency and not only the voters but also all the people of that constituency will be happy to see that both of you occupy places of great responsibility. I may say, Sir, that the Speaker's seat is not spread with roses. As some of the previous speakers said, you carry a great responsibility. I may here say, Sir, that you come of a community which produced the great Thiruvalluvar. I am sure that you will hold the balance evenly and do justice not only to all the communities but to the various sections of this House. You will thereby be making history by showing that this community also can produce men who can occupy places of responsibility. Sir, on behalf of the Members of the Harijan community I thank every one of the members of this House for the great honour they have done to the community through you. I heartily congratulate you, Sir, and wish you a good time in your office."

* BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—"Mr. Speaker, I wish to associate myself with our Leader, Mr. Ismail Sahib, in felicitating you on your election as the Speaker of this House. The office to which you have been elected is a very important one, so much so, that in England the convention is that the Speaker has to be dragged to his Chair, a formality showing that the Speaker feels reluctant to occupy the Chair because of the responsibility it entails. The qualities required for a good and successful Speaker are many, namely, quickness of decision, an imperturbable temper, infinite patience, tact, ability, minute knowledge of rules and regulations and above all complete fairness and a sense of impartiality to the various parties of the House and to the topics that are brought before it for deliberation. This impartiality is all the more necessary in a House like this, where the Congress Party has bagged all the posts and the Government has been formed by the members of the same party affiliation to which you belonged before your election and where the members of the Opposition, namely, the Muslim League, though securing

25th May 1946] [Begum Sultan Mir Amiruddin]

cent per cent success in the elections are deplorably so few in numbers. The convention in England is that from the moment the Speaker is elected he ceases to be a party man; he gives up his party leanings and remains neutral in the legislative combat. I hope you, Mr. Speaker, will bring to bear on your high office all the above qualities and will protect the rights and privileges of the members of this House irrespective of party affiliation. Sir, when the Constituent Assembly is formed I should like the representatives of this House to take steps to have the name of 'Speaker' altered to that of 'President' or 'Chairman', because the term 'Speaker' is a misnomer, as in actual fact he has to do the least speaking. The origin of the word is to be found in the fact that in England in the olden days, namely, during the time of the Tudors, the Stuarts and the like, the Speaker was actually the spokesman of the people who addressed the King on behalf of the Commons. History reveals that many a Speaker has given a good bit of his mind to the autocratic monarch of his time. Thus this term has a traditional background in Britain but for us in this country it signifies nothing. I should like the term Speaker to be substituted by one which is correctly expressive of the functions it imports. Why should we borrow exotic terms and expressions which have no bearing on our tradition and which has no association with our history? In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I once again offer you my hearty congratulations and express the hope that you will discharge your duties in a spirit of complete independence and mete out justice and fair-play to all, irrespective of party affiliations and distinctions of caste and creed. In the words of Shakespeare:

"Be just and fear not; let all the ends thou aimest at
Be thy country's, thy God's and truth's."

* SRI P. NATESAN:—"Sir, on behalf of the Indian mercantile community of this Province I wish to offer my congratulations to you. Some of us have been with you in the Corporation of Madras together and we have followed your work as the Mayor of Madras; as several speakers have already said, you did wonderfully well as Mayor in conducting the proceedings of the Corporation. I am sure you will maintain the dignity of this House and carry on the best traditions of this House. Unfortunately, Sir, we on this side of the House, are in a hopeless minority but still I maintain that we represent the intelligentsia of the country as much as the Congress represents the masses of the country. I trust, Sir, you will give us full opportunity to express our views on the floor of the House whenever important points come up for discussion. I offer you once again my congratulations on your election."

SRI S. SAHAJANANDAM:—"தலைவரவர்களே, இப்பொழுது யுத்தம் முடிந்த பிறகு முதல் முதலாக ஏற்பட்ட இந்த சுயராஜ்ய கவர்ன்மென்ட்டில் தாங்கள் சலைமை வகிக்கும்படியான சந்தர்ப்பம் கிடைத்ததனால் அது சரித்திரத்திலேயே பிரசித்தியான சம்பவமாகும். எப்படியென்றால் அந்தக் காலத்திலே அரசியலிலே நம்மவர்கள் தான் சிறந்தவர்களாக விளங்கினார்கள். திருக்குறள் சிறந்த நூலாக விளங்கிற்று. அப்படிப்பட்ட திருவள்ளுவர்

[25th May 1946]

SRI A. SUBRAMANYAM:—“கனம் தலைவரவர்களே, இன்றையதினம் இந்த சென்னை மாகாணத்தில் இந்த சபையில் உங்களைப்போன்ற ஒரு சிறந்த தலைவர் பதவி வகிப்பதானது இந்த மாகாணத்திற்கு மட்டுமல்ல இந்தியா விற்கே ஒரு பெருமையைக் கொடுக்கக்கூடிய முக்கிய சம்பவமாகும் என்பதை இந்த சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் நான் எடுத்துக்காட்ட விரும்புகின்றேன். அதுமட்டுமல்ல, கங்கிரஸ் தனது கடைமையச் சரிவர இந்த மாகாணத்தில் செய்து காட்டியிருக்கிறதென்பதையும் இச் சமயத்தில் சொல்லிக்கொள்ள விரும்புகிறேன். அடுத்தபடியாக உங்களுடைய அறிவு, ஆற்றல், கீர்த்தி இவைகளைக்கண்டு நான் சந்தோஷப்படுகிறேன். மேலும், நீங்கள் இம்மாதிரியாக ஒரு பெரிய பதவியை இங்கு அடைந்ததானது இந்த மாகாணத்திலுள்ள சகலரும், ஜாதி மத வித்தியாசமின்றி இந்த சபையில் வீற்றிருக்கக்கூடிய அங்கத்தினர்கள் அத்தனை பேர்களுடைய பூரண ஆதரவும் இருக்கிறதென்பதைக் கூட, இந்த சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் சொல்லிக்கொள்ள நான் விரும்புகிறேன். ஏனெனில், இந்த நாட்டில் இம்மாதிரியான போற்றுதற்குரிய சம்பவத்தை காட்டியது எப்பொழுதும் பொன் எழுத்துக்களால் பொறிக்கக்கூடிய அம்சமாகும். இம்மாதிரியான பல சம்பவங்களில் தாங்கள் பெருமையடையவும் இச்சபைக்குத் தகுந்த வழிகாட்டியாகவுயிருக்க வேண்டுமென்றும் பிரார்த்தித்துக் கேட்டுக்கொண்டு எனதுவார்த்தையை முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

11-45
a.m.

SRIMATHI V. LAKSHMI AMMAL:—“அக்கிராஸூதிபதியவர்களே, ஸ்ரீ ஷண்முகம் பிள்ளை தலைவராக வந்ததற்கு ஸ்திரீகள் சார்பாகவும் காங்கிரஸ் சார்பாகவும் நான் என்னுடைய பெருமையைத் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். ஸ்ரீ சிவஷண்முகம் பிள்ளையவர்கள் ஹரிஜன் சமூகத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவரென்பது மட்டுமல்ல. சிவஷண்முகம் பிள்ளையவர்களுக்கு தகுந்த அனுபவமும் இருக்கிறதென்பது எல்லோருக்கும் தெரிந்த விஷயம், சென்னை நகர கார்ப்பரேஷனில் அவர் மேயராக இருந்து அவர் ஒரு அனுபவம் பெற்றிருக்கிறார். ஸ்பீக் கமிட்டியில் அவர் ஒரு அங்கத்தினராய் இருந்திருக்கிறார். அவருக்கு இந்தப்பதவியை வகிப்பதற்குத் தகுந்த யோக்கியதாம்சம் இருக்கிறதென்பதைத் தெரிந்து தான் ஹரிஜன் வகுப்பை சேர்ந்தவரென்பதற்காக மட்டுமல்ல ஸ்ரீ சிவஷண்முகம் பிள்ளையவர்கள் இந்தத் தலைவர் பதவி வகிப்பதற்குத் தகுந்த யோக்கியதை இருக்கிறதென்று தெரிந்து அவருக்கு அந்த ஸ்தானம் கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறதென்பதை நான் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ள விரும்புகிறேன். அவர்கள் பலவிதமான அபிப்பிராய முள்ள கஷ்டிகள் அடங்கிய 215 பேர்களிலுள்ள சபையில் தகுந்த முறையில் யாரும் போற்றக்கூடிய முறையில் யாருக்கும் வழிகாட்டக்கூடிய முறையில் அவர்கள் தலைவர் ஸ்தானத்தைப் பெருமைப்படுத்துவாரென்பதில் சந்தேகமில்லை. அம்மாதிரி செய்யவேண்டுமென்று இறைவனைப் பிரார்த்திக்கின்றேன். ஸ்ரீ சிவஷண்முகம் பிள்ளை சென்னை மாகாண தலைவராக தேர்ந்தெடுத்ததற்கு கனம் சுப்ரமணியம் அவர்கள் சொன்ன மாதிரி இந்தியா தேசம் பூராவும் ஒன்று திரண்டு ஹரிஜன் வகுப்பு என்பது நம் சுயராஜ்ய காலத்தில் ஒழிந்துபோக வேண்டும், மற்றவர்களுடைய சமூகத்தில் அது மறைந்துவிடவேண்டுமென்பது என்னுடைய விருப்பம், மகாத்மா காந்திபவர்களுக்கு இது ஒரு பெரிய சந்தோஷகரமான செய்தியாக விருக்குமென்பதும் என்னுடைய அபிப்பிராயம். இந்த தலைவர் ஸ்தானத்திலிருந்து அவர்கள் உயரிய முறையில் தலைவர் பதவியை நடத்துவாரென்பதாகக் கேட்டுக்கொண்டு என்னுடைய சந்தோஷத்தைத் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்கிறேன்.”

DR. M. J. SAMUEL:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, coming as I do from a minority community like yours, I feel it a great privilege to stand on the floor of this House and identify myself with all the sentiments that have been expressed by the other speakers who preceded me. Sir, really I feel glad on this occasion particularly because of your elevation to the Speaker's chair by the majority Party. Though there are many members in the Congress Party who are more learned, the fact that they have chosen to elect you as the Speaker speaks well for the future of our country. As communalism still exists in the country, the National Congress

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[Dr. M. J. Samuel]

thought it better to confer a position of trust and responsibility on a member of your community. As long as communalism exists in this country, I think it is the duty of the major communities to give positions of responsibility to the minority communities. Sir, I once again congratulate you on your elevation to the Speaker's chair.”

SRI M. BAPINEEDU:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, I should be failing in my duty if I did not associate myself on this happy occasion in offering my felicitations to you. As a humble worker in the cause of Harijans, I feel very happy indeed to find you in this exalted position. I am sure that all my friends will join me in offering their congratulations to you. Sir, as already mentioned by some of the previous speakers, you have occupied another important place in the Corporation of Madras, the position of Worshipful Mayor. I am sure that on this occasion everybody feels happy and proud on your election as the Speaker of this House and I am sure you will prove to be a successful Speaker here. I once again offer my hearty congratulations to you on this occasion.”

* **SRI S. NAGAPPA:**—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, I take this opportunity to congratulate you on this happy occasion when you have been raised from the position of Worshipful Mayor to that of the Hon. Speaker of this august Assembly. It gives the greatest pleasure not only to me, Sir, but to the whole of my community numbering 12½ crores in this country. Particularly, I wish to thank all my friends in this august body for having elected a member of my community to this position. Now, Sir, I do not feel that I belong to a minority community, but I feel that I am as much a member of a majority community as any other member of this House sitting here. Again, Sir, I may be a member of a minority community in the matter of educational, economic and political status, but I am confident that the majority communities will do justice not only in the manner that they have done to-day, but even in the days to come when we are free from this bondage. You all know, Sir, that we are already on the threshold of independence—we are sure to get it, if not to-day, at least to-morrow—and I hope then that the members of my community will not only occupy such speakerships, but they will be national Premiers even and that they will prove successful rulers of this country. So, Sir, I once again take this opportunity of congratulating you not only on my behalf, but also on behalf of the Adi-Andhra Provincial Sangham of which I am the Secretary.

“Sir, my hon. Friend, Mr. Vaidyanatha Ayyar, mentioned that he felt the greatest pride to see a member of the Harijan community in this exalted position and I hope during his regime and during his lifetime, he will occupy better positions and do better justice to all the people of this country. Now, Sir, I once again congratulate you heartily before I resume my seat.”

* **N. MUHAMMAD ANWAR SAHIB BAHADUR:**—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, one thing that we have heard in this House is that you had this distinction as a member of the minority

[N. Muhammad Anwar Sahib Bahadur] [25th May 1946]

community, but I feel that that expression runs counter to the culture of the community. As you know, belonging as we do to a community whose life-blood is equality, I mean the Muslim League Party to which I have the right and honour to belong, we are wedded to the religion of Islam whose quintessence is equality; indeed, our watchwords are liberty, equality and fraternity; we have been feeling this all our life—it is nothing strange that you should have been elected to this high office. Indeed, it has been the tragedy of this country that it has been divided into ever so many castes and creeds, but we as Muslims feel that we have no caste among ourselves. We have no distinction by which we should say that a particular member should feel immensely favoured by the community if he should be chosen in spite of the backwardness of his caste. Indeed, we welcome your election for this reason, that if only from top to bottom the backward communities are placed in the citadels of administration, we would never have seen the tragedy that we see around us to-day. It is the wearer alone who knows where the shoe pinches. Therefore, it is only the backward communities that can understand what their problems are and in that sense, since you have been elected to this high office of a quasi-judicial position, we trust that you will discharge your duties without detriment to the aspirations of the minority communities. It is indeed in the fitness of things that you should have been elected to the Chair and that you should have to protect the rights not only of the party that is in power but also of the parties which represent the minorities in this country."

* MR. L. C. PAIS:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, speaking on behalf of myself and the members of the Indian Christian community to which I belong, it is my great pleasure to offer you the best of felicitations and the best of congratulations on your election as Speaker. Sir, we know you and we know your personal attainments and character and we also know your success in the past. Knowing as we do, therefore, your personal attainments and character, we have not the least doubt that your Speakership in this House will be an absolute success. You belong to a minority community as I do and the Congress in electing you as the Speaker of this House has no doubt recognized the claims of minorities. A little more of sympathy between man and man, between community and community and I am sure the regeneration of our Province will be an accomplished fact. I wish once again to offer you the best of congratulations and good wishes on your election."

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noon.

* MRS. JABAMANI MASILAMANI:—"கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, இந்திய சிறிஸ்தவ மாதர்களின் சார்பாக என்னுடைய மனமார்ந்த வாழ்த்து தலைத் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். எல்லாம் வல்ல இறைவன் தங்களுக்குப் புரண ஆயுளும் போதிய சக்தியும் அருளுமாறு கடவுளைப் பிரார்த்தித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

SRI B. PARAMESWARAN:—"I rise, Mr. Speaker, to congratulate you on your election as Speaker of this august Assembly. The community to which I belong has particular reason to be proud of your election as this event marks a definite stage in

[May 1946] [Sri B. Parameswaran]

the progress of the Scheduled Castes. In the year 1895, nearly fifty years ago, the late Diwan Bahadur R. Srinivasan organized a meeting at the Victoria Public Hall, the first of its kind, to shape the inarticulate community into an organized community to claim a distinct place and to be recognized by the powers-that-be along with other communities in this country. You could hardly find at that time an educated man belonging to the community with political sagacity and political insight to preside over a meeting of that kind, in which a very important resolution affecting the interests of the community was passed and communicated to the members of the House of Commons. But this was in those days. Those were days of acute untouchability; they were days of our struggle for recognition of the rights and privileges of our community. Bearing in mind at the same time the hard fact that the age-long disabilities under which the community has been suffering could not be thrown overboard in the mere twinkling of an eye and that progress must necessarily be slow and gradual and comparing the happy position of our community to-day, we cannot but admit that our progress has been really admirable and the position that you occupy to-day as the Speaker of this House, is proof of that progress. The Madras Provincial Congress Legislature Party by nominating you to the Speakership has acted with generosity and statesmanship. They have proved to the world their sincerity to advance the interests of the Scheduled classes and to further their progress. This is the first time, we believe, in the history of the Provincial Legislatures and the Central Legislature and the history of India not to speak of the history of our own community that a member of the Scheduled classes has been elected to this high office. Hon. Members of the House can feel legitimately proud of the worthy and noble precedent that they have set. With the unstinted co-operation of the members of this House, I have no doubt, that you will maintain the fair name, the great prestige, the high dignity and the noble traditions that have been so closely associated with the most covetable and high office you occupy with unique privilege in this House. I once again most heartily congratulate you and wish you all success."

SRI S. GURUVULU:—"அத்யக்ஷ! மக மூவாஸு காங்கரெஸ் பார்டீ தமஸ அப்யக்ஷஸிஸா எஸ்ஸு கோஸ்துண்டவல்ல, முஷ்யுமென உக விசேஷம் ப்ரபஞ்சகஸிஸி வெட்டி சேஸ்துண்டி. ఎందుచేతనంటే మన (40) వలెజోట్లు ప్రజలతో (10) పది కోట్లు హరి జనులు. మనయొక్క అభిమానము స్థితిని తెలుసుకున్నది మన కాంగ్రెసు సంఘ. ఇప్పుడు మన ముదాసు ప్రెసిడెన్సీలో. కలిగిన హరిజన అభ్యున్నతిని చూపడానికి మన కాంగ్రెసు పార్టీ ఈ విధముగా సూచించింది. ఇప్పుడు ఉన్న ఈ మంత్రులు 1937 వ సం॥పు ఎన్నికల తరువాత రాజ్యముచేసి లింగ రాజనామాఇన్ని జైళ్ళకు వెళ్లి స్వతంత్రపోరాటము సాగించారు ఆ పోరాటముతో స్వతంత్ర నిరోధకశక్తులు కొన్ని బయలుదేరినవి ఆ ప్రతిపాళకలను బలపరచడానికి కొందరు హరిజనులు కూడా ప్రయత్నించేరు. ఇప్పుడుకూడా భారతదేశములో హరిజనులు రెండు (2) పార్టీలుగా ఉన్నారు. ఒకటి అంబేద్కరు పార్టీ ఇంతవరకుకూడా వా. కాంగ్రెసు మీద ఆశ్రయముతో ఉన్నారు. కాని ఇప్పుడు కాంగ్రెసు పార్టీ ఆ ఆశ్రయంను

[Mr. W. J. Fernandez] [25th May 1946]

I beg to tender you our sincerest congratulations on your election unopposed to the exalted office of Speaker of this Assembly. I have not had the privilege of knowing you firsthand; but from the tributes of praise lavished on you by all sections of the House, it seems very clear that you are eminently fitted for the office of Speaker. I wish you a long and successful career as Speaker and I trust that you will maintain the great traditions of your office."

DR. D. S. RAMACHANDRA RAO:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I take this opportunity to tender you my hearty congratulations on your being elected as the Speaker of this House. Twenty years have passed since the Congress started the Harijan movement; and during those twenty years great changes have taken place in this Presidency. Madras Presidency then had earned the notoriety of being a benighted Presidency, where communal and religious prejudice reigned supreme. Whatever the truth of that statement might be, to-day those things are not true of our Presidency. Twenty years ago, when the Congress started its movement, members of your community hesitated to come into the Congress. But later on, somehow, that fear, distrust and suspicion passed away; lots of people joined the Congress gradually, slowly and step by step; and now, Sir, to-day your elevation to the Speaker's chair marks the crowning success of that movement. From all I see and know, I think greater and better things are going to take place. Your elevation to the Chair, where impartiality and justice are called for, not only to the majority but also to the minority and to all those who suffer from lack of numerical strength, is signal proof that Congress recognizes real merit, wherever it may be found. Sir, on behalf of myself and of all those who think with me, I offer my felicitations and hearty congratulations. I trust when Congress recognizes real merit, inferiority complex on one part and superiority complex on the other part would be shed before long, and in this Assembly all differences will vanish; all those who are to-day timid to join the Congress will join it and we shall all form into one and only one party, one national party. I wish you good luck."

SRI P. KAKKAN:—"சபாநாயகரவர்களே, உங்களை நான் மனப்பூர்வமாக வாழ்த்துகின்றேன். தங்களுடைய பதவிக்கு காரணகர்த்தாவாக இருந்தவர் மகாத்மா காந்தி யென்பதை ரூபகத்தில் வைத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். காந்தியின் கூட்டுத்தொகுதி முறைதான் காரணம். உண்மையாகவே அவர்கள் கூட்டுத் தொகுதி முறையை வைக்காமலிருந்தார்களானால் தாங்கள் தலைவராக வரமுடியாதென்பதை நிச்சயமாகச் சொல்லுவேன். இன்று டாக்டர் அம்பேத்கார் தனித்தொகுதி முறையால் ஒன்றும் நடக்காது. தாங்கள் தலைமை வகிப்பது நமது காங்கிரஸ் மகாசபையால்தான். ஆகவே காந்தியின் உண்மை தத்துவத்தைக் கடைப்பிடித்த தமிழ் நாடு காங்கிரஸ் ஊழியர்கள் காமராஜ நாடார் போன்ற ஊழியர்கள்தான் தாங்கள் தலைவர் பதவிக்கு வர உதவி செய்தார்களென்பதை உண்மையாகச் சொல்லுகின்றேன். ஆகவே தாங்கள் தலைமைவகிக்கும் நாட்களிலே முதலாவதாக நமது நாடும் இரண்டாவதாக நமது சமூகமும் நல்ல முன்னேற்றமடைய வேண்டுமென்று வேண்டிக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

* SRI K. VARADACHARI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to add my weight (laughter) to the chorus of praise that you have been receiving from several quarters, both on territorial and on communal grounds. I belong to a district which forms part of

25th May 1946] [Sri K. Varadachari]

Rayalaseema. On behalf of the members of that area and on behalf of myself, I offer you my heartiest congratulations on your elevation to the Speaker's *gadi*. (A voice: 'Why can't you speak on behalf of all?') A member from the West Coast was speaking for that part of the Province, and several others, also were doing likewise. Sir, you will excuse me if I speak on behalf of the party to which I belong, the Congress Party and even though the leader of that party has offered his congratulations already. Seeing that several members could not but express their appreciation and admiration for you, I thought I should also express my feelings on this great occasion. Member after member has been asking that the privileges of minorities, the traditions of this House, and in general the rights and privileges of members should be protected and safeguarded by you from your present seat. I am said to belong to a community which is a most minor one in the Province. (Laughter.) Yet I have never considered myself to belong to it alone. I hope that members of your community will think likewise. The time has come when all communities should feel that they all belong to only one community. They need not be afraid of anything untoward happening to them in the future. I for my part am inclined to feel that I have absolutely no fear at the hands of any other community in this Province or in this country. I hope, Sir, I will not be misunderstood. Once more I congratulate you."

SRI M. P. PERIASWAMI:—"தலைவரவர்களே, சென்னை மாகாணத்திலே தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட மக்களிலே பிறந்த நம் சமூகத்தார் ஒருவரை இந்த மகாசபையின் தலைவராகத் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்டதை ஹரிஜனங்கள் சார்பாக நான் காங்கிரஸ் மகாசபைக்கு என்னுடைய நன்றியைத் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். நம்முடைய சமூகத்திலே கணக்காலுக்கு கீழே துணி கட்டமுடியவில்லை. செருப்புபோட முடியாத சமூகத்திலே பிறந்தவரை தலைவராக காங்கிரஸ் சார்பாகத் தேர்ந்தெடுத்ததற்கு மனமார்ந்த நன்றியைச் செலுத்துகின்றேன். ஒரு யூனியன் போர்டில் நன்றாகப் படித்த ஹரிஜன் மெம்பராக வந்தால் அவன் சேர்மனாகக்கூட வரமுடியாது. செல்வாக்குடையவர்கள்தான் எழுதப்படிக்கத் தெரியாதவர்களாக இருந்தாலும் சேர்மனாகவந்து விடுகிறார்கள். இப்பேர்ப்பட்ட ஒரு மாகாணத்தில் தலைவராகத் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்டதற்கு நாம் நன்றி செலுத்தவேண்டியது நமது கடமை. ஆனால் இதேமாதிரி ஸ்தல ஸ்தாபனங்களில் ஹரிஜனத் தலைவராகத் தேர்ந்தெடுத்தால் காங்கிரஸ் மகாசபை காலத்தில் மதிப்பாய் இருக்கும் என்று சொல்லி முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

THE ZAMINDAR OF MIRZAPURAM:—"Mr. Speaker, 12-30 p.m.
Sir, I take this opportunity of offering my heartiest congratulations on behalf of myself as well as on behalf of the landholders of the constituency to which I have the honour to belong, on your election as the Speaker of this House. You know that it is a very responsible position to be the Speaker of this House, and I hope that you will try to safeguard the interests of all the communities and parties in this Hon. House. I would like to express to this House that the landholders are in a minority, and the impressions which the outsiders are having of the landholders are that they are slaves and that they dare not go against the wishes of established government. But I can assure you, Sir, of one

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thing that the landholders also are for getting independence to this country. They want independence; they want Swaraj. They would not like to be slaves of the government in power. So, Sir, I request that the impression about the landholders, which the country and especially the Congress Party are having, shall be eliminated from their minds. They should think that the landholders are also independent and that they can also do things which they think proper, and that they are not afraid of losing their status or whatever it may be. I can assure you, Sir, that they will not hesitate to support a measure if, in their opinion, the measure is proper, whether it is brought by the Congress Party or by any other party. Sir, with these few words, I offer my heartiest congratulations to you and resume my seat."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Sister and brother members of the Assembly, at the outset let me inform you that I am going to make a very short reply. I have already heard for one and a half hours congratulatory speeches. Let me inform you, gentlemen, that one member has remarked that I am occupying this seat, because I belong to the Scheduled Caste. I do not think so. I am occupying this place simply because I am fit to occupy this place. (Hear, hear.) I wish to thank you all for the honour you have done me in electing me unanimously to the Speakership. I assure you, specially this block (turning to the Opposition block), that I will be impartial in the discharge of my duties. Somebody remarked that the Chair was not a bed of roses. In my opinion, Sir, if the members are willing, they can make it a bed of roses; it is entirely in their hands. If you want, you can make this a hell. I know I have enough powers. I do not like to be a teacher exercising his powers upon his students. Success of the Chair entirely depends not only upon the Speaker, but also upon the members. Unless there is co-operation between the Speaker and the members, the Assembly would be a pandemonium. So, ladies and gentlemen, I request you all to co-operate with me in the discharge of my duties. Once again I assure you, that I will be impartial towards all sections of this House. (Hear, hear.) Once again I request you to co-operate with me in the discharge of my duties."

SWEARING IN OF MEMBERS.

The following two Members, who had not made their oath of allegiance earlier, took their oath:—

- (1) Sri Pazhia Kudumban.
- (2) „ S. Ratnaswami.

III.—ELECTION OF DEPUTY SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The next item in the List of Business is the election of the Deputy Speaker.

"Under sub-rule (4) of rule 8 of the Madras Assembly Rules, I have first to read out to the Assembly the names of the persons

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[Mr. Speaker]

who have been duly proposed, together with the names of their proposers and seconders. They are—

Member nominated.	Proposer.	Seconders.
Srimathi C. Ammanna Raja.	Sri A. Kaleswara Rao.	Sri Tenneti Viswanatham.
Srimathi C. Ammanna Raja.	„ Kala Venkata Rao.	„ B. Gopala Reddi.
Srimathi C. Ammanna Raja.	„ M. Bapineedu.	„ G. Venkanna.

"As only one member has been proposed for election, namely, Srimathi C. Ammanna Raja, I declare her duly elected as Deputy Speaker."

* BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to offer my congratulations to Srimathi Ammanna Raja on her election as the Deputy Speaker of this House. As a humble worker in the cause of the uplift of the womanhood of this land irrespective of caste and creed, it gives me, I may assure you, infinite pleasure to do so. For a number of years past, it has been the convention of this House to have a woman as its Deputy Speaker. It was as early as 1926, that is, twenty years ago, that this House was the first legislative body not merely in the sub-continent of India, but in the whole world, to appoint a woman to the post of Deputy Speaker, and that woman discharged her duties with such remarkable ability that she was an object of pride to the whole of India. When I was in England I mentioned this fact in the speeches that I delivered to various organizations there, particularly to the members of the British Parliament, to demonstrate to them how progressive South India was in regard to women's rights. I am very glad to find that this convention is being maintained by this House. I hope that Srimathi Ammanna Raja, being endowed with the attributes of womanhood, will discharge her duties whenever she is called upon to preside over the deliberations of this House with unqualified fairness. I wish her every success."

THE HON. MRS. RUKMINI LAKSHMIPATHI:—"Sir, on behalf of the Government of Madras, I have very great pleasure in offering my sincere felicitations to Srimathi Ammanna Raja on her election as Deputy Speaker of this august Assembly. I endorse the opinion of Begum Mir Amiruddin when she said that the tradition of having a woman as the Deputy Speaker of the Assembly had been maintained. It is true indeed that as early as in the year 1926 Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi had the proud privilege of occupying the post of Deputy President of the then Legislative Council under the Montford Reforms. Even to-day the tradition has been kept up and I am indeed immensely pleased over that. Sir, Madras has had the unique honour of having elected for the first time a Speaker belonging to the community of Harijans, and the tradition of continuing the practice of electing a woman as Deputy Speaker has also been maintained. (Interruption: 'Keep up the convention.') I am not sure whether this convention, as has been suggested by one of the members of the Opposition will be maintained. But I do hope, however,

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that this convention would be continued in future. As has been stated by several of the speakers, the Speaker of the Assembly should be guided by the principle that he should be impartial and maintain the dignity, honour and integrity of the Speaker's seat. I do hope that Srimathi Ammannappa Raja would also maintain the dignity and honour attached to this high office. I am sure that the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker would be able to discharge the onerous duties entrusted to them in a fitting manner."

* SRI A. KALESWARA RAO:—"Mr. Speaker, I also want to associate myself with the chorus of congratulations offered to our Deputy Speaker, Srimathi Ammannappa Raja. The Congress Party claims to be representative of all communities and also of both the sexes. Therefore there is no wonder that the Congress Party has elected you, Sir, belonging to the Harijan community for the Speakership and Srimathi Ammannappa Raja who belongs to the fair sex for the Deputy Speakership. It is only given to India, Sir, to show that with the establishment and growth of democracy women have been getting equal share with men in the privileges that are conferred. It took several years for women in Britain to fight in the suffragist movement to get votes and to get membership in the Parliament. Even to-day that privilege is denied to women in France. It is only in India that with the development in constitutional advance, women also are getting equal share with men. So also in modern Turkey. The reason is that in the struggle for freedom, women have made equal sacrifices with men and they fought side by side with men. It is right that they should get equal share in the power and prestige of Swaraj. That is the reason why women are not behind in public work in fighting for the freedom of the country and in being appointed to posts from the smallest panchayats to the highest legislative bodies. We have had women Ministers and Deputy Speakers so far. I am looking forward for the day when we shall have a woman Speaker not only for this House but also for the Indian Parliament of the Indian Republic which we are going to establish very soon. I am sure that both the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker have been elected not because they belonged to a particular community or sex but on account of their capacity, character and culture. I am sure Srimathi Ammannappa Raja will discharge her duty with great ability and will command the respect of the whole House. With these words, I again offer my hearty congratulations to her."

* SINNA KAZIYAR HAJI S. A. F. IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is very unfortunate that I was not able to catch the eve of the Speaker to congratulate him. Anyhow I am not too late. I have been able to find an opportunity to do so while speaking on this subject. I have got a few important points to make. The first thing is you have occupied this enviable seat on merits. It is really a wonder to me why so much importance should be attached to the community. Is it a disqualification to be a Harijan? Is it that Harijans as a community are debarred from becoming members and occupying such high positions? When things are changing all the world over, why should you continue to be the oldest of the old? What are you? You are here not

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[Sinna Kaziyar Haji S. A. F. Ibrahim Sahib Bahadur]

because of your community, not because of your parentage, not because of your heredity. I think that it is not because you belong to the Scheduled Caste that you have been elected, but I am strongly of the opinion that you have been elected because of your merits. There is another thing, Sir, that I should like to point out. Different things have been said in favour of your occupying this seat. Different views have also been expressed. Now we have seen you in other fields and we have yet to see you in future what you are going to do as a Speaker. I am sure as a Speaker also you will be very successful. One of the great things that the Speaker should have is, he must have the patience of a camel. (A voice: 'Is he congratulating the Speaker or the Deputy Speaker?') In my introduction I have said that I am availing myself of this opportunity to congratulate both. As a Muslim Leaguer, I want to say a few words further. Generally it is understood a community or a nation that cannot stand on its own legs has no right to exist in this world. A community should stand on its own legs. As a Muslim I should like to say, and I am not afraid to do so, that in the interests of the success of this Assembly, if you want our co-operation which we are willing to give, you should be impartial and safeguard the rights of all communities. (Mr. Speaker: 'I have already assured you that I would be impartial'.) I have come late and you should give some concession for my coming late. Your policy should be 'The world is my country. All men are my brethren and to do good is my religion.' That should be the policy of not only the Speaker but also the Deputy Speaker. If we are to continue our co-operation one thing you should understand, Sir, that no man can be grateful at the cost of his self-respect, no woman can be grateful at the cost of her chastity and no nation can be grateful at the cost of its honour. We want to co-operate but we want your co-operation also. After all, the fate of a few millions of this Province is in our hands. If there is hearty co-operation and smooth running of the administration on a constructive basis, we may be helpful to this Province and we can also give a lead to the other Provinces of India to usher in and create a record in the history of Indian nationalism."

SRIMATHI V. SITAMAHALAKSHMAMMA:— "అధ్యక్షా !

ఉపాధ్యక్షురాలిగా ఎన్నుకొన్న శ్రీమతి ఆమ్మన్న రాజగారికి నా ఆభివందనములు. మన దేశములో స్త్రీలు మానవ జాతిలో సగముగా యున్నారు. గాని ఆహ్వానము లేనందువల్ల ఈ నాటికి వారి సత్వముతో ఉన్నాము. అందుచేతనే గాంధీగారు స్త్రీలందరూ మేల్కొని బైటకు రావలసిన అన్నారు. ఆయన ఉద్యమాలలో స్త్రీ జాతి అంతా దేశ స్వాతంత్ర్యానికి పాటు పడవలసిన అన్నారు. ఈ శాసన సభలో స్థానములు కాంక్షిస్తున్న నేనా ఫలితముగా స్త్రీలకు లభించినవి. మన కాంగ్రెసు పార్టీవారు స్త్రీలైన ఆమ్మన్న రాజగారిచేత ఈ నాడు ఆ పదవిని అలంకరింపజేయించారు. లోగడ ఈ స్థానాన్ని మన రుక్మిణమ్మగారు అలంకరించారు. ఈ స్థానాన్ని మన ఆమ్మన్న రాజగారు అలంకరించాలి అని నేను కాంగ్రెసు పార్టీ తరఫున మా ఆభివందనములను ఆర్పిస్తున్నాను."

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P.m. SRI P. KANDASWAMI PILLAI:—“ Mr. Speaker, I tender my hearty congratulations to the hon. Member, Srimathi Ammanna Raja, on her election as Deputy Speaker of the House. It has given great satisfaction to all the members of the House to have been able to elect a lady to be the Deputy Speaker of this House. Two charges are usually levelled against our countrymen by foreigners and they are about the backward condition of our women generally and the backward condition of certain classes of our people. Sir, the Congress has been trying its best to improve the condition of these people and to do justice to all irrespective of community or sex. The Congress Party in this Assembly has taken this opportunity to elect you, Mr. Speaker, to the high office you at present occupy and for which you are eminently fitted and also to elect a lady to the office of Deputy Speaker for which also she is eminently fitted. These two elections have given great satisfaction to all the members of this Assembly. Mr. Speaker, Madras is leading the other Provinces in several matters and the elections of to-day are one more example of the same. Once more, Mr. Speaker, I express my sincere congratulations to you and to Srimathi Ammanna Raja on the election to the offices you are holding.”

SRI K. SUBRAMANYAM:—“ சபாநாயகரவர்களே, தங்களுக்கு கிடைத்த வாழ்த்துக்களைப் பாராட்டியும் தங்களின் கீழ் இப்பொழுது பெட்டி ஸ்பீக்கராகத் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றார்களே அவர்களுக்கு என்னுடைய தாய் பாஷையாகிய தமிழில் வாழ்த்துச் சொல்லவேண்டுமென்றும் வந்து நிற்கின்றேன். எனக்கு முன் பேசின 2, 3 ஸ்திரீகள் ஏதோ சம்பிரதாய மிருப்பதாகவும் அதையொட்டி ஒரு ஸ்திரீ பெட்டி ஸ்பீக்கராகத் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்டதற்கு தாங்கள் சந்தோஷப்படுவதாகவும் பேசினார்கள். அவர்களுடைய சந்தோஷம் இந்த பெட்டி ஸ்பீக்கர் பதவியோடு நிற்காமல் சம்பிரதாயம் உடைக்கப்பட்டு ஸ்பீக்கராகவும் ஸ்திரீகள் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்படக் கூடிய நல்லகாலம் பிறக்கவேண்டுமென்கிற ஆசையோடு நான் இந்த வார்த்தைகளைச் சொல்லுகின்றேன். அதற்குப் பின் இந்த சிரமமே இல்லாத படி ஆண் பெண் என்கிற பேதமில்லாமல் அவர்களுடைய அடிமையைப் போக்கி அவர்களுடைய உரிமையை அவர்களுக்குக் கொடுக்கக்கூடிய நல்ல காலம் வரும் என்கிற வார்த்தையோடும் அப்பேர்ப்பட்ட ஒரு நல்ல காலம் வருகிறது அதற்கு அறிஞரியாக இருக்கக்கூடிய படிசிகள் என்கிற முறையில் மற்றும் ஒரு முறை ஸ்ரீமதி அம்மன்னராஜா அவர்களுக்கு என்னுடைய தாய் பாஷையாகிய தமிழின் மூலம் தமிழர்கள் சார்பாகவும் வாழ்த்துக் கூறுகிறேன் என்று சொல்லிக்கொண்டு இந்த சந்தர்ப்பத்தை அளித்ததற்காக உங்களுக்கு என்னுடைய வந்தனத்தைத் தெரிவித்துக்கொண்டு முடித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

SRIMATHI C. AMMANNA RAJA:—“ There seems to be no necessity for any more congratulatory speeches, especially as nobody has raised any objection to my election. I hope I may proceed to reply to the felicitations already offered to me on my election.

“ அடியே! ఈ దినము మిక్కిలను స్పీకరుగాను నన్ను డిప్యూటీ స్పీకరుగాను ఎన్నుకున్నందుకు వారందరు అభినందించేరు. నేను ముఖ్యముగా ఇంగ్లీషులో మాట్లాడకుండా తెలుగులో మాట్లాడుకున్నందుకు అభినందము లుండదు అనుకుంటున్నాను. అభినందించడములో స్పీకరు హరిజన సభ్యుడుగా ఉండడంవల్లనూ, డిప్యూటీ స్పీకరు స్త్రీ అయినందువల్ల ఈ పదవులు లభించినట్లు సూచించేరు. నేను

[25th May 1946] [Srimathi C. Ammanna Raja]

అందువల్లనే ఈ అభివందనములు అవి అనుకోవడం లేదు. అలాగ కాదని కూడా నా అభిప్రాయము. ముఖ్యముగా హరిజనులు అనేవారు హిందువులలో ఒక తెగగాని అది ఒక్కపక్కే ఒక్కొక్క చిన్నకులము మైనారిటీ కమ్యూనిటీగా హిందువులలో ప్రతి కూలమువారు మైనారిటీ కమ్యూనిటీగా ఎన్నబడవచ్చు. కమ్యూనిటీ కాదని నా అభిప్రాయము. మా కుటుంబము తెలంగా కులము. అందరికంటే మైనారిటీ కమ్యూనిటీ అగుతుంది. కాబట్టి హరిజనులుకూడా హిందువులలో ఒక భాగమేగాని ప్రత్యేకముగా ఒక మైనారిటీ కమ్యూనిటీ అని ఆనడానికి వీలులేదు. అంతేకాకుండా ఒక స్త్రీ డిప్యూటీ స్పీకరుగా ఉండడం అనే కన్వెన్షను, సాంప్రదాయము అని అన్నారు. కాని దానిలో శృష్టి పడక వచ్చేసారి ఒక స్త్రీని స్పీకరుగా చేస్తారని ఈ కన్వెన్షను అడ్డురాదని నా అభిప్రాయము. ఇప్పటికి చాలానేపు అయినది. అందరు ఏకగ్రీవముగా స్పీకరును డిప్యూటీ స్పీకరును ఎన్నుకున్నందుకు నా కృతజ్ఞతా అభివందనములు అర్పిస్తూ నేను విరమించుచున్నాను.”

IV.—DEATH OF MEMBERS.

MR. SPEAKER:—“ I regret to have to inform the House of the deaths of Sri T. K. T. T. Tatachiar, late member for the Chandragiri General (Rural) Constituency and Arakal Sultan Abdur Rahiman Ali Rajah Bahadur, late member for the Chirakkal Muhammadan (Rural) Constituency and desire to express our sense of the loss we have sustained and our sympathy with the relatives. I would request the hon. Members to stand up for a minute in silence.”

The reference was adopted, all the Members standing.

MR. SPEAKER:—“ The House will now adjourn and meet again at 11 a.m. on the 27th May 1946.”

V.—PAPER LAID ON THE TABLE OF THE HOUSE.

Notification appended to G.O. No. 1187, Home, dated 17th April 1946, making certain amendments to Madras Motor Vehicles Rules, 1940, published with Home Department Notification No. 357, dated the 29th March 1940, as subsequently amended.

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Monday, the 27th May 1946.

The House met in the Assembly Chamber, Fort St. George, at eleven of the clock, Mr. Speaker (THE HON. SRI J. SIVASHAN-MUKHAM PILLAI) in the Chair.

[Note.—An asterisk (*) At the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

I.—SWEARING IN OF NEW MEMBERS.

Khan Sahib V. S. Ibrahim Sahib Bahadur and Sri K. A. Nachiyappa Goundar were sworn in.

II.—RESOLUTION OF CONDOLENCE.

* THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—“ Sir, it is my painful duty to move the following motion:—

‘ This House places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the demise of the hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. Patro, K.C.I.E., and conveys its sense of sympathy to the members of the bereaved family.’

“ Sir A. P. Patro was an old friend of mine. He was a member of this Council and also a Minister under the old Constitution.

“ Sir, I do not wish to make a long speech on this motion. The late Sir A. P. Patro was a friend who took considerable pains in the discharge of his duties as Minister in charge of the portfolio of Education. He extensively travelled in Europe studying the various systems of administration and education and returned to the Province anxious to reform the administration here. In all respects he was a very good man and did try to serve his country in his own way.

“ I request the House to pass this motion.”

* MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to associate myself with the sentiments expressed by the Hon. the Leader of the House and I formally second the motion.

“ Sir A. P. Patro, as many of you may know, devoted himself to public life and to the cause of the country from his early days. As stated by the Hon. Mover, he had been a member of the old Legislative Council and Minister for a number of years. As Minister he was responsible for more than one beneficial Act and we see the results of those Acts still existent in this Province. He was a strong fighter in his own way in the cause of the people especially of the weaker section of the population and his death is indeed a loss, a heavy loss to the Province and to the country. I once more echo the sentiments conveyed in the resolution and also expressed by the Hon. Mover.”

* KUMARARAJA SIR MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTI-NAD:—“ Sir, an elder statesman of our Province has just passed away. His end came all on a sudden. As Minister for Education he did distinguished service to the Province. He was responsible for a good many measures connected with the reform of education

[Kunmararaja Sir Muthiah Chettiyar] [27th May 1946]

in our Province. Even after retiring from the Ministry, he did not keep quiet. He was very active in matters connected with the making of a Constitution for the country. Particularly at this time therefore when we are on the eve of great constitutional changes, his loss is greatly to be regretted. He was a very progressive politician. It is fitting that this House should place on record its deep sense of sorrow at the passing away of this statesman and administrator. I associate myself with the sentiments expressed by the Hon. the Leader of the House."

* MR. H. S. TOWN:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, the passing of this great Indian will be received with sorrow by every one and, my community, in particular, feel his loss keenly. He was a very great friend of mine and a very popular Minister. Sir, he had a great sense of humour and we all looked upon him as one of those Indians who could achieve much. His career is worthy of emulation. All in this House will support the motion proposed by the Hon. the Prime Minister."

* SRI V. I. MUNISWAMI PILLAI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to associate myself with the feelings expressed in this House in connexion with this motion on the sad demise of my friend Sir A. P. Patro. Only this morning I came to know of his sudden death. During the time he was Minister for Education and Excise, he was responsible for the most important legislation of the time. It was his amendment of the Education Act, etc., that enabled not only the Scheduled Castes, but many other communities, to enter the Senate or the Syndicate of the University. He was also a great prohibitionist. Within the limited powers that the Ministers then enjoyed, I am proud to say, he was able to give partial prohibition to the hill tribes of the Nilgiris. The Badagas and other hill tribes who were economically backward, were benefited greatly by the introduction of partial prohibition by the late Sir Patro. Apart from all these beneficent measures, I may say he was a genuine friend of the Scheduled classes. I will give one instance. When the hon. Member of the House. Swami Sahajanandam, wanted to go to Malaya to collect funds for the great institution he has been conducting, Sir Patro helped the late Swami Ramalingam with letters of introduction to collect funds for the several schools he was running at Tiruvannamalai where funds became available to enable him to nourish the infant institutions. It is sad to reflect that at this time when we are on the threshold of great constitutional changes, Sir Patro is not with us. I pray to Almighty God to let his soul rest in peace."

* SRI B. GOPALA REDDI:—"Sir, I associate myself with the feelings expressed touching the life of the late Sir Patro. I wish to mention the fact that he was the Minister who piloted successfully the Andhra University Act by recognizing the distinct cultural aspirations of the Andhras. He visualised that institution comprising of all Telugu districts, but to-day five of them are not in the University area. I associate myself with the sentiments expressed by the various speakers."

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Mr. SPEAKER:—"Before I put the resolution to the vote of the House, I desire to associate the Chair with the sentiments expressed on the floor of the House. I knew Sir Patro for a long time. As Minister he has done good service to my community. It is a pity that at a time when we are in need of his help for the great constitutional changes impending, he has been taken away from our midst."

The resolution was carried *nem con*, all the members of the Assembly standing.

GOVERNMENT BILL

*III.—A BILL TO AMEND THE MADRAS PAYMENT OF SALARIES AND REMOVAL OF DISQUALIFICATIONS ACT, 1937 (MADRAS ACT IX OF 1937).

11-15
a.m

* THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to introduce the Bill to amend the Madras Payment of Salaries and Removal of Disqualifications Act, 1937 (Madras Act IX of 1937). The Madras Payment of Salaries and Removal of Disqualifications Act, 1937, was passed in that year after the Congress Party accepted office: the Bill was prepared by the Government then constituted. That Act was in force for about two years and four months when the Congress Ministers were in office. Then they resigned in October 1939. Since then the Government had been conducted by His Excellency the Governor and his Advisers under section 93 of the Government of India Act. Those Ministers who functioned in 1937 and many of their co-workers had been to jail since then, once, twice and thrice and finally they were released in 1945. Then the general elections were held and as a consequence, the Congress Party has come into power once again. This Government has now been obliged to introduce certain important amendments in the old Act to suit the present-day conditions. As hon. Members are aware, so far as the cost of living and the market price of things are concerned, everything has doubled. Therefore, in this Bill, the Government think that it is but reasonable to propose amendments doubling the salaries the Ministers, etc., were getting in 1937, 1938 and 1939. For this purpose, an amending Bill has been placed before this House and I move—

'that the Bill be taken into consideration at once.'"

THE HON. SRI K. R. KARANTH:—"I beg to second it."

Mr. SPEAKER:—"Before the House discusses the motion, I wish to bring to the notice of the House rule 75 (2) which says that on such motion, the principle of the Bill and its general provisions may be discussed."

* M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose the amending Bill that is placed before the House. The Hon. the Leader of the House stated that the introduction of this Bill has been necessitated by the changed circumstances existing to-day. The Statement of Objects and Reasons states that owing to the great increase in the cost

[M. Muhammad Ismail Sahib Bahadur] [27th May 1946]

of living, the salaries and allowances fixed in 1937 have become inadequate, and it is accordingly proposed to increase them to the minimum extent necessary. The salary of Rs. 500 was fixed for the Ministers at a time when Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 4,000 were attached to similar posts as salaries. At that time the Congress Ministry fixed their salary at Rs. 500. Why did they do so? Professedly, as an attempt to carry out the principle of simple living and high thinking. Now what I want them to do is to be consistent with those principles and I want to tell them that even to-day one can lead a decent life on Rs. 500 a month. There are people in the Government employ who are not receiving even Rs. 100—thousands of them. There are people who are getting only Rs. 50 and Rs. 60. The times have changed for them also and they have been asked to be content with dearness allowances of Rs. 13, Rs. 19 and Rs. 23. Even their salaries—meagre salaries—which were meagre even under normal circumstances have not been doubled. Now the salary of Rs. 500 is being sought to be doubled. I want the Ministers to be logical and to be consistent to the principle and to the position which they have already established.

“Then again, a part of their salaries is being mentioned as allowances, house allowance and conveyance allowance; about a third of the salary is being given the name of allowances. I do not think, it is the practice of the Government with regard to most of the Government servants, to adopt this procedure of allowing a third of their salary or half their salary, strictly speaking, as allowances. I don't know why they don't call all the Rs. 1,500 as salary and why they call Rs. 1,000 as salary and Rs. 500 as allowance? Really speaking they are getting a salary of Rs. 1,500. My contention is that according to their own principle, a man can live an honourable life and a decent life even with Rs. 500 a month. According to their own principle they must wait until at least all the other Government servants under them, not to speak of the other people in the land, have got sufficient to live on. With these words Mr. Speaker, I oppose the Bill that is before the House.”

11-30
a.m.

* BEGAM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—“I rise to associate myself with our Leader in opposing the increase that is now proposed in the salaries of the Hon. Ministers, the Speaker, the President of the Legislative Council and the Parliamentary Secretaries.”

SRI KALA VENKATA RAO:—“Not of the Members?”
(Laughter.)

* BEGAM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—“Members as well: In doing so, let me assure you that I am not unmindful of the high cost of living prevalent these days. I certainly do not grudge the Hon. Ministers a decent living and comfort of life. But in a poor country like ours, I do not think it is right that there should be a big drain on the exchequer under the head

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of ‘Ministerial Salaries.’ When the Congress Government took up office for the first time in 1937, in order to capture the imagination of the people, it declared that it took up office not for the sake of making money but for serving the people; and in conformity with that declaration it fixed Rs. 500 as the salary of Ministers. Now all those high ideals seem to be vanishing into thin air. The public fear that in the course of a few years the Congress Ministers will be receiving the same salaries as the Advisers of the former regime and that what is being done now is but a preliminary step in that direction. They have resorted to this step fully confident of the fact that with the crushing majority that they have in this House, they can carry any measure before them.”

SRI KALA VENKATA RAO:—“Is it not so in Sind?”

(An hon. Member: ‘What are the League Ministers elsewhere doing?’)

* BEGAM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—“I am not concerned with what Ministries in other Provinces are doing. I am only concerned with what we in this Province, whether League or Congress, should do. Madras has been a pioneer in many fields, and I should like this Province and both League Members and Congress Members to set an example to the rest of India.

“In regard to the salaries fixed in the Bill I find that instead of saying that the Hon. Ministers will draw a consolidated sum of Rs. 1,500 as is the case with Government officials, they wish to hoodwink the public by saying that they are drawing a salary of only Rs. 1,000 and the addition of Rs. 500 is by way of house-rent and conveyance allowance. In regard to house-rent allowance, I should like to ask how many of the Hon. Ministers would be actually incurring that expenditure.”

THE HON. SRI K. R. KARANTH:—“Many of us have no houses at all.”

* BEGAM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—“I should like to ask how many have incurred that expenditure in the past and how many would be incurring that expenditure in the future. I think the majority will be living in houses of a rental of Rs. 125 to Rs. 150 only. The same disparity between allowance and actual expenditure would be found in regard to conveyance allowances. Why should they make a gain on these allowances?

“Why should the Congress Ministers secure for themselves a hundred per cent increase in their own salaries while the Government officials are given a dearness allowance of only 17½ per cent? Could not the Ministers be satisfied with an increase of 17½ per cent on the old salaries, or if they wanted more, could they not have restricted the increase to 25, 30 or 35 per cent? This cent per cent increase is bound to rouse the resentment of the people and create great dissatisfaction among the Government servants. Already the air is thick with rumours

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of strikes and dissatisfaction is rampant among the low-paid employees of the Government. I feel Mr. Speaker, it is no use preaching the ideal of simple living and high thinking to others, especially to poor teachers as the Congress Ministry of the past did, and not following the same principles themselves. In the words of Shakespeare that great international poet:

'It is a good divine that follows his own instructions.'

It may be contended that the Hon. Ministers are high-placed individuals, and in order to maintain their status, position and dignity they should receive high salaries. But, let me remind them again that in a poor country like ours, dignity and status can be maintained even on lesser salaries. Look at your own brethren, the Congress Ministers of Bombay, and see what they have done. Every one knows that the cost of living in Bombay is considerable, house-rent there is exorbitant and the pay of servants excessive. Nevertheless, we find that the Ministers there have decided to take a salary of Rs. 850 and an allowance of Rs. 200 making a total of Rs. 1,050 only; whereas in Madras although the cost of living is not as high as in Bombay the Hon. Ministers propose to draw Rs. 1,500. Mr. Speaker, let it not be imagined that I am raising this objection because I am in the Opposition. I understand that some of the Members of the Congress Party themselves are opposed to the present rates of salaries. (An hon. Member: 'It is a misunderstanding.') That is why I said I understand. What I ask is, why not follow your own leader Gandhiji? (Hon. Members: Oh!)

MR. SPEAKER:—"Order, order."

* BEGAM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—"Recently Gandhiji in a statement published in the Press uttered a note of warning against the tendency that he noticed on the part of some Ministers to look forward to high salaries. Gandhiji declared that if they did so, it would be at their peril. I should like Congress Ministers to profit by Gandhiji's advice and not disregard it." (An hon. Member: 'First become Gandhiji's follower and then talk.')

MR. SPEAKER:—"Order, order."

* BEGAM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—"At a time such as this, when the country is faced with a threat of famine, when grim poverty, and stark hunger and privations are casting their ominous shadows over the poor people of this land, it passes one's comprehension how the Hon. Ministers could desire to increase their salaries so high as is proposed in the Bill before us. The pursuit of high ideals, I think, should surely stand in the way of their accepting the high salaries. I would therefore urge upon the Hon. Ministers in their own interest and also in the interest of the public at large to revise their decision about their salaries."

* MR. H. S. TOWN:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I find myself in a somewhat difficult position. The Leader of the Opposition has put forward a number of arguments and come to the conclusion that he should oppose the Bill. And I am going to put forward

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[Mr. H. S. Town]

almost the same arguments and the conclusion that I am going to come to is to support the Bill. I would first of all, as the Leader of the Opposition did, refer to one statement in the Statement of Objects and Reasons. It is a most unfortunate one, if I may say so, a most dangerous statement. It runs: 'Owing to the great increase in the cost of living, the salaries and allowances fixed in 1937 have become inadequate, and it is accordingly proposed to increase them to the minimum extent necessary.' This, Sir, is a most unfortunate statement, for if it is correct, then the Government must immediately call for the pay sheets of every one of their employees who in 1937 were drawing Rs. 750 and immediately raise their salary to Rs. 1,500. I submit that that statement is not correct. When the salaries of Ministers were fixed in 1937 the Congress Party were going through a wave of very high idealism. Even idealists sometimes make mistakes and later on they have to pay for it dearly. Sir, this unfortunate wave of idealism influenced the Congress Party to fix the salaries of Ministers far too low in 1937. What this Bill seeks to do to-day is to put right a grievous wrong done in the past. We are proposing to pay the gentlemen on the Treasury Benches Rs. 1,500 a month. What for? For carrying out a task for which they should be paid considerably more."

MR. SPEAKER:—"You have forgotten me. I am also going to get the same sum." (Laughter.)

* MR. H. S. TOWN:—"I have not said whether you should be paid more or not. That will depend, Sir, on how you carry out your duties! (Laughter.)

"These gentlemen with great responsibilities are going to accept Rs. 1,500 a month and I think we should agree to that if they are willing to be so poorly paid.

"Something has been said about splitting up of the Rs. 1,500 into Rs. 1,000 for pay, Rs. 250 for house-rent allowance and Rs. 250 for conveyance allowance. No doubt, Sir, there is some reason for that. If anybody thinks that the Ministers are going to gain by it, I suggest that they will be making a mistake. The gentlemen who sit in Delhi and their subordinates in the Poonamallee High Road will watch it with great care. It does not matter whether they get Rs. 1,500 as pay or whether it is split up into Rs. 1,000 for pay, Rs. 250 for house allowance which is taxable and Rs. 250 for conveyance allowance which may or may not be taxable. But I do not think we need worry about the splitting up. The Bill provides increased salaries for Members of the House also and it is a salary which we are going to draw, in the case of some of us for doing very little and in the case of a few perhaps for doing nothing. Considering the number of days for which we will be actually working in the Assembly we will find that we will be well-paid. Of the amendments proposed there are two with which we do not agree but we give our general support to this Bill."

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* SRI K. ANANDA NAMBIYAR:—"Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Communist Party I would request the Hon. the Leader of the House to drop this Bill, for the time being since all low-paid men such as the peons and clerks in Government service and many railway workers are all struggling to get more pay. They have no chance of getting increased wages although the cost of living has considerably gone up. At such a time like this there is no urgency for Ministers getting Rs. 500 and Members getting Rs. 75 to get more. People may ask us, 'You people who have the right to decide your scale of wages have increased yours, but we are at the mercy of the employers and have no right to decide our wages and we are left in the lurch.' Eminent Congressmen have stated that high salaries of gazetted officers drawing Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 4,000 should be reduced to the minimum possible. At such a time like this the Congress Ministers should not increase their salaries nearly three times when the poor paid employees living below the subsistence level have no chance of getting any increased wages. There is no justification for this course. Once again I request the Hon. Leader of the House to postpone this Bill. The Hon. Ministers may increase their salaries after the wages of low-paid employees have been increased. I do not wish to cast any aspersions on the Leader of the Congress Party. I have very great respect for him. He will look after the interests of the people. I only request him to postpone this Bill for the moment."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Hon. Members send me chits asking me to call them, but when I call them they are not in their seats. I request them to be in their seats."

* SINHA KAZIAR HAJI S. A. F. IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Bill before this House has been tackled in various ways and I should like to tackle it in my own way. I am not particular, Sir, whether the salary is high or low. Hon. Members will agree with me that in the present circumstances of the country it would be a sin to increase the burden on the people. The Hon. Ministers may not relish my opposing the amending Bill, but I am sure they will find later on that it is a blessing in disguise. I want to safeguard not only the country's interests but also the interests of the Congress Party and Congressmen generally. Now the pay has been increased cent per cent and certain allowances have been added. It was stated that higher salaries have been drawn by Ministers in other Provinces. May be. But why do you want to follow their example? In this vast land there are good Ministries and bad Ministries. In this world there are no good organizations or individuals who are completely devoid of even a trace of vice in them; also there are no bad organizations or individuals who are completely devoid of a trace of virtue in them. When vice predominates in an individual or organization we call it bad and when virtue predominates we call it good and an ideal organization or a Ministry is one which will have a proper admixture of

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all the virtues. I want that our Ministry should be an ideal Ministry. They are here to discharge their responsible duties to the country. Can they discharge their duties only by getting high salaries? The chief attribute of an ideal Ministry is to get low salaries and do much work. Now especially when the Congress Ministry took up the reins of administration people expected the Ministers to surrender some of their luxuries and conveniences. One hon. Member said that unless we followed Gandhiji we should not cite him as an example for the Ministers to follow. Why not? Are there not many Hindus who follow some Islamic principles and many non-Hindus who follow some Hindu principles? That being so, we can also follow some principles which Gandhiji follows. That is not a sin. Now people are expecting the Ministers not only to surrender their conveniences and comforts but also to surrender even their ration cards and live upon goat's milk and groundnut as Gandhiji is doing. In the circumstances if it is proposed to enhance the salaries it is really preposterous. Everywhere in the country there is a cry for higher salaries and allowances. The Central Government have appointed a Pay Commission to consider the revision of salaries of Central Government servants. In our Province also we have some trouble regarding our Government servants. If you are going to take higher salaries and higher allowances what will be your answer to similar demands from the Government servants? If gold rusts what will iron do? If you take high salaries you will have to apply the same principle and increase the salaries of your subordinates also. With these words, Mr. Speaker, I oppose the amending Bill."

* M. S. ABDUL MAJEED SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose the amending Bill *in toto*. I hope that hon. Members will agree with me when I say that there is no necessity for this Bill at present. Before tabling this Bill the Leader of the House should have considered the state of the nation and when I say the state of the nation I mean the state of the poor, starving, suffering millions of this Province. Before the War the life they led was a mere apology for living and today as a result of the War, as a result of the operation of the various confusing and sometimes useless Control Orders and as a result of the activities of the anti-social elements—I may call them anti-social devils—like the corrupt officials the black marketeers and the hated hoarders, the teeming millions are leading a miserable existence. At a time like this it is not proper to table a Bill proposing the grant of increased salaries and allowances to Ministers.

"People in this Province are not leading happy lives; there is no happiness for them in their homes, in their darkened and overcrowded homes; there is no happiness for them in their travels. Their food and foodgrains are dwindling down; they are under-fed and under-nourished; the flame of their energy is

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noon.

[M. S. Abdul Majeed Sahib Bahadur] [27th May 1946]

flickering down, dejected, despondent and down-trodden; husbands in this Province, fathers in this Province are plodding on without hope and encouragement like the galley slaves of old. At a time like this you are bringing forward an amending Bill which gives you higher salaries and allowances. We must suffer when we see others suffering. By our sufferings, by our discomfort, we must carry a message of hope and encouragement to those who suffer. Instead, we want higher salaries and higher allowances.

"I warn the hon. House that re-action would soon set in. By bringing this amending Bill, Ministers are creating, in the sea of suffering, in the ocean of discomfort, an island of comfort and ease. I say reaction would set in soon which would release the suppressed and compressed storm of anger and the tidal wave of indignation. They would suppress and destroy this island of comfort and ease.

"Sir, it is a big surprise to me that this Bill has been brought forward by a party which has been saying from all platforms that it has undergone great sacrifices. Is it sacrifice, I ask, to ask for higher salaries and higher allowances? During the elections the party went about the Province telling people that it has made many sacrifices. The man in the street is not, after all, a fool; he may be carried away sometimes by emotions; he may be carried away by pathetic pictures which you may draw before him; you have showed the people the once existed bleeding wounds which, in many, never existed; you have told them the wretchedness of lives you have led within prison-walls; you have assured them that you would continue to lead a life of sacrifice, so that you could bring them both happiness and comfort, so that they may live in liberty and freedom. Are you doing like that now? On the other hand you are trying to create comfort for yourselves. You are trying to bring happiness to you and to your families. I say you are creating a sort of revolution which will ultimately destroy and undermine the power which you have created. I ask whether you have been pretending all these years. Are all the words and actions mere pretences? Are you building a citadel of power on pretentious foundations? Once again I warn this hon. House that this Bill, when it is passed into law, will become a very powerful parasite that will eat and corrode into the very foundations of this citadel.

"I am told that the party in power is working without the blessings of its High Command. Evil auguries overshadow the party; this amending Bill will be another ill-omen. I appeal to hon. Members. Give it up."

* KHAN SAHIB H. S. HUSSAIN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Sir, it was only the other day that the present Ministry was characterized as a Ministry of surprises by an hon. Member of this House. I expected that the Ministry would bring another surprise by having a self-denying ordinance. But what do we find?

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The Ministry has produced an amending Bill which increases the salaries and allowances that are to be paid. I expected that the Ministry would not care to have any extra personal comfort and convenience by increasing the salary especially at a time when our Province is faced with food-famine; we have to live within our means; if possible, we have to set an example to the people. Leaders of the people, people who are at the top of the Government should teach a good lesson to the people, to the young-men and to every one of us. I regret to see that, instead of doing so, the Ministry thinks it should increase the salaries and allowances and that conveyance and house-rent should be provided for the Ministers. I do not see how the increase of the salary—double the previous salary—will help the Ministers to tide over the present difficulty. I think that double the salary is not at all necessary. In Bombay the cost of living is higher than that in Madras. The Bombay Premier has stated that Ministers there should maintain the status of an upper middleclass man. I do not see any reason why the Madras Ministry should think otherwise. No doubt we have to be judged by our own standard. If the Ministry thinks that a salary of Rs. 1,000 and allowance of Rs. 500 will enable it to lead a comfortable life—equal to the status of an upper middleclass man—I would say that it is quite unnecessary in a Province like Madras; because, we all know that a gazetted Government servant who draws a salary of Rs. 500 is in no way less than an upper middleclass man in this Province, whether a war allowance of 17½ per cent of the salary is given to him or not. Is not such an officer leading a life of an upper middleclass man in this Province? Is he not a respectable man? Is he not leading a respectable life? I believe he is doing so. I would request the Ministry to double the salary of that gazetted officer also. Therefore I would request the Ministry to forego any extra personal comfort or convenience, by dropping the Bill.

"Having said so much in opposing the Bill, I would like to draw the attention of the House to one or two things in the Bill which are vague and indefinite. In clause 6-A of the Bill reference has been made to the Minister's family. The Bill does not indicate to how many members of the family travelling allowance should be paid by the Government. That point has not been made clear. We ought to know whether travelling allowance should be paid to a dozen members of the family or to only one or two members.

"Certain amendments are proposed to clauses 3 (i) and 4 (i). It is proposed to substitute the words 'if he occupies a house provided by the Provincial Government' for the words 'if he has been provided with a house by the Provincial Government.' The proposed amendment would make matters worse. If the Government is able to find a house for a Minister, he should live in that house—he should adapt himself to circumstances—and not go in for some other house, because we do not know exactly what

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rent has to be paid for the other house. I would suggest that whatever might be the house which the Minister occupies, he should be paid only the actual rent he has to pay and not Rs. 250. That will make the amendment more rational and reasonable. With these words I oppose the Bill."

MUHAMMAD ABDUL SALAM SAHIB BAHADUR:—

"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I associate myself with the remarks made by my Leader in opposing this Bill. The Hon. Premier has not given us the full estimate of the Bill. We do not know how many Ministers are going to be appointed and paid. The Hon. Premier proposes to increase the salaries of members who cannot be appointed as Ministers. Even to-day he is not able to give us the full estimate of the Bill and how many Ministers are going to be appointed. A Bill has been brought forward without knowing the exact amount of money involved.

"As regards Parliamentary Secretaries, we do not know what duties they are expected to do under the Act and what duties they are actually doing. One of the present Ministers, Mr. K. R. Karanth, once said that he wasted three years as Parliamentary Secretary, and that he had no duties to discharge and no files to dispose of. He said then that he was going out and resigning. That is how Parliamentary Secretaries have worked in the past. Their duties will be the same in the future also. The Ministers themselves dispose of the files. Is it proposed to have Parliamentary Secretaries in this Province also, because there are such Secretaries in other Provinces and countries? I wish to know what are their legitimate duties. Are they expected to canvass for elections for Provincial Congress Committees and other such committees? I would like to know what their duties are. We must be satisfied that the money spent on them is worth spending.

12-15 m. "Again, Sir, the Ministry has been in existence in this Madras Province for the last 20 or 25 days and we find that it has been more busy with the Provincial Congress Committee elections than with more important problems such as the food problem. We see the Ministers going on tour and returning to Madras after two days. I ask, are these allowances intended for the purpose of your making your own propaganda, or are they intended for taking measures to solve the food problem?

"Again, Sir, as regards the Ministry, it has been suggested by a previous Minister, Mr. Gopala Reddi, that although he had been a Minister for nearly three years, he did not know from what place files were coming and . . . (A voice: 'Of course from the Secretariat!'); may be; but after serving as Minister for three years, he said he did not know to what place the files were going and why. I do not know the purpose of having ten or eleven Ministers to-day, and we do not know also how many more Ministers are likely to come in. If we are to have these eleven or thirteen Ministers, well, I think arrangements will have to be made by

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which these Ministers should know from where the files will come to them, what they should do with them and where they should go. I therefore submit these salaries and allowances are to be enjoyed by the Ministers for carrying on propaganda for the Provincial Congress Committee meetings and not for the administration of the country. I oppose the Bill."

MUHAMMAD ANWAR SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is indeed amusing to see that a party that is wedded to principles of parsimony should come forward with this amending Bill and indeed it is surprising that they should say that because the cost of living has increased very considerably, they alone should come in for a doubling of their emoluments with reference to their basic salaries of 1937. I believe it does not require anything more than ordinary common sense for one to look back upon the conditions that obtained in 1937 and those that now obtain in this Province as regards the cost of living. It is unfortunate that a Ministry that ought to set an example to the public should itself be guilty of a double standard of morality. You cannot expect to have a doubling of your emoluments, be it salaries or allowances, and still deny the very same latitude for the services. After all, let us admit that democracy implies that we have amateurs at the top and experts below, and if experts are going to be allowed to enjoy only a 17½ per cent of their emoluments as allowances to meet the increased cost of living, do you believe there will be fairplay and that in all the big measures on which you are going to embark in the near future by virtue of your being there in charge of the administration, you are going to get the utmost co-operation from the services? Mr. Speaker, I do not believe it any more lies in the mouth of these Ministers who go about the country saying that they are setting an example by service and sacrifice, to deny at the same time the same increase in the emoluments of the services. None can deny that it is a travesty of truth to expect these Ministers to be examples of service and sacrifice when they themselves claim double the emoluments that they enjoyed in the previous regime. If it is admitted that the conditions prevailing in the Province at present demand a doubling of your emoluments, why should you not concede this for the services also? Indeed they have a weightier reason to make such a demand. After all, you have in the services, people who have dedicated their lives to service and who have nothing else to fall back upon. I believe in the services, from top to bottom, there is a feeling of unrest, a feeling of distrust, a feeling of utter helplessness, that the powers that be are not able to appreciate their difficulties and grievances. If they are to be asked to adjust themselves to the present conditions, I believe our Ministers also need not maintain an inflated standard of life, more than the standard that society expects the Government officials to maintain. Officials also must be expected to preserve certain standards of life which must, in these days of increased cost of living, be provided

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for them by the Government. I submit you are setting a very very bad example in these hard days, by claiming for yourself a lion's share in the revenues of the Province in the shape of double emoluments and it comes to a question of ingratitude when you come to the services. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are not so much interested in the question of your emoluments as in putting an emphasis on the dictum, while opposing this proposition, that you must give unto others what you demand for yourselves. Do not lay down one principle for yourself and still deny that to the services from whom you expect the utmost co-operation in your policy and programme. Great is your responsibility, many are your problems, and huge are the tasks you are going to tackle; and without co-operation from the permanent services, I do not think it will be possible or just for the Ministry to expect from them the utmost expedition in work and the necessary co-operation. And for this reason, Sir, if for nothing else, I oppose, with weighty emphasis, the proposition that is now before the House."

* K. M. SEETHI SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would not have thought it necessary to make a speech in opposing this Bill—especially in view of the eloquent speeches already made from this side of the House previously—but for the fact that members from the other side have attempted to justify their conduct by reference to the conduct of the League Ministries in some of the Provinces. For one thing, it is absolutely irrelevant on their part to make such a reference to the other Provinces, where admittedly the circumstances and conditions are different from those obtaining here. It is only when we are considering the desirability or otherwise of making an enactment regarding the salaries of Ministers here that these other Provinces are brought in. Apart from this irrelevancy, the ejaculations and interruptions I heard from members on the other side, when speeches from this side were made are pointless and unfair. You say that you are trying to set an example to other Provinces in plain living and high thinking; but when you are confronted with the question of putting into practice what you are preaching, you turn round and point to the other Provinces and say 'look at those other Provinces and the League Ministries; how they are getting on.' I humbly submit that it is absolutely lacking in grace that you should have to defend yourself in this way. As a matter of fact, the League Ministries in those Provinces are confronted with problems quite different from those obtaining here and those people who form the Ministries there have absolutely different standards of life. (Laughter.) Yes; we do not believe in loin cloths; we certainly believe in living a decent standard of life, involving higher cost of living. There is great difference between us here and those who form the Ministries in those other Provinces; and having regard to the living costs there, they do require much more than what you require here. You say your needs are few, that you believe in plain living and high thinking; and yet you now demand

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double of what you were drawing previously. That is not fair and just. And when the lady member, Begum Mir Amiruddin, was asking you to follow your own leader, Gandhiji, far from having the good grace to follow Gandhiji yourself, you asked her to follow Gandhiji! Before we seriously consider your suggestion, I think we must pray to God that Gandhiji may be saved from these followers of his. With these words, Sir, I join in the opposition to this Bill for the enhancement of the salaries of Ministers."

* MAHBOOB ALI BAIG SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I had no idea of taking part in this debate but for the fact that the attitude of the party in power on whose behalf this amending Bill has been moved by the leader of that party, has been by expression—I do not call that ejaculation—to try to justify the Bill. Further, the members of that party seem to say: 'while the League ministries in the country have been receiving more salaries than what we propose to receive here, what right has the Muslim League here to criticise us?' But for these reasons, I would not have taken part in this debate.

"I submit, Sir, that the League ministries in the other provinces did not make any pretensions; they were honest; they wanted to serve as Ministers; but they did not say they would be satisfied with Rs. 500 for their salary. That they were right and honest is proved by this amending Bill by which you want to raise your emoluments, doubling them and perhaps trebling them also by inclusion of the allowances. Such an argument was, I think, made by the spokesman of the Congress Party; and I fail to see how this argument can establish their case. It is a very bad argument; it is not an argument which can find favour with this Assembly which has just begun to function and which is considering the amending Bill moved, on its own merits.

"I should like, Sir, to refer only to two aspects of the question. If only this House can be assured that in the matter of the emoluments of the services, the party in power would increase their salaries also in proportion to the increase in salary of the Ministers, perhaps the country and the services may be satisfied. There is, however, no such assurance forthcoming. We all know that the services should be satisfied in order that the administration may go on smoothly, especially in these days of great stress and famine. If the Ministry gives us that assurance, perhaps we might say: 'Here is some justification'; but, no such assurance is given to us.

"Secondly, Sir, they say that prices have risen. Quite true. But, I ask them, Sir: are you increasing your salaries in proportion to the rise in prices; is it not just that in the case of others who depend on their salaries, their salaries also should be increased? There is no indication in this Bill or from the way in which the Government side has been shouting, to show that they are going to press the Ministers for the increase of salaries of the services also.

12-30
p.m.

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"Now, Sir, in these circumstances, the only conclusion that I have come to personally, is this. As Mr. Town has put it, they are idealists and unfortunately, they are not able to maintain their ideals. They are touching the earth, let them do justice to others also. There will be some justification if they are going to increase the salaries of every one. Let them confess and say, that as their ideals were highly pitched, as human beings they could not live up to those ideals and make a frank confession of that. There must be some merit in a proposition of this kind or at least some sort of confession of their having made mistakes in the past. Sir, I do not here want to cast any reflection or aspersion against the Ministry, but it is open to the Opposition to say that in order to captivate the people when they sought the vote of the electorate and assumed office in 1937 they wanted to show to the world that service and service alone mattered and not these emoluments which in the words of some people are 'loaves and fishes.' So, Sir, there must be some honesty of purpose especially in the case of a body which claims to carry with it such high ideals. At least now, let the Congress Party confess that they were wrong if they are convinced of it tell the truth to the people: these are politics, we were coming to power, we wanted to capture the masses and therefore we made these statements. That party now stands exposed. So, even now it is not too late for the party to say that they are going to decide on the principle of providing for the just necessities of life to the public services. No doubt, there was a talk of living on a salary of Rs. 500 whether it is a High Court Judge or this or that appointment. It is now made very clear that it was all a party political stunt and I am glad that, if not by word of mouth, at least by their acts, they are now confessing that they made a mistake. I am generous enough to say that at that time perhaps they were in the wilderness, they wanted to come in and take up the reins of office and because they were then living a subdued life, they thought Rs. 500 was enough; but, now they found and found it to their own cost that Rs. 500 is not enough. Sir, I am quite willing to accede to the proposition that for a Minister, or the President or the Speaker, it is not possible, in a City like Madras, to live on a salary of Rs. 500 per mensem and as Mr. Town put it, they require more. Though it may be said that there is a lot of money by way of sales-tax, yet when you come forward with a Bill of this kind involving financial responsibility, I emphasize there is no justification for you to double your salaries, unless you are going to double the salaries of the services and confess now that you made a mistake in the past and that you stood for lower salaries for propaganda purpose. You should now at least be honest to the electorate; or else it is not going to end with this, but will lead to very very harmful repercussions in the services all over the country. Sir, the services, as my Friend has put it, have been loyal and are living in a manner which does not redound to the credit of the public servants. I believe, Sir,

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I have made myself understood. It is therefore necessary that the public services including the Ministers must be satisfied because their work involves grave responsibilities. Let no room be given to the people to say that the Ministers should feel satisfied with Rs. 500. It may no doubt be possible, but suppose they have a large family to support, is it possible for them to live on Rs. 500 per mensem. The main reason why officials are paid adequately is because they are holding positions of responsibility. So, the misgivings of the people may be wrong, but those misgivings will still be in the minds of the people. It is not for nothing that responsible people are put in charge of efficient administration of the country. Therefore, I am not one of those who oppose high salaries to persons occupying posts of high responsibility. Speaking on the present amending Bill, my submission to this House, through you, Sir, is this: let the Prime Minister in fairness to ourselves, to the House and to the public, say that they made a mistake in the past, but that the circumstances now justify a rise in their salaries and that there is also justification to raise the salaries of other Government servants also. It is only after I know from the Treasury Benches what their answer to our position is, I suppose the whole House will be in a position to say, let this amending Bill be passed now."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, vehement opposition has been voiced by the Leader of the Opposition and several other members of his party with regard to this Bill. I would say, at the outset, that I am pleased with the way in which each speaker rose and put forth his arguments in opposition to this Bill. I really congratulate every one of them for the manner in which they attempted to find out the weakness of this Bill. One thing, Sir, however much political parties make attempts or preach, it could not be possible for them to remove it altogether. When they rise to oppose measures put forward by the opposing section . . ."

MUHAMMAD ABDUL SALAM SAHIB BAHADUR:—"The same thing applies to you also."

* THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"Mr. Salam cannot brook any comment, although he was himself very vehement when he was laying stress on the point raised in this Bill. Sir, the point upon which it was based was that prices have risen. Can any one of the members point out that it is not a fact? If it is not a fact, let him tell me that he does not understand what is really the basis of this Bill. Every one knows in the country, not only the Madras Presidency, not only a particular section or community, but all over India, how this country has been suffering ever since the war broke out during the last seven or eight years. It is a well-known fact and you must know that the Congress High Command was not an irresponsible body. The Congress High

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Command knows the situation all over the country and it was the Congress High Command that reviewed the situation and when the question of reviewing the Ministry, or the Congress coming into office was considered by them, they gave the fullest consideration to the matter and it was they that thought and decided that under the altered circumstances, the Congress Ministry when it comes into office may claim a salary of Rs. 1,500 plus allowances.

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"The Congress High Command has laid down this rule and whatever the Leader of the Opposition and others might say about idealisms of the past and the weakness of human-beings, you must acknowledge the basis of the principle of the Bill and it cannot be questioned. The Congress has been fighting the battles of freedom and has been undergoing all sorts of sufferings for the last 25 years in pursuance of its objective. (An hon. Member: 'We have been doing it also'.) I do not deny that others also have been fighting and suffering. I have always considered whether people of other views share their sacrifice with the Congress or not, that they have been straining in their own way and they have been making their own contribution to the cause of the country. It is in that way that the nation has been built up and it is in that way that I am claiming the Leader of the Opposition as a part of ourselves, when he rose to his full height to-day and put up the plea for Rs. 500 a month, for plain living and honest thinking. I assure him that he will have it all. I congratulate the Leader of the Opposition and the other members for our having come together to that extent in a very important matter. I am also congratulating the Congress in that the Muslim League has been taken to the high level of accepting the very desirable principle of accepting low salaries and plain living. (Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan: 'That is misrepresentation.') I assure the hon. Member though he has used a very strong word that I had no desire to misinterpret Mr. Hameed Khan or any of the members on that side of the House. I shall have no hesitation to withdraw it. We have all been working in different ways all designed for the same purpose and the same happy conclusion. I have been very careful in weighing my words and I hope you will not be angry for stating facts. It cannot be denied either in this House, in this country or the rest of the world that the brunt of the battle has been fought by the Congress during the last 25 years and you know in the Opposition, that they had been undergoing sufferings in so many ways. I do not want to take you back into past history and into details. It is sufficient to say that now we have reached a stage when we are called upon to establish our own government and to carry on the administration of the Province. Thus the Congressmen who had been fighting all along and who had not been enjoying luxuries, find themselves in the Ministry and have to decide upon what shall be paid to them. It is no good telling an hon. Member that he does not require Rs. 150 against the Rs. 75 that was allowed to him previously. I will appeal to hon. Members opposite just to

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pause and realize the position of a person in respect of expenditure when he comes to Madras pursuant to his official duties. There are hon. Members who can give you detailed accounts to show how much it is costing them with regard to several items which did not enter into the picture in the old days. A lemon which previously cost two for a quarter anna perhaps now costs an anna or two. I know that applies to all and if it is accepted that there has been an appreciable rise in the cost of living, there can be no quarrel with the principles of the Bill. It is all very well to say: 'At one time idealism governed your actions; but now you have abandoned all your idealism and begun to face facts.' It is not so; these are actual facts that have compelled the Congress Party to take this attitude with regard to this measure. If circumstances change and if conditions warrant it—I am speaking for the party to which I belong and others also may do the same—we will certainly modify this Bill and take less. We will not hesitate to take action on these lines. But for the present, it is only because of the state of affairs at present in the country and the impossibility of members living comfortably on a level of allowance fixed when conditions were more favourable than at present, that this was thought of. As regards the relative necessity of each individual, whether a thousand rupees will do or five hundred rupees will not be sufficient and if a person cannot live on say 25, 50 or a hundred rupees, it largely depends upon the person who lives on the particular income that he earns. We will have to judge in the light of the possibility of so many people living on low income levels, of ourselves living on the same levels. I may tell you that this is another matter and will be presently discussed by you in connexion with the food and cloth position in the Province. When you study the position of food, you will understand more clearly the principles of the Government. (Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan: 'That is the tragedy'.) I believe what promises to be a tragedy now will turn out to be a comedy. I should have expected Mr. Hameed Khan to be quieter and more patient on occasions like this. The real point is that an attack has been levelled against the party, which is not at all justified on any account. I am afraid the Opposition have not reasoned out their case before launching on the attack. (Mr. B. Pocker: 'What about the services?') Mr. Pocker raises the question of services. The services and all others who are entitled to have their increments will receive consideration when the occasion comes and at that time, I believe the Opposition will not be merely repeating word for word what they have said on this occasion. We have been receiving work from the services and as we proceed in our work from month to month, it will be possible for hon. Members to understand our view of their position. The question has been raised about the Parliamentary Secretaries; that they were doing nothing in the past and to pay them monthly salaries would be a waste. It is not a fact that they were doing nothing in the past. It may perhaps be true that they were not able to do as much work as you would wish them to have done. You

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will know what part the Parliamentary Secretaries will be playing and how they would deserve not the pittance you will be paying but much more than that for the way in which they would be working. Each of us would be considering the position from his own point of view. The main point—I am laying stress on the main point—is that we have the question of an ever-increasing population. You do not know how many members there will be in each family and how many each man will have to maintain. Though the maintenance of the family is not the concern of the Government, it is their concern to provide them with food and clothing. They will have to look to the whole matter and see how the whole thing is to be regulated and how everybody will be served in a proper manner and would be enabled to get enough food and clothing; it will not be a simple matter for the State to attend to all that. The question is how we can make everybody happy—I am cutting out luxuries even for Ministers and for everybody else,—what you will have to pay each individual, what re-adjustments will be necessary in the scheme and system of Government so that we can enable every one to earn a decent amount to enable him to get on in life. We have to bear in mind the conditions under which we are living. See what you have to pay your driver; and how you are getting your petrol and other things. You know how black-marketing is going on and corruption is rearing its ugly head. This House will in course of time be called upon to deal with measures to put down these evils and see that food and clothing reach the hands of the poor people that want it and do not go to enrich the few unscrupulous men. Reverting to this Bill, I reiterate once more that it is based on the actual fact of high cost about which there can be no dispute and so I appeal to hon. Members to consider the Bill."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The motion before the House is that the Bill just moved by the Premier be taken into consideration."

The motion was carried.

1 p.m. MR. SPEAKER:—"There is no amendment to clause 1."

Clauses 2, 3 (i) and 4 (i).

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I move—
'In clauses 2, 3 (i) and 4 (i), for the words "if he has been provided with a house by the Provincial Government", substitute the words "if he occupies a house provided by the Provincial Government".'"

MR. H. S. TOWN:—"Sir, I would like a little explanation on this point. It seems to me the amendment suggested will land us in some difficulty. Government may provide a house for a Minister, and the Minister may object to that house and not occupy it. Are you going to pay allowance to that Minister or not? The effect of this amendment, if carried, is that when

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Government provide a house to a Minister, he need not occupy it. I think he should have to do so. Perhaps the Hon. the Premier may explain the amendment."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"I may inform Hon. Members that houses for Hon. Ministers to reside were built in the City of Madras. But the Ministers did not occupy them when they were holding office for two and half years here. They are now occupied by others, and now it is not possible to get those houses. I may also mention in this connexion that I have been trying to secure a house myself, but I have not been successful so far. And I am told, by requisition, I could get a house. After the close of the war, we were expecting houses would be easily available but our experience is otherwise."

ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Sir, I find there is a difficulty in this amendment. Since no Minister occupies any house built for them, he is entitled to a house-rent allowance; and again this amendment provides for another allowance of Rs. 250. So I fear there is double provision."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"There is no double provision at all. If the Minister occupies the house provided by Government, there is no allowance for him. But if the Minister does not occupy the house provided by Government, an allowance is provided for in this provision. So there is no difficulty."

SRI P. NATESAN:—"I am afraid the intention of the amendment has not been made clear. Where a Minister has been provided with a house by Government, there is no need for rent allowance. But where he refuses to occupy the house provided by Government, what is his position?"

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"Sir, I am afraid I am unable to understand the difficulty of my hon. Friends on the other side. What is intended by this amendment is, to delete the words 'if he has been provided with a house by the Provincial Government' and substitute in its place the words 'if he occupies a house provided by the Provincial Government.' If a Minister occupies a house provided by Government, there is no rent allowance for him. The same thing is made clearer by this amendment, so that doubts may not arise. If a Minister is provided with a house by Government, the rent of which is Rs. 300, the Minister is free from liability to pay the rent. He stands to gain by occupying it as otherwise he will have to be satisfied with Rs. 250."

MAHBOOB ALI BAIG SAHIB BAHADUR:—"I suppose he is given the choice to occupy the house provided by the Government?"

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"That is the position."

KHAN SAHIB H. S. HUSSAIN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"On a point of information, Sir. If a Minister does not occupy the house provided by the Government but takes up a house for which he has to pay as rent a sum less than Rs. 250, what would happen?"

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THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—" Nothing would happen. He would be free to do that."

BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, can I move an amendment to the motion before the House now? "

MR. SPEAKER:—" Not now. You must have given notice of that before."

The amendment was put and carried.

Clauses 2, 3 and 4 as amended and clause 5 were put and carried.

New clause 6.

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—" Sir, I move—

After clause 5, insert the following clause:—

" 6. In section 6 of the said Act which relates to the provision of conveyances, for the words ' the Ministers and the Speaker ', the words ' the Ministers, the Speaker and the President ' shall be substituted."

" Formerly the word ' President ' was not there. Now we have included the President also."

The motion was put and carried.

Existing clauses 6 and 7.

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—" I move, Sir—

' The existing clauses 6 and 7 be re-numbered as clauses 7 and 8 respectively. '

The amendment was put and carried.

Clauses 6 and 7 as re-numbered were put and carried.

New clause 9.

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I move—

' After clause 8 as so re-numbered insert the following clause:—

" 9. For section 10 of the said Act which relates to the relinquishment of salaries and allowances, the following section shall be substituted, namely:—

' 10. (1) Any person entitled to any salary or allowance under this Act may at any time—

(i) relinquish the whole or any portion of such salary or allowance; and

(ii) cancel such relinquishment.

(2) Such relinquishment or cancellation shall be made in writing and shall take effect at such time and subject to such conditions as the Provincial Government may, by rules, determine.

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(3) *For the removal of doubts, it is hereby declared—*

(a) that a relinquishment may be made under clause (i) of sub-section (1) even after a previous relinquishment has been cancelled under clause (ii) of that sub-section; and

(b) that a relinquishment made before the 1st day of May 1946 shall be deemed to have been made under clause (i) of sub-section (1) and is liable to be cancelled under clause (ii) of that sub-section.' "

* MR. H. S. TOWN:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to have 1-15 more information about this. (I have tried to work out how this p.m. amendment can put extra money into my pocket.) As I read this, I can go on during a year drawing a salary of Rs. 150 per month plus Rs. 7-8-0 when I work or I can get Rs. 15 a day, for each day's attendance when the session is on. I can ask for Rs. 15 a day while I work and immediately the session is over and I cease to do any work, I can ask for Rs. 150 per month. Is that the idea? Because, if it is that, I think it is a very bad idea. You will see here that when we are going to relinquish or cancel the salary, it shall be made in writing and shall take effect at such time and subject to such conditions as the Provincial Government may determine. I think we are entitled to know the rules that are going to be made. I am not objecting on the ground that from time to time our remuneration may be changed. The present rule is very hard, and I think there should be a change, but it should not be to enable the member to make a change every few days."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—" This clause is intended to provide against relinquishing the salary one day and again accepting it a few days later. If one has been drawing the amount without relinquishing it or if one, after relinquishing it, wants to draw later, he will be forced to accept a smaller amount. To meet such cases rules will be made by the Government as the occasion demands."

MR. H. S. TOWN:—" May we have an opportunity of seeing the rules before they are passed? "

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—" I think so, Sir."

The motion was put and carried.

Existing clause 8.

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—" I beg to move—

' Re-number existing clause 8 as clause 10. '

The amendment was put and carried.

Clause 8 as re-numbered was put and carried.

Clause 1 and the preamble were put and carried.

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—" I move—

' that the Bill as amended be passed into law. '

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ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, if I rise at this stage, it is because I wish to point out certain difficulties. The Hon. Minister stated that he will formulate rules with regard to the working of clauses 8 and 9. I do not think, Sir, that the rules are necessary. The present amendment should suffice. If rules are to be made for a small matter like this, it will take away the rights of members, for we do not know what the rules will be. In anything where the approval of the House had been taken, the rules are not necessary. One thing more I wish to point out on behalf of the party to which I belong. I find that the Deputy Speaker is given Rs. 300, whereas the salaries of the Secretaries of Ministers have been increased to Rs. 500. I wish the Hon. the Leader of the House had given some attention to this disparity and done justice to the other officers of the Legislature. There is absolutely no relation between the salary that is given to the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker. I hope that it will be possible for the Deputy Speaker to preside on occasions when it will not be possible for the Speaker to preside. When the Deputy Speaker presides, the Deputy Speaker does all the work of the Speaker. So there is no justification for the disparity being kept up. Perhaps, this disparity is due to the fact that at one stroke they said that all the salaries have been doubled. In doing so, they have not taken pains to see how the disparity works in this case."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"In cases where relinquishment was made, no provision was made. Now we will fill it up."

KHAN SAHIB D. ABDUL RAWOOF SAHIB BAHADUR:—"May I know whether rules are being made restricting the right to change often?"

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"That depends upon the necessity. If an unreasonable gentleman wishes to act in an unreasonable manner, he will have to be stopped. Rules will be made for that."

MAHBOOB ALI BAIG SAHIB BAHADUR:—"No rule inconsistent with the provisions of the Act can be made."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"No inconsistency will be created. Only rules that are consistent will be made."

The motion was put and carried and the Bill as amended was passed into law.

MR. SPEAKER:—"Instead of the House adjourning now and meeting again in the afternoon, I request the Hon. Mr. Prakasam to make his statement on the food and cloth situation, and the House can then adjourn to meet again on Wednesday."

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GOVERNMENT MOTION.

IV.—MOTION *RE* FOOD AND CLOTH SITUATION IN THE PROVINCE.

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"I move—
that the Food and Cloth Situation in the Province be taken into consideration."

"Every one of the Hon. Members here knows the situation about food and cloth. For over three years, this trouble has been there in the country. Most of us perhaps would not really know how the food and cloth trouble had affected the poor classes in the country, and how they had been suffering. So far as the Government is concerned, they had been taking every possible step to prevent a crisis of this kind for more than three years. The first part of the statement deals with facts and figures. You will remember, Sir, that after the close of the last war not the immediately past world war but after the last but one world war, there were no troubles with regard to food or cloth. I am referring to the world war that lasted between 1914 and 1918. After 1918, a crisis like this did not overtake this country. For ten years people imagined that they were prospering and that there was nothing wrong anywhere. They did not know that the effects of the war were working underground and the day of reckoning was still in store. After ten years, i.e., in 1929-31, what was called the world economic crisis came upon the country and all trade and all Government business also had been affected. It was left to Germany to close her *Reichbank* and to proclaim, 'Without notice, don't present any Mark notes, we will not honour them because there is no cash in our exchequer, and because there is no gold or silver backing.' Germany was not in a solvent condition and the currency note was no longer issued. But in Great Britain, Sir, the value of the pound had fallen from 20 shillings to 7 shillings. It was just at that time that America was pressing for payment of war debt. That way the trouble came ten years later after the last war. But now, even before the war has been declared to have been closed, it has come in the shape of food and cloth famine. A country that has been producing enough not only to make the people of this land but also to enable other countries to have enough food has been reduced to this condition of having to run up to Washington or Great Britain or other countries which have got the control of the whole matter of foodstuffs. Because something has come in in the form of wheat, though not in the form of rice, we have been getting on. We are in a very serious position, although we are not compelled to declare a further cut in the ration of 12 ounces. His Excellency the Governor was telling us that he had been following the rules of rationing observed on his way from Britain to this country to take charge of the administration here, in Italy and other countries, and he was thinking of this country and a ration of 12 ounces. Because he could not believe it himself, as soon as he landed here, he made it his purpose to tour the country, see how rationing was going on and study the condition and help the country along with the Government as far as possible in the very serious situation that was arising. How it

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has come about so soon after the war on account of the cyclone and the tidal wave in the East Coast and also famine in the Ceded districts, all these things are set out in pages 1 to 6 in the written speech * I have presented. Now I am reading from the third paragraph of page 6.

“ This is what I have placed before you on the food situation. With regard to cloth, I shall read it later, and discuss them together.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“ In response to the request of the Leader of the Opposition and the leaders of other parties and with the consent of the Hon. Leader of the House, I adjourn this House to meet again on Wednesday, the 29th May at 11 a.m.”

The House then adjourned.

V.—PAPER LAID ON THE TABLE OF THE HOUSE.

Notification appended to G.O. No. 1268, Home, dated 24th April 1946, making certain amendments to Madras Motor Vehicles Rules, 1940, published with Home Department Notification No. 357, dated the 29th March 1940, as subsequently amended.

* Vide statement of the Premier on the Food Position in the Province printed as Appendix on pages 61-85 infra.

APPENDIX.

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(1)

STATEMENT ON THE FOOD POSITION BY
THE PREMIER.

The food problem of this Province is causing us all anxiety at the present moment and this morning I propose to give you a brief review of the food situation of this Province during the past three years and to tell you how we stand at present.

The normal pre-war production of rice in the Province used to be 4.9 million tons and of millets 2.8 million tons. In normal pre-war years about 451,000 tons of rice and 9,600 tons of millets used to be imported from outside the Province. There is very little cultivation of wheat in the Province and it depends entirely upon imports for its requirements. The normal annual import of wheat and wheat products in pre-war years was about 66,000 tons. In respect of pulses, the Province produced about 250,000 tons in a normal pre-war year and imported about 250,000 tons. Thus the food budget of the Province in a normal pre-war year was as follows :—

Production.

							(IN TONS.)
Rice	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,900,000
Millets	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,800,000
Pulses	...	...	...	...	...	...	250,000
Total							7,950,000

Net imports.

Rice	...	...	...	...	...	...	451,000
Millets	...	...	...	...	...	...	9,600
Pulses	...	...	...	...	...	...	250,000
Wheat and wheat products	...	...	...	...	...	...	66,000
Total							776,600

Total production and net imports.

Rice	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,351,000
Millets	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,809,600
Pulses	...	...	...	...	...	...	500,000
Wheat and wheat products	...	...	...	...	...	...	66,000
Total							8,726,600

Thus the normal consumption of foodgrains including pulses in a pre-war year was 8.7 million tons.

The first two years of the war did not materially affect the food position of the Province. During this period the prices of foodgrains and especially cereals rose steadily but they did not rise

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to high levels and people could still buy whatever quantity they required without difficulty. It was the entry of Japan into the war in December 1941 and the subsequent interruption of communications with Burma, Indo-China and Siam that led to a serious situation in the Province. All imports dwindled after the entry of Japan into war and stopped completely on the fall of Burma and other Eastern countries. To add to the difficulties other administrations which, like Madras, used to import their rice requirements from these Eastern countries began not only to stop their exports of rice, millets and pulses to this Province, but also supplement their resources by purchase within this Province. Thus, early in 1942 the demand for rice from the Province, to Ceylon, Travancore, Cochin, Mysore, Hyderabad and Bombay which usually previously largely depended on imports from Burma and other Eastern countries increased. Owing to this increased demand on its resources, the Province became for the first time in 1941-42, a net exporter of rice to the extent of 155,000 tons while previously it had been a net importer to an extent of over 400,000 tons as stated already. This was rendered possible on account of the unusually good harvest in 1940-41 when the production of rice rose to 5.2 million tons. However, in 1942-43, imports from the Eastern countries ceased altogether. There was a heavy draw-off by the neighbouring States and Provinces—the draw-off amounting to a net export of 282,000 tons that year.

In 1943, the Government of India attempted a distribution of the surplus foodgrains available in surplus States and Provinces to deficit areas and drew up the original basic plan. This plan did not however work owing to the varying methods adopted by the different administrations in assessing their surpluses and deficits. The Government of India therefore considered it essential to enunciate a uniform formula for application throughout India and for this purpose and also to advise on food policy generally they constituted the Foodgrains Policy Committee presided over by Sir Theodore Gregory. This committee recommended the adoption of what is known as the five-year formula for assessing the provincial requirements of cereals. Under this formula the requirements of cereals are taken to be the average production *plus* net imports (imports *minus* exports) during the period of five years ending 1941-42.

The production of rice and millets and the requirements of these cereals under the Gregory formula during the three years ending 1944-45 were—

		Production.	Requirements.	Deficit.
		TONS.	TONS.	TONS.
1942-43	{ Rice ..	4,575,000	4,962,000	(—) 387,000
	{ Millets ..	2,416,000	2,890,000	(—) 474,000
1943-44	{ Rice ..	4,918,000	4,962,000	(—) 46,000
	{ Millets ..	2,607,000	2,890,000	(—) 283,000
1944-45	{ Rice ..	4,904,000	4,962,000	(—) 58,000
	{ Millets ..	2,724,000	2,890,000	(—) 166,000

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Against the deficits for the respective years the Province received under the arrangements made by the Government of India—

		TONS.
1942-43	{ Rice ..	Nil.
	{ Millets ..	34,895 (includes 22,528 tons obtained directly by this Province from surplus Provinces).
1943-44	{ Rice ..	Nil.
	{ Millets ..	44,784
1944-45	{ Rice ..	48,741
	{ Millets ..	23,324

In 1942-43 and 1943-44 some allotment of rice was made to this Province by the Government of India but that was in exchange for what this Province was required to supply to Defence Services, Travancore and Cochin. It was only in 1944-45 that a net allotment was made to meet the Province's requirements.

Apart from rice and millets, the Government of India have also been allotting quotas of wheat and wheat products from surplus Provinces and from abroad. The receipts against these allotments were—

	TONS.
1942-43—Wheat	13,584
Wheat products	15,891
1943-44—Wheat	20,210
Wheat products	20,256
1944-45—Wheat	74,026
Wheat products	28,870

Since 1944-45 the Government of India have been allotting larger quotas of wheat and wheat products to make up for the shortage in other foodgrains but, even so, the actual arrivals of all cereals together have fallen short of our deficits by

	TONS.
1942-43	796,630
1943-44	243,750
1944-45	49,039

As stated earlier, we were normally importing about one-half of our requirements of pulses, i.e., about 250,000 tons from surplus Provinces and States. Free trade in pulses was stopped with effect from 1943 and the Government of India allotted quotas to us from surplus areas since that year. The arrivals of all pulses were—

	TONS.
1943-44	91,342
1944-45	57,302

The allotments are given by the Government of India for what are called the Kharif and Rabi years, the former running from 1st November to 31st October and the latter from 1st May to 30th April, with reference to crop production seasons in North India. Rice, millets and certain varieties of pulses fall under the Kharif Plan and wheat and wheat products and bengalgram under the Rabi Plan.

The gravity of the food situation was realized by the Madras Government even as early as 1942 and steps were taken to stop

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indiscriminate exports, to conserve supplies and to make an equitable distribution of them within the Province. The first step taken in these directions was the issue of a notification prohibiting from 1st July 1942 the export of rice outside the Province without permits. The exports to neighbouring Provinces and States as well as to the Defence Services were regulated by a system of quotas. These quotas were originally purchased by private merchants who were allowed to export under permits up to the limit of the quotas. There was, however, no co-ordination in the purchasing activities of the other Provinces and States with the result that purchases were made by different agents who bid against one another and who bought not only in districts where there was surplus but also in districts where there was little or none. The Government therefore set up on 1st September 1942 the official purchasing agency of Grain Purchase Officer (Deputy Collector in the Provincial Civil Service) with the necessary subordinate staff to buy for export outside the Province subject to ceiling prices fixed by the Commissioner of Civil Supplies. In 1942-43 an unprecedentedly severe famine raged in the three Ceded districts of Bellary, Anantapur and Kurnool. Unlike in previous famines, when only cash wages used to be paid to labourers, grains had to be supplied to them owing to the scarcity of grains in the markets. Thus the cessation of imports from Burma and other Eastern countries, the heavy demands by the neighbouring Provinces and States and the unprecedentedly severe famine in the three districts in 1942-43 placed a very severe strain on the resources of the Province, and drained off whatever carry-over the producers had with them. From 1943-44 onwards, the Province had to live entirely on its current production supplemented by the limited imports that were received.

Other steps taken to meet the situation were—

- (1) the promulgation of an order by the Government of Madras prohibiting exports of foodgrains outside the Province except under permits issued by the Commissioner of Civil Supplies;
- (2) the promulgation of an order by the Commissioner of Civil Supplies extending the prohibition against the export of rice from one district to another within the Province to millets and certain varieties of pulses also;
- (3) the licensing of merchants under the Foodgrains Control Order;
- (4) the institution of a campaign for growing more food;
- (5) an intensive procurement drive; and
- (6) rationing.

Under the first two items, export of essential foodgrains from one district to another or from this Province to places outside is controlled by a system of permits. Ordinarily no export outside the Province is allowed and export from one district to another is regulated according to the means of each district as carefully ascertained with reference to statistics of production and requirements.

Item 3.—The Foodgrains Control Order of the Government of India was brought into force in this Province in 1942. Under this order trade in foodgrains is licensed and merchants who are

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licensed under the order have to render accounts of stocks, disposals, etc. Thus the wholesale trade is entirely under the control and supervision of the Government.

Item 4.—To close the gap between home supplies and consumption needs, the Government addressed themselves to the task of improving the output of foodstuffs in deficit in the Province. The drive to increase food production proceeded on the following lines:—

- (a) bringing new areas under food crops, increasing double-crop cultivation and cultivation during the off-season;
- (b) diverting areas under non-food crops to food crops;
- (c) execution of irrigation projects to bring a larger area under irrigation;
- (d) intensive cultivation by applying more manure and by the use of improved varieties of seeds;
- (e) grant of loans on a liberal scale to cultivators for purchases of manure and seeds and to finance agricultural operations generally.

Up to 30th September 1945, an additional extent of 180,233 acres was brought under the plough. The net area sown in 1944-45, viz., 31.5 million acres, was, however, less than the pre-war triennial average of 31.7 million acres. The area under foodgrains however increased from the pre-war triennial average of 22.8 million acres to 28 million acres in 1944-45. Thus, increased production of foodgrains should have resulted from the Grow More Food Campaign by the diversion of part of the area under non-food crops to food crops and by an increase in the area under second-crop cultivation. But the unfavourable seasonal conditions have prevented these efforts from bearing fruit. The season in 1945-46 has been most unfavourable and the area under cultivation therefore necessarily decreased. It is thus not possible to assess the results of the campaign with reference to 1945-46.

Item 5—Intensive procurement.—Seven Grain Purchase Officers were first appointed for procurement of all surpluses of rice from the producing areas for export to deficit areas. In Malabar on the West Coast, which is heavily deficit in all foodgrains and which used to depend primarily on imports of rice from Burma in pre-war years, the entire surplus is procured under an order which requires all holders to sell their surplus cereals only to the agents appointed by the Collector. The system of procurement of surpluses was extended to 6 more districts during 1945 and 4 more districts in 1946 in view of the famine and drought conditions, and in February this year, in view of the worsening of the seasonal conditions, the system of intensive procurement was extended to all the districts in the Province including the surplus districts. District Supply Officers, Taluk Supply Officers and Firka Supply Officers have now been appointed in all districts whose duty it is to procure all available surplus of cereals from the ryots and distribute them to the statutorily and informally rationed areas according to their requirements.

Item 6—Rationing.—Statutory rationing was introduced in Madras City in the first week of November 1943 and was extended to the other urban areas of the Province by the end of June 1944.

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In the latter half of 1944, conditions in Malabar district deteriorated so badly that it was found necessary to introduce districtwide rationing of non-producers and small producers. Statutory rationing is now in force in 83 urban areas. Rice, millets and wheat and wheat products are at present rationed articles. The scale of ration was 1 lb. per adult per day rounded to the nearest local measure. From 17th February 1946, in view of the anticipated heavy deficits in all foodgrains, it was reduced to 12 oz. per adult per day. In the case of heavy manual labourers an additional ration of 4 oz. per day is allowed.

In addition to statutory rationing, it was considered desirable to introduce a more drastic system of rationing in 6 heavily deficit districts. This is called rural rationing. It is more elastic than statutory rationing in that it dispenses with a number of forms, does not provide for penalties for minor irregularities and does not prescribe elaborate formalities. This system of rural rationing was subsequently extended to all the deficit districts and has been or is being introduced in surplus districts also. Thus at present the entire non-producer and insufficient producer population of the Province which is estimated to be 21.4 millions in terms of adults will get their rations on ration cards. The producers also are in a sense rationed because their requirements for consumption are calculated at 1 lb. per adult per day in estimating the surplus to be procured from them. Thus the scale of consumption by the entire population is under control.

We may now proceed to an examination of the situation during the current Kharif year. In September 1945 when an estimate was made for the purpose of the Kharif Plan Conference, it was estimated that the Province was deficit in rice by 96,000 tons and in millets by 50,000 tons. The season however turned out to be very disappointing. The south-west monsoon was a partial failure while the north-east monsoon was very deficient in many of the districts. A devastating cyclone caused extensive damage to crops in the Circars and the drought spread to almost all interior districts. Consequently the estimate of deficit had to be revised periodically. The latest estimate shows that the production of rice this year is 3,827,000 tons and of millets 1,942,000 tons. The estimated production is short of the normal by 1,039,800 tons in the case of rice and by 640,000 tons in the case of millets making a total deficit of 1,679,800 tons. Compared with the requirements according to the five-year formula, the deficit of rice and millets works out to 1,135,000 and 948,000 tons respectively, i.e., a total of 2,083,000 tons. The five-year formula however gave a *per capita* rate of consumption of 1.1 lb. In view of the difficult conditions of this year, the requirements of this Province have been revised by allowing only 1 lb. per adult per day to producers and 12 oz. to the rationed population in statutorily rationed areas from 1st March 1946 and 12 oz. to the card-holders in rural rationed areas from 1st May 1946.—On this basis our requirements to maintain the existing ration of 12 oz. up to the end of October amount to 1,272,000 tons.

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Members will want to know what resources we have to meet this huge requirement of 1,272,000 tons up to the end of October. I, therefore, now turn to a comparison of our resources with our requirements. For the present, I shall deal only with the period up to October after which month considerable overseas supplies are expected to be available from the present year's harvest in the northern hemisphere.

To meet this demand of 1,272,000 tons up to the end of October we have stocks on hand which amounted to 521,000 tons on 2nd May. This includes 484,500 tons of rice, 25,000 tons of millets and 12,000 tons of wheat and wheat products. We have been promised imports of 116,000 tons of rice, 500 tons of millets and 30,000 tons of wheat and wheat products, making a total of 146,500 tons. We expect to procure 336,000 tons of cereals from the surpluses available with ryots, of which 300,000 tons is in rice and 36,000 tons in millets. This includes procurement of part of the short-term crop to be harvested in September and October. The prospects of this crop are doubtful owing to the very low level of the Mettur Reservoir, and it is quite possible that our estimates of procurement may not be realized in full. Thus our stocks, imports and anticipated procurement on the most favourable estimate come to 1,004,000 tons against our requirements of 1,272,000 tons leaving a deficit of 268,000 tons to maintain the existing ration to the end of October. There are, however, several uncertain factors in the assessment of this stock position. It is doubtful if all the promised imports will arrive in full or arrive in time and it must be remembered that the stocks in the districts are of varying magnitude, and due to the difficulties of transport and the long distances over which foodgrains have to be moved, the stocks will get exhausted sooner in some districts than in others.

It will be clear from the facts stated above that however efficient we may make our own organization, and even with the marshalling of all our resources, a time will come and it may be any time before October, when we shall be entirely dependent on supplies from outside the Province or from overseas. We need all the help possible from the Government of India Food Organization if we are to prevent widespread starvation in the Province, and I should be failing in my duty if I did not also warn the hon. Members that the period of acute scarcity will last at least up to the end of December 1946, when our main harvests will begin to become available and even that date is based on the assumption that the season this year will be favourable for agricultural operations in both monsoons. We shall, therefore, require substantial help up to the end of December at least and that help must come in good time to be distributed over the great areas of this Province before stocks run out.

The essential things to be done are—

(i) *Prevent waste.*—For this purpose the evasion of Rationing Rules has to be put down with a strong hand and stringent measures have to be taken to see that no food is wasted in unnecessary entertainments, etc.

(ii) *Intensive procurement.*—All the districts of the Province have now got Government Procurement Organizations which pro-

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cure all the available surpluses with the ryots. The difficulty experienced by the staff is want of reliable information about the surplus available with the ryots and the reluctance of some of them to dispose of their surpluses. Public opinion has to be created to make all holders of stocks surplus to requirements sell such surpluses to the Government agents and not to hoard them for their own use or in anticipation of getting higher prices. It is vital for existence that the target of procurement of 336,000 tons is reached and exceeded as far as possible.

(iii) *Reduction in scale of rice ration.*—As rice is in short supply and a large quantity of wheat and wheat flour has been promised by the Government of India it is necessary to conserve rice for the poorer classes who cannot buy supplementary foods like vegetables, fruits, biscuits. The rice ration therefore will in future be 10 oz. per adult per day. People will have the option to take the remaining part of the ration, viz., 2 oz. as wheat, wheat products or millets. It will of course be open to them to take the rice content of the ration in the shape of other rationed foodgrains like wheat, etc. Bread and wheat products have been rationed in some towns and their rationing is being extended to all urban areas and semi-urban areas.

(iv) *Increase food production.*—The Government have already ordered the grant of a bonus of Rs. 15 per acre for the cultivation of short-term crops. A bonus is also given for sinking irrigation wells. Manures and seed are also distributed at concessional rates. Similar measures will be considered to stimulate production of foodgrains.

(v) *Popularisation of subsidiary foods.*—The consumption of sweet potatoes, groundnut, etc., should be encouraged: it will be made available to the fullest extent possible.

(vi) The prices of foodgrains (rice and millets) have to be kept at a reasonable level, so that the interests of both producers and consumers may be safeguarded. Frequent changes of prices are undesirable, unfair to the producers who have already parted with their stocks and most of the poor producers have done so already. If any increase is found necessary it will be given effect to during the next crop season.

The question of prices of foodgrains produced during the next crop will be considered separately; we shall review the position giving full consideration to the interests of the producer.

(vii) In order to popularise unfamiliar foods such as wheat and wheat products they will have to be sold cheaper than rice so that even the poor can purchase them without difficulty. It is therefore proposed to sell these foodstuffs at half a Madras measure cheaper than rice and maize at the same rate as cholam. Rice imported from outside the Province is also being sold in deficit districts at the same rate at which rice imported from the surplus districts in the Province is sold in those districts. It is hoped that the Government of India will agree to bear a part, if not the whole, of the loss involved.

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(2)

DRAFT PROPOSALS FOR ASSOCIATING THE PUBLIC WITH THE FOOD ADMINISTRATION.

The association of the public with the food administration will be effected by the formation of village, taluk and district committees on the following lines:—

Village committees.—The village committee may consist of 5 to 8 members. A committee shall ordinarily be formed for a village which constitutes a revenue unit. Where a village is small, two or three villages may be grouped, and a committee formed for the group. Where a municipality includes a number of villages a committee may be formed for the municipality. The Tahsildar will convene a meeting of all the villagers and in consultation with them will select really representative and influential men of the village without regard to their political affiliations and constitute the committee. The committee can elect its own chairman. The Revenue Divisional Officer shall satisfy himself that the committee formed is really representative.

Taluk committees.—The village committees of each firka will be assembled at a convenient centre by the Tahsildar and asked to elect two representatives for the taluk committee. The taluk committee will thus consist of about ten representatives elected on a firka basis. The Tahsildar will be the convener of this committee and the Divisional Officer the President. The members of the Madras Legislatures representing that area will be ex-officio members of this committee.

District committees.—This will consist of the Collector of the district who will be its President, the District Supply Officer who will be its Secretary, the District Rationing Officer, the District Agricultural Officer, and the Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies, who will be its ex-officio members; the Members of the Legislatures, both Provincial and Central, and one representative of each taluk committee elected from amongst its non-official members. The committee shall have the power to co-opt not more than three members, one of whom shall be a representative of the District Wholesale Co-operative Stores where such stores is entrusted with procurement.

Powers and duties of the committees.—The village committees will scrutinise the demand lists prepared by the Revenue staff in regard to procurement. The Revenue staff prepares registers showing the extent cultivated by each ryot, his outturn, his requirements, and arrive at his surplus and intimate it to the ryot concerned. These lists will be placed before the village committees and the objections, if any, by the ryots will be heard by them and the lists finally passed. Pending the completion and scrutiny of these lists all grain voluntarily offered may be purchased.

In the process of procurement, though the present rules make adequate provision for the deduction, in ascertaining the surplus, of the actual needs of the cultivator for the subsistence

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of himself and his family, and secondly for the expenses of cultivation, it is found in practice that this is not being done properly and the cultivator is being forced to give more than he ought to. This should be stopped and adequate provision should be made for his subsistence and also for the needs of cultivation. The Collector, in consultation with the several taluk committees, will fix the scale of allowances for each taluk. In estimating the cultivator's requirements, provision should be made for payment of wages in kind and for seasonal labour also. Though this is now allowed under the rules, in practice it is found that allowance is made only for permanent servants and not for seasonal labour. The enumeration for the distribution of ration cards should also be verified and approved by the committee to prevent numerous false and incorrect claims regarding the strength of the families. The quantity required for the consumption of the non-producers and insufficient producers in the village will be determined according to the scales of rations that are fixed from time to time. This quantity will ordinarily be procured by the village committee which by itself or with other villagers will form itself into a co-operative society. If the committee finds itself unable to do so, the Tahsildar will select one or two agents for the purpose in consultation with the committee. The business of the agents will be to purchase the stock from the producers at the village prices fixed by the Collector and sell it to the ration card-holders, adding only the prescribed scale of overheads for retailers. If the agents purchase, they will find the storage for the grain. If the committee purchases, the Tahsildar will help to secure proper storage until it is able to build one for itself. As far as possible, the sales should be in the shape of paddy so that people may resort to hand-pounding. Where milling is necessary, the agents or the committees will arrange for it. The committees will preferably arrange for hand-pounding in the village itself and sell rice to the card-holders.

Taluk committees.—As the village lists are settled, they will be sent to the taluk committee which will scrutinize them to see whether the assessment has been fair. The taluk committee will have the power to enhance the surplus if it finds that the surplus settled by the village committee is low; in which case the village committee shall distribute the enhanced levy among the villagers in a fair manner. If any producer is not satisfied with the decision of the village committees he may appeal to the taluk committee which would, in that event, give an opportunity to him to prove his case and revise his demand, if necessary. The decision of the taluk committee in regard to individual assessments shall be final. The taluk committee may appoint a sub-committee to hear and dispose of these appeals; the Tahsildar will preside over this sub-committee.

District committees.—The taluk committees will send up the summaries of the village lists to the district committees from time to time. The district committee will scrutinize the assessments settled for the taluks and finalize the position for the district. If it is found that the estimates of local production, local consumption, or surplus as determined by the taluk committees are low, the

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Collector shall have over-riding power, in consultation with the district committee, to revise the lists prepared by the taluk committee in the interests of the district as a whole as well as the rest of the province.

Procurement for export.—Regarding the procurement of the balance of the surplus which is to be sent outside the village, each firka will be divided into 5 or 6 groups and there will be a depot for each group. A collecting agent will be appointed for each group for buying the surplus from the villagers and storing it in the group depot. If there is a co-operative society, it should be asked to open branches for this purpose. Where it is unwilling or where there is no such society, the Divisional Officer will select suitable agents in consultation with the taluk committees. The collecting agents in charge of firka depots will send weekly returns of stocks to the Tahsildar who will transfer stocks from surplus to deficit areas as required. It should be the aim of the Revenue staff to make use of the co-operative societies in the procurement work at all stages through the district co-operative stores. The Registrar will be asked to organize societies where they do not exist.

It is the aim of the Government to revive hand-pounding of rice as far as possible and put an end to milling at the earliest possible moment. For this purpose, the committee will, as proposed above, take all possible steps to see that rice is hand-pounded. Paddy may be sold to consumers so that they may hand-pound it themselves. Or the committee may arrange to hand-pound the paddy and see that very little of it is given to the mills. Rice instead of paddy may be accepted from producers for quantities required for consumption in the villages. In fixing the relative prices of paddy and rice every inducement will be given to the producer to give in the form of rice so that he may hand-pound the paddy before sale.

Prices.—The Government will fix prices for each district for the next crop in consultation with all interests. The Collectors will work out the village prices and prescribe the scale of overheads for sale in the villages and depots in consultation with the district committee.

General.—After these village committees are constituted it is essential that they should equip themselves with proper godown accommodation as soon as possible. Steps will be taken to that end soon. As soon as these committees are formed, the distribution of all controlled commodities such as sugar, kerosene, cloth, yarn, etc., will be entrusted to them. The village quota of agricultural implements, cart tyres, tools, etc., will also be distributed by the village committees. The quota for the taluks and villages will be settled by the Collector and the Divisional Officers in consultation with the respective committees, i.e., the district quota will be settled by the Government, the Collector will distribute the district quota between the taluks in consultation with the district committee, and the Divisional Officer will distribute the taluk quotas to the villages in each taluk in consultation with the taluk

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committees, and the village committees will arrange for the distribution in their villages equitably. The Chairman of the Village Committee will convene a meeting of the committee and draw up a list of distribution and get it passed by the Firka Supply Officer before acting on it. Complaints in regard to distribution of food or other commodities by the village committees will be heard and disposed of by the taluk committees.

T. PRAKASAM.

The existing Food Councils will be dissolved.

Travelling allowance according to scales to be prescribed will be allowed to non-official members of the taluk and district committees for attending the meetings of the committees.

There has been a sense of grievance that procurement in the past has been harsh and that prosecutions have been launched indiscriminately. The Collectors will be requested to scrutinize all pending prosecutions and withdraw all cases except those which involve violence or deliberate evasion on a large scale.

(3)

NOTE BY THE PROVINCIAL TEXTILE COMMISSIONER, MADRAS.

Section I.

[Subject.—Cotton cloth and yarn—General position.]

I. *Cotton cloth*.—(1) As far as mill cloth is concerned, India has to manage now with the cloth produced by its mills, and there are no near prospects of any steady and large imports of mill cloth from other countries. The Government of India have, therefore, been enforcing a strict rationing scheme for mill cloth. They have, for this purpose, fixed per capita allotments of cloth for each Province and State in India, and each deficit area is given, every month, from the Bombay Province, a quantity of cloth just sufficient to make up the difference between the monthly allocation due to the area on the per capita basis and the quantity of cloth produced, whether on handlooms or on powerlooms, within the area and available for consumption within it.

(2) Our per capita allotment used to be only 10 yards per annum per head of population up to 31st October 1945 and it was raised to 12 yards with effect from 1st November 1945. (In spite of our protests, a scheme of differential quotas has been adopted by the Central Government. Bombay Province, for example, has been given, for no convincing reasons, a per capita allotment which is higher than our's by 50 per cent.) We have since been told

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that the Central Government has decided to reduce the per capita allotments for all the areas by 10 per cent with effect from 1st June 1946, on the ground that there has been fall in production since December last owing to strikes, difficulties of coal supplies and the compulsory, statutory, reduction in the number of working hours. We can expect no improvement in this respect in the future, because, as a result of recent legislation at the Centre, the number of working hours in mills is to be reduced further to 48 hours per week per labourer. It is fairly certain, therefore, that the 10 per cent cut has come to stay, that is, with effect from 1st June 1946, our per capita allotment will be only 10·8 yards.

(3) We have thus to manage with 31,951 bales per mensem consisting of not more than 12,428 bales of mill cloth and 19,523 bales of handloom cloth (1 bale = 1,500 yards). The following details on which this calculation is based are of considerable importance:—

	BALES.
I. Total monthly allocation for the Province ...	31,951
II. Deduct—	
(a) Local handloom production ...	24,007
(b) Local mill production less exports to countries outside India ...	5,200
(c) Imports of mill cloth from other areas in the South Deficit Zone, that is, from Mysore, Cochin and Travancore ...	376
III. Add—	
(a) Exports of handloom cloth to Provinces and States in India outside the Province ...	3,816
(b) Exports of handloom cloth to countries outside India ...	668
(c) Exports of mill cloth to Provinces and States in India outside the Province ...	1,455
IV. Monthly allocation of mill cloth due to this Province from Bombay Surplus Area (I minus II plus III) ...	8,307

Our quota of mill cloth is made up of 8,307 bales thus due from the mills in the Bombay Province plus 4,121 bales produced in the mills in this Province, Mysore, Cochin and Travancore or 12,428 bales in all.

(4) Owing to ineffective control in Bombay and Ahmedabad—this matter is engaging the attention of the Government—releases of cloth from these two main centres in the Bombay Province to our authorized buyers are slow and delayed, and we cannot be sure when exactly the cloth will be purchased there and moved to the distribution centres in this Province after crossing the transport hurdles.

(5) Owing to the complicated calculations which are made under the All-India Cloth Scheme and the controversies over the debits for yarn deliveries and credits for handloom exports made thereunder, there is a great deal of uncertainty even as to the allocation of mill cloth to the Province from the Bombay Surplus

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Area. As against our basic allocation of 12,000 bales per mensem up to 31st May 1946 from this area, the Textile Commissioner, Bombay, gave us an allocation of about 5,000 bales for March, a little over 6,000 bales for April 1946 and he proposes to give us less than 5,100 bales for May 1946. We have protested against these drastic cuts, but these controversies take a long time to settle, and in the meantime there is serious uncertainty in, and hardship to, this Province.

(6) The scramble for mill cloth is not really for any and every kind of cloth woven on powerlooms. It is nearly always for one or more of the coveted varieties of mill cloth, namely, mulls, dhotis, sarees, voils and printed chintz.

(7) Something like a crisis is reached on the eve of the important festivals like Deepavali, Sankranti and Telugu New Year's day (Onam and Vishu in Malabar), when our people make the bulk of their purchases. When we have to subsist on monthly quotas, it is obviously impossible to meet large consolidated demands on the eve of festivals. It is therefore necessary that consumers should, in their own interests, spread their purchases of mill cloth as uniformly as possible over the whole year and accumulate what they can for festivals.

It has also to be pointed out that, if any persons take advantage of the absence of rationing and buy more than their fair share of mill cloth, they would be, to that extent, starving other consumers.

(8) Thanks to our handloom industry, there is, and can be, no cloth famine, in the literal sense in this Province. We have quite adequate quantities of handloom cloth for supply to our consumers, month after month, in the varieties they have been accustomed to, which is more than can be said of mill cloth. As far as the masses of our people are concerned, they have been accustomed to, and definitely prefer, handloom cloth. But they too have been joining the scramble for the very limited quantities of mill cloth available because of the unattractively high prices of handloom cloth. (The price of handloom cloth woven with mill yarn is over twice that of similar mill cloth, while that of khadi is much higher.)

If, therefore, we can bring handloom prices down to reasonable levels, we shall not have many complaints. It is administratively impracticable to introduce, in respect of handloom cloth, a scheme of price control as satisfactory and effective as that which has been in operation in regard to mill cloth. But something useful can be done to check profiteering in handloom cloth by the middlemen, and this would give appreciable relief to consumers of handloom cloth. I have submitted, for the consideration of the Government, a detailed scheme for this purpose.

(9) The three branches of the All-India Spinner's Association in this Province are producing in all only about 200 bales of handspun yarn (1 bale=400 lb.) equivalent to 188 bales of khadi. The amount of khadi produced by private persons outside these

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organizations is also negligible. It may be mentioned that there is no control over khadi and that whatever khadi is produced is outside the quota referred to above.

(10) In respect of handloom cloth, there is no control over distribution or prices. It is unnecessary to control distribution, but it is necessary and desirable, as much in the interests of the handloom industry itself, as in the interests of consumers, and in order to achieve the logical and really satisfactory solution of the cloth problem, to control prices in the best practicable manner and that is the purpose for which my scheme referred to above has been proposed.

(11) In respect of mill cloth, there is both price control and control over distribution. The available supplies of mill cloth are distributed from the mills to the consumers through a chain consisting of the mill's quotaholders, that is, the persons to whom the mill has to sell its production under clause 18-A of the Cotton Cloth and Yarn (Control) Order, the sub-wholesaler and the retailer. The supplies are distributed to the various districts in the Province according to district quotas fixed by me in as equitable a manner as possible. The cloth sent to each area is distributed among the dealers in each category there in proportion to their turnover in the past, so as to secure equitable distribution among them.

(12) I have with strong support from the Government been taking very drastic action against dealers, who have, or are reasonably suspected to have been, guilty of contravention of any of the important control measures, and there is undoubtedly much greater respect for law and authority in this Province than anywhere else in India. I must also mention the fact that textile control in this Province has, for nearly two years now, been enforced with the co-operation of the mills, as well as of the dealers.

(13) The following figures may be found to be of some interest :—

(i) In terms of producer's price, the value of the 19,523 bales of handloom cloth which is our monthly quota is Rupees 3,12,36,800.

(ii) In terms of the ex-mill price, the value of the 12,428 bales which is our monthly quota of mill cloth is Rs. 93,21,000.

II. Cotton yarn.—(14) In regard to supply of mill yarn to handlooms, we have to depend entirely on the surplus yarn of mills in India, that is, the yarn which they are able to spare after meeting the requirements of their powerlooms. The Government of India, have, since 1st April 1945, been enforcing a strict All-India Rationing scheme. Under this scheme, this Province, though a surplus yarn producing area, is allowed to retain only its share (based on the Fact Finding Committee's figures) of the total amount of yarn available for handlooms all over India, which is 26.05 per cent. Our yarn quota is thus 21,305 bales (1 bale=400 lb.) per mensem.

(15) Since August 1944, we have been rationing the available supplies of yarn equitably among the handlooms all over the Province. There are yarn quotas fixed for each district, and what is sent to each district is distributed to the weavers there through a

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chain with three links, as in the case of cloth, viz., quota-holders, sub-wholesalers and retailers. The quantities of yarn sent to each centre are distributed through the dealers in each category in that centre in proportion to their turnover in the past. The supply of yarn to each handloom is made against ration cards which specify the quantities and counts of yarn which the loom is entitled to receive every month and the retail dealer who should make the supply.

(16) Rationing has been found practicable in the case of yarn because the number of counts is very limited and the requirements of each loom in terms of counts and quantities can be determined precisely.

(17) The complaints have been mostly about the inadequate supplies of yarn. This is a true complaint, but unfortunately, we are helpless in the matter. We can only distribute equitably the available supplies of yarn given to us under the All-India Rationing Scheme. Owing to the increase in the number of looms and the rigid enforcement of the All-India scheme, we have had to cut down the ration for each loom, with the result that the present ration is sufficient to give employment to each weaver only for about ten days in the month. A recent census has shown that there are now 496,000 active looms in the Province—there are hardly any inactive looms now—as against 294,101 active looms and 46,350 idle looms estimated by the Fact Finding Committee in 1940 on the basis of the figures furnished, I believe, by the Director of Industries and Commerce, Madras. The scramble for cotton yarn has been aggravated by the failure of supplies of artificial silk yarn which has all to be imported from other countries. There was undoubtedly a very large error in the Fact Finding Committee's figures of active looms in this Province, but it seems to be indisputable that nearly 75,000 new looms have come into existence during the war period attracted by the progressive reductions in the prices of mill yarn and the absence of price control for handloom cloth.

(18) In terms of the ex-mill prices, the value of the 21,305 bales which is our monthly quota of cotton yarn is about Rs. 1.50 crores.

Section II.

[Subject.—Textiles—Cotton cloth—Mill cloth—Rationing—Feasibility of.]

If a scheme of rationing of mill cloth is to be tried in this Province, it would have to take into account the facts and considerations set out below:—

1. We have since heard from the Textile Commissioner, Bombay, to the effect that the Government of India have decided to reduce the per capita allotment of cloth for all zones in India by 10 per cent, with effect from the 1st June 1946. Apart from strikes and difficulties about supplies of coal, the fall in the production of mills which has led to this reduction, has presumably

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been due to the compulsory, statutory reduction in the number of working hours to 54 hours per week per labourer. As a result of more recent legislation by the Central Legislature, a further reduction in the number of working hours to 48 hours per week per labourer, seems unavoidable from 1st August 1946. It is, therefore, fairly certain that the 10 per cent cut referred to above will become permanent, and it is accordingly quite necessary that any rationing scheme in this Province should take account of the fact that our per capita allotment is no longer twelve yards, but 10.8 yards per annum per head of population.

2. Of these 10.8 yards per capita, a little less than 4.2 yards will be mill cloth, while the balance of 6.6 yards will have to be handloom cloth.

3. The population of this Province now is a little over 53 millions, out of which about 16 millions are children, that is, persons below twelve years of age. Taking this into account, the mill cloth ration cannot be fixed any higher than 5 yards for adults and 2 yards for children.

4. With reference to the 10 per cent cut referred to in paragraph 1 above, our monthly quota of mill cloth will be about 12,428 bales consisting of 4,121 bales of cloth produced by mills in the Madras Province, Mysore, Cochin and Travancore, the balance of 8,307 bales being the production of mills in the Bombay Province.

5. The production of sarees in the South Indian mills referred to above is negligible, while the production of dhoties is about 14,000 dhoties per mensem. For all practical purposes, we are thus entirely at the mercy of the mills in the Bombay Province for supplies of mill sarees, dhoties, voils and printed chintz. As for mulls, the small mill at Mettur gives us about 11 million yards of mull per annum, and for further quantities of mull, we have to depend entirely on supplies from Bombay Province. There will be no difficulty in guaranteeing supplies of the ration if it were only a question of supplying some mill cloth or other. There is no great difficulty in supplying reasonable quantities out of the ration in terms of shirtings and coatings. But the scramble is all for the coveted varieties specified above, and in regard to these, the position is, as explained below, very different, and that is the crux of the whole problem as regards rationing of mill cloth.

6. Even if the quota-holders in Bombay and Ahmedabad play quite fair with our authorized buyers, this Province can expect to get only its reasonable share of the very limited production in the coveted varieties. Judging from the actual supplies received during the period from December 1945 to February 1946, the rationing scheme will have to take account of the very hard facts revealed by the following figures:—

Description of variety.	Supply available per annum.	Number of families in the Province.
(1) Sarees	735,000 (Nos.)	} 11.25 millions
(2) Dhoties	7,722,000 (Nos.)	
(3) Voils	2,468,000 (Yds.)	
(4) Printed chintz	11,088,000 (Yds.)	
(5) Mulls	20,322,000 (Yds.)	

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The figure in the last column is based on what I consider to be a reasonable assumption, namely, that each family will, on the average, be equivalent to four adults, consisting of three adult members and two children. It will be seen that we cannot guarantee the supply of even one mill saree per annum for every ten families in the Province! As regards dhoties, the position is very much better, but we cannot guarantee even one dhoty per annum per family. Even if we thought of leaving the families to choose between one saree per annum or one dhoty per annum, we shall be up against the fact that, for 11.25 million families, we have less than 8.46 million units of sarées and dhoties combined. It is thus clear that we cannot guarantee a ration in terms of even a single dhoty or saree per annum per family. The supply of voiles is less than 2.47 million yards per annum, while that of chintz is very much better being about 11.09 million yards per annum, but less than the number of families in the Province, so that we are not in a position to guarantee the supply of even one yard of chintz per family not to speak of one yard of voile. It is a refreshing contrast to look at the position with regard to mulls: we can guarantee $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards of mull per family per annum.

7. Having regard to the facts mentioned above, a rationing scheme in this Province will have to be as specified below:—

(1) As in the case of food, the family will be the unit for the rationing of cloth. With reference to the number of adults and children entered in the food ration cards, the annual cloth ration will be worked out on the basis of 5 yards per adult and 2 yards per child. For the assumed average family of three adults and two children, the ration will thus be 19 yards of mill cloth per annum.

(2) Each family will be linked up to a specified retail dealer, and, as far as possible, to the dealer from whom the family has purchased mill cloth in the past.

(It is here necessary to explain that, as quotas of mill cloth have in equity to be distributed among the retail dealers in this Province, as far as possible, in proportion to their turnover in the past, it will be necessary to link up the larger retail dealers in the Madras City, and to a very much lesser extent in the bigger mufassal markets like Madura, Coimbatore and Bezwada, to consumers residing outside the districts in which the retail dealers are carrying on their business. These places, particularly, Madras City, have in fact been catering to a large floating population. It would not, therefore, be unjust to link up to the larger dealers in Madras City, some consumers residing in the adjoining districts like Chingleput, North Arcot and Nellore. Such linking up of consumers to the other centres will be avoided as far as possible, but it certainly cannot be avoided in respect of some of the larger dealers in Madras City.)

(3) The family ration worked out on the basis of 5 yards per adult and 2 yards per child will be entered on the cloth ration card issued by the Textile Control department, which will be in the form set forth in the Annexure.

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(4) Out of its ration, a family can claim, as a matter of right, only $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards of mull. It will have no difficulty in getting its requirements of shirting and coating cloth, but in respect of other varieties, particularly, the coveted varieties, namely, mill sarées, dhoties, voiles and printed chintz, it must take its chance under the arrangements hereinafter mentioned.

(5) As soon as the family gets its cloth ration card, it should produce it before the retail dealer to whom it has been linked up and register its cloth requirements.

(6) Every retail dealer should maintain a register in Form I set forth in the Annexure, giving particulars of the families linked up to him.

(7) No cloth should be sold or delivered against a cloth ration card until the family has registered its requirements of cloth with the dealer in Register No. II—vide form set forth in the Annexure.

(8) With reference to the stocks on hand at the time of the introduction of the rationing scheme, and thereafter, as soon as every consignment is received, the dealer should intimate to the families registered with him, the varieties and quantities of cloth which he can offer to sell to them against their ration cards having due regard to their registered requirements and the balance of supply due to them. This information may be given orally to the representative of the family, if he is present at the shop at the time the intimations are being prepared; otherwise, it should be sent by post or messenger.

(9) The quantities and varieties specified in these intimations shall be reserved for the family concerned for a period of fifteen days from the date of the intimation, and if they are not bought by the family within that period, the dealer shall utilize them for sales to other families which have been linked up to him. The intimation should specify the balance of supply due to the family and the varieties reserved for sale to them and also mention the fact that, if the quantity is not purchased within fifteen days from the date of intimation, it would be used for sales to other registered families.

(10) The reservation and intimation should always be in the order of registration in Register No. II, that is, in the order specified in column (1) thereof.

(11) After every sale, particulars of the varieties and quantities sold should be entered in the columns provided for the purpose in the ration card.

(12) The production of the food ration card should be insisted on both at the time of the registration and at the time of every sale, for purposes of identification and for eliminating possibility of fraud.

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(13) The existing arrangements for supply for funeral purposes through selected retail dealers will be continued, but the supply will be made only on production of the food and cloth ration cards of the bereaved family. The supply for funeral purposes will be outside the family ration, but, as soon as the supply has been made, the dealer should retain the cloth ration card with him for submission to the Textile Control Officer for revising the particulars regarding the strength of the family and the ration entered in the ration card.

(14) Ration cards will be issued by the Textile Control Officer and any corrections therein would require to be attested by the Textile Control Officer.

(15) The ration period will always be reckoned as a period of twelve consecutive months and no family can draw more than half its ration during either of the half years included in the ration period.

(16) The maximum supply per annum for a family shall be one yard in respect of voiles and $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards in respect of printed chintz. As regards mulls, as already mentioned, every family is entitled to only $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards per annum, but additional supplies may be given with reference to the surplus stocks of mulls available for distribution.

(17) If, in respect of sarees, dhoties and mulls, a family does not accept an offer made to it by its dealer within fifteen days of the intimation referred to in sub-paragraphs (8) and (9), it will lose its right to be considered for supply in these particular varieties concerned during the ration period in question. There will be no forfeiture in respect of other varieties.

(18) It might appear reasonable to lay down that sales of sarees and dhoties should be confined to families whose monthly income does not exceed Rs. 100, whatever may be the source of income. If such a rule is to be worked in a very satisfactory manner, it would be necessary to conduct inquiries on this point also and enter the result in the ration card. But this would be a very difficult administrative task and would take a very considerable time to complete. The alternative would be to allow dealers to refuse to sell sarees or dhoties to families, who, to their knowledge, get a monthly income exceeding Rs. 100. As against any such scheme of confining mill sarees and dhoties to poor people it can be urged that most of the complaints we have had about black-marketing in mill cloth have related to mill sarees and dhoties particularly those in the finer counts and the mercerized varieties. There is also the consideration that by giving these finer varieties to people who have not been, in fact, accustomed to wear such fine dhoties and sarees, we shall only be inviting black-marketing in another form. On the whole, therefore, I am in favour of confining the distribution of the finer dhoties and sarees to well-to-do families in the towns.

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8. If it is decided that a rationing scheme should be introduced and tried, I shall submit proposals for the large temporary staff which will be required for issuing the cloth ration cards and for linking up families to specified retailers, and for the additional staff required to strengthen the executive subordinate staff in the districts for enforcing the scheme after the cards have been issued.

9. In my opinion, a more liberal rationing scheme would be found quite impracticable.

10. My scheme is perhaps not a bad one as a paper scheme. The question for consideration is whether any such scheme is likely to give more satisfaction to the consuming public than the registration scheme recently ordered by me (printed below).

The following considerations are relevant in this connexion:—

(i) Thanks to the large number of handlooms we have in this Province—the largest and most efficient in India—there is, and can be, no cloth famine here in the literal sense of that word. The question of rationing has been raised only with reference to mill cloth.

(ii) To the extent to which a scheme of rationing of mill cloth is successful, it would have undesirable repercussions on the handloom industry, in the sense that we shall, by guaranteeing supplies of mill cloth even to the rural population, help to develop in them almost a new habit of wearing mill cloth in preference to handloom cloth and this will not be in the interests of the handloom industry.

(iii) When such a consequence from the point of view of handloom industry is probable, are we justified in undertaking the additional trouble and expenditure involved in the introduction and enforcement of a rationing scheme for mill cloth? And would it not be a better policy to do all that is practicable to bring down the prices of handloom cloth to reasonable levels—there is no other reason for the growing unpopularity of handloom cloth—and thus maintain not only the handloom industry's hold on our consumers, but also thereby produce the most satisfactory solution of the cloth problem?

(iv) So long as the supply position in regard to mill cloth remains as indicated in the initial paragraphs of this Note, it is definitely a question of choosing the least unsatisfactory out of the practicable methods of distribution of cloth to consumers. Even under my scheme, there will be complaints because many families will have to wait for some months to get their share of the half-yearly ration—we cannot help it—and we shall have more complaints because they cannot get the coveted varieties they want.

(v) With such limited supplies of mill cloth, any rationing scheme must necessarily be very rigid and it would be impossible to regulate the sales of mill cloth to consumers with reference to their habits and real needs.

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(vi) For all practical purposes, the poor people are interested only in dhoties and sarees and, as already explained, it is quite impossible to give them any satisfaction worth the name in regard to supplies of these varieties.

(vii) I anticipate, therefore, that the scheme will not be really liked by any section of the consuming public and that it will only result in more scriptory work for the dealers, a large administrative machinery and more administrative work without corresponding gain in terms of public satisfaction.

(viii) My registration scheme is expected to produce considerable improvement, while avoiding the practical difficulties of rationing. The scheme can be modified and improved in the light of actual experience of its working; the results of its trial will also help us to see whether there is anything else we can try with greater chances of success and benefit to the consuming public.

ANNEXURE I.

REGISTER No. I.

List of families registered for supply of cloth with (name and address and licence number of retail dealer).

Serial number.	Number of the cloth ration card.	Number of adult members in the family.	Number of children in the family.	Family ration in yards per annum.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

NOTE.—The register should be written in separate sections for each village and for each street or ward of a village or town.

REGISTER No. II.

Ration period.

Register showing cloth demands of, and supplies to, families linked up to (name and address and licence No. of the retail dealer).

Serial number.	Serial number of the family in register No. I.	Requirements registered.			Actual supply.			Balance of supply due to the family in yards.
		Date of registration.	Description of variety of cloth required.	Quantity required.	Date of supply.	Variety.	Quantity.	
(1)	(2)	(a)	3 (b)	(c)	4 (a)	(b)	(c)	(5)

NOTES.—(1) The registration for a family should be restricted to—

(a) one and a half yards of mull;

(b) one dhoty or one saree, but not both per annum.

There is no restriction as regards registration in respect of other varieties.

(2) Entries in this register should be made strictly in the order of the application for registration. The application may be oral or written.

(3) Columns (4) and (5) should be filled in after the first supply. Similar additional columns should be opened for every subsequent supply.

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ANNEXURE II.

CLOTH RATION CARD No.

Food Ration Card No.

Village or town and district.

Name and address of the managing member of the family.

Adults.

Children.

Ration (in yards).

Name and address of the authorized retailer.

Date on which the card will cease to be valid.

Dated signature of the
Textile Control Officer.

Dated signature of the
managing member of the family.

Dated signature of retailer.

P.T.O.

(On the reverse side of the card.)

SUPPLIES MADE.

Date of supply. Variety. Quantity. Salesman's signature.

Section III.

[Subject.—Cotton cloth—Mill cloth—Sales by retail dealers
—Registration of regular customers.]

1. Owing to the meagre and unsteady supplies of mill cloth, especially in the popular varieties, large crowds, including persons who are not bona fide customers, gather round shops as soon as any consignment arrives, and the cloth has to be sold out within a few hours, to the prejudice of their bona fide customers, who, on account of their status or hours of work, are unable to be present at the time of such sales and fight their way through the crowds. In the absence of definite instructions from competent authority, the dealers are helpless when faced by such crowds as they cannot refuse to sell to any consumer while they have stocks of the cloth demanded by him.

2. These instructions will apply to retail dealers throughout the Province with the exception of (1) Madras City and (2) Saidapet Municipality.

3. Retail dealers should reserve and sell, to their registered customers, in accordance with the instructions below, 50 per cent of their receipts, including the existing unsold stocks, the balance of 50 per cent being made available for distribution to unregistered consumers. The "reserved" and "unreserved" stocks should be exhibited separately in the shops. The 50 per cent restriction should be applied to each variety available with the dealer.

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4. Each dealer should register only his regular customers. The registration should be made only on application, which may be either oral or written.

NOTE.—'Regular customer' of a dealer means a consumer who has been buying mill cloth from the dealer at least twice every year during the last three years.

5. It will often happen that officials and non-officials and employees of firms, who are liable to be transferred from place to place, cannot claim to be regular customers of any shop at the places to which they are transferred. Such persons may apply to the Textile Control Officer of the district who will, thereupon, make arrangements for registering their names with suitable dealers. But such registration should be confined to cases in which the Textile Control Officer is satisfied that, having regard to the applicant's status, it would not be reasonable to insist on his buying his requirements of cloth in the same way as unregistered consumers.

6. (1) No consumer should be registered in more than one shop. Before registering a consumer, the dealer should therefore ascertain whether the former has already been registered in any other shop, and if so, he should refer the matter to the orders of the Textile Control Officer before accepting him for a second registration. Except for special reasons to be recorded in writing, the Textile Control Officer should refuse registration for a consumer in more than one shop.

(2) In the course of their tours, the Inspecting Assistant Textile Commissioners must scrutinize the cases in which the Textile Control Officers have allowed a consumer to register himself in more than one shop and satisfy themselves that the concession has been allowed for adequate reasons.

7. A consumer can register only the requirements of himself and his family.

8. Every retail dealer should maintain registers in the forms prescribed for the purpose.

9. (1) As soon as a consignment is received, the dealer should intimate, to each of his registered consumers, particulars of the varieties of cloth available with reference to his pending registered requirements, and the quantities in each variety available for sale to him (consumer) and the consumer should be allowed three clear days after such intimation, to buy the cloth.

(2) The stocks available in the registered varieties should be distributed among the consumers who have registered for them. If, in any variety, there are not adequate stocks to cover the pending registered demands, the supply should be made in batches regulated with reference to the size of the stocks available from time to time.

10. Any portion of the 50 per cent referred to in paragraph 4 above which is not taken up by, or not required for supply to, registered consumers should be *immediately* added to the stocks set apart for sale to unregistered consumers.

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11. The Textile Control Officers and Inspecting Assistant Textile Commissioners should frequently inspect the registers prescribed above and the duplicate receipts and conduct the necessary inquiries, in order to satisfy themselves that (1) only regular customers have been registered, (2) only reasonable quantities have been registered by, and sold to, them, and (3) that the entries in the registers are genuine.

12. (1) In the case of dealers who have been conducting business in mill cloth for less than three years now, 'Regular customer' means a consumer who has been buying mill cloth from the dealer concerned at least once every six months since he started such business.

(2) The dealer may insist on the production of the family food ration cards (in areas where such cards have been issued) for the purpose of identification and ascertainment of the relevant particulars relating to the family of the would-be buyer—

(a) at the time of the registration in the case of 'regular customer'; and

(b) at the time of the sales, whether the sales are out of the reserved 50 per cent of the stock or out of the unreserved 50 per cent.

(3) When conducting sales out of the unreserved 50 per cent of his stock, the dealer may, and should, refuse to sell to any person who, to his knowledge, is a 'regular customer' of another dealer.

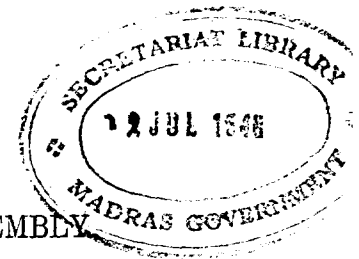
(4) Cloth Merchants' Associations are requested to maintain and circulate to all the dealers in their areas, up-to-date lists showing the names and addresses of persons registered as 'regular customers' with the dealers in that area.

13. (1) The scheme is compulsory in the sense that every retail dealer should, on application, or under the orders of the Textile Control Officer, as the case may be, register his regular customers.

(2) The scheme will be useful and successful only to the extent to which the registration by each dealer is complete.

(3) The 50 per cent formula is tentative and it has been fixed provisionally as the most equitable and generally acceptable formula to start with. The Provincial Textile Commissioner will be prepared to vary it after the scheme has been tried for some time, and we have a precise idea of the number of persons who have availed themselves of the registration scheme. The Inspecting Assistant Textile Commissioners may submit their recommendations in the matter accordingly.

S. VENKATESWARAN,
Provincial Textile Commissioner.



THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Wednesday, the 29th May 1946.

The House met in the Assembly Chamber, Fort St. George, at eleven of the clock, Mr. Speaker (THE HON. SRI J. SIVASHAN-MUKHAM PILLAI) in the Chair.

I.—SWEARING IN OF MEMBERS.

Sri Sarvagna Kumarakrishna Yachendra Bahadur Varu of Venkatagiri was sworn in.

II.—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

STARRED QUESTION.

Health of Sri K. P. R. Gopalan.

* 1. (25) Q.—SRI K. ANANDA NAMBIYAR: Will the Hon. the Minister for Law, Courts and Prisons and Legislation be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that Sri K. P. R. Gopalan, who is undergoing imprisonment for life, is seriously ill and is lying in the Government Hospital, Madras;

(b) whether the Government propose to release him as they have done in the case of other political prisoners; and

(c) if so, pending his release, whether they propose to transfer him to Malabar, in view of his serious ill-health, and in accordance with his request?

THE HON. SRI K. BHASHYAM:—“(a) The convict, K. P. R. Gopalan, was sent to the General Hospital, Madras, on 24th May 1946 for admission and treatment as in-patient for rapid action of the heart. He was X-rayed and kept under observation for four days by the General Hospital doctors and sent back to the Penitentiary on 26th May 1946 stating there is nothing wrong now. His present state of health is good.

“(b) The question of his release is under consideration by the Government.

“(c) No application for his transfer to Malabar has been received. If received, it will be considered.”

SRI V. M. RAMASWAMI MUDALIYAR:—“May I ask the Hon. Minister whether the offence for which Mr. Gopalan was convicted was not of a political nature and whether the general amnesty could not be shown to him?”

THE HON. SRI K. BHASHYAM:—“I want notice of the question.”

SRI B. VENKATACHALAM PILLAI:—“May I know whether his name does not find a place in the list of political prisoners? Have all political prisoners been released?”

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back to the village retail shop for sale. This movement backwards and forwards involves double overheads and accounts chiefly for the difference. This system was adopted because procurement was introduced in a hurry and it was represented that the authorities could not secure sufficient dealers willing to undertake the work. Enquiries from all quarters show that if a larger number of agents are selected and each is given a smaller charge there would be no need for these heavy overheads and there should be no difficulty in finding sufficient number of dealers. Another grievance is that individual assessment of the surplus of each producer is left to the caprices or prejudices of the village and local authorities and that this has resulted in harassment of the ryots.

"I am satisfied that these difficulties can be remedied if a village committee of non-officials is set up to assist the authorities in assessing the surplus of the village and selecting the ryots who have really large stocks from which the surplus can be secured. Out of this surplus, arrangements will be made to leave enough for the consumption of the non-producers in the village itself and remove only the balance to the group depot for transfer to other deficit areas. If the village panchayat or local dealers are willing to undertake this work most of the overheads will be saved to buy them at only a little over the price paid to the producers. I intend to change the method of procurement on these lines by associating the village committees and non-official bodies with the work of procurement, by increasing the number of collecting agents and creating as far as possible smaller unit for the operation of each agent. If co-operative societies or other organized bodies are willing to undertake this work they will be preferred to private dealers. I hope that the change will infuse confidence in the villagers that their requirements will be met from the stocks in the village, and persuade them to surrender all that they can spare even if it be in excess of the officially estimated surplus for feeding the other deficit areas. The opportunities for coercion and compulsion will disappear altogether. When there is a over all deficit in the country, when the prospects of assistance from outside are still uncertain, and when it is doubtful if help will come in time it is the responsibility of all to make the best use of the local resources to keep the Province fed.

"The immediate help that we have now received is large quantities of wheat and wheat products amounting to 30,000 tons this month with more to follow. Though this kind of food grain is not popular in the Province it is the only kind which other countries can send to us now. It must be put into consumption immediately before it gets bad and we must try to consume it and reduce the rice consumption to make the rice stocks last as long as possible. As all classes of people, rich and poor, will be required to eat wheat and wheat products, they must be sold at a price which is within the means of all classes. It is therefore proposed to sell them at half a measure per rupee cheaper than rice. I appeal to you to realize the hard facts of the situation and

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reconcile yourselves to this measure until conditions improve. The Government on their part are sparing no pains to get the kind of foodgrains ordinarily consumed in the Province from other areas and are prepared to spend large sums of money to subsidize the sale of foodgrains. The present proposal to sell wheat and wheat products cheap is expected to cost Government over a crore and a half rupees. It should therefore be realized that the Government are doing all that is possible and are sparing no pains or money to help the Province to tide over the crisis. I appeal to all of you for your co-operation in making our efforts a success.

"Before I read the draft proposals, Sir, I may submit for the information of the hon. Members one fact that came to my notice yesterday. One worker who had engaged himself in developing a particular area in the western dry districts with a view to make the area self-sufficient, has given interesting particulars. He had been working for some time over this not on account of famine. The moment these proposals were published, he tried to persuade the men with whom he had been working to voluntarily surrender what they had in their hands over and above their requirements, and he was narrating to me how he succeeded after some little persuasion in educating the people. Everywhere there is prejudice. People suspect officials. The officials doubt the capacity of the people to manage their own affairs. That has been the misfortune of this country on account of the system of Government that has been prevailing for a very long time. It has become the practice with the officials so far as this country is concerned to see that the money from the villagers and cultivators is properly collected. The name "Collector" originally came into existence because he was intended to collect the revenues for the Government. The East India Company when it established its Government here, was not able to go to the people, speak the language of the people and collect the taxes itself. Therefore Government had to look to persons who would help them to collect these taxes. Thus the zamindari system came into existence then. It was then that the zamindars were made the agents of the Government to collect revenues for the Government. Thus the people had to deal with a system, the revenue system from the top to the bottom, from the Board of Revenue to the lowest village officer, where the practice all along had been to see that the money was collected. The Collector was responsible for the collection. This has been going on and the people themselves, who had at one time full power over the whole area to carry on everything by themselves, became mere useless bodies, who were obliged to pay the money and then go to law courts. For the villagers who cultivated the lands and even those who owned hundred, two hundred, or thousand or two thousand acres, if you go into the whole system and examine their position, you would not be able to ultimately find, when the debit and the credit are taken into account, that there will be much left to them. The villagers have been reduced to nothing, nothing being left in the villagers except the bone, the skin and the body. Therefore it has become a problem for these villagers to get on

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The old village industries had disappeared altogether. There was a time when each village had its own industry, when no villager was bound to go outside to get agricultural implements. The village blacksmith was there, the carpenter was there, and the whole thing was managed by themselves. All that has disappeared to-day. As we are standing here to-day, the villagers and even the bigger men who are somewhat rich complain that they are not able to get iron to convert into agricultural implements. That is the position of the villagers. I do not wish to go into the causes at present. It is those people that still pay the taxes, out of which every one of the officers under the Government from top to bottom is paid his salary. It is out of the moneys got from those poor men. What is the return for them? How are they to get on? When a crisis has come and when they have been reduced to this position, when they cannot get the food available, all had changed in their heart. The old heart of the people had disappeared. There was a time when they were always anxious that their neighbours should get their first morsel before they could take their own. That feeling has disappeared from this country. That is on account of the system of profiteering and competition that has come into existence, and has been working all these years. That has been the difficulty in the country. The system has to be changed. A method has to be invented so that if you go to a particular area, there is to be no famine there. I just read to you that they used to take away the whole paddy and carry it to the wholesale dealer not created for a particular village or two villages, but sometimes a large number of villages grouped together, to be delivered to the granary which will be somewhere, and will pounce upon the villagers and collect, because they are unwilling to part, and nothing was left to them for seed or cultivation. In that manner, the whole thing was collected and taken to the centre. Then it was taken back to the same villages, to the persons who supplied the paddy, after levying the profit, carriage and other overhead charges. This is the condition in which the people of this country are living. We say the produce must come from them. For that purpose, the Government had been doing its best to a great extent and we have been trying to put pressure—by we, I do not mean ourselves who came in the last few days—and trying to get as much as possible. Why should this country be reduced to this wretched condition where they can produce and live comfortably, to go to Washington, to Britain and other countries to get ship loads. This is the condition which must be prevented by removing the root causes. That is my feeling about it. The root cause is the village centre. That man who tills the soil is made to part with his paddy and compelled to purchase it at a higher cost and unless that is removed, the position will grow worse. Please don't have prejudices of any kind. This applies to all communities, all creeds and all kinds of people. You find people here on the roadside in the City of Madras where hon. Members are living and working for them, sleeping on road pavements without having a single full meal. It is for us to see that these conditions do not exist any longer.

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When a food crisis comes, we must go to the root cause of it. People talk of black-marketing, people talk of corruption. Where do these exist? How are we going to remove this corruption? By instituting a number of cases against suspected people and going on with their prosecution? Can we remove corruption in that manner? Can we remove black-marketing? Black-marketing comes from our own brothers, our own fathers, who are trying to save by concealing it somewhere and selling it for a profit and making as much as possible. By adopting the methods which we now present before you and by doing what was done in Kurnool district where one individual within a few minutes after understanding the proposal surrendered 40 bags, great things could be achieved. He is a good friend of mine. I have known him all these 25 years and more. As a responsible man, he will not care for earning money. That is why I am trying to request all the members to understand the position, and am trying to request all officers under the Government as it is constituted to-day to see where the evil exists and how you can remove corruption and stop blackmarketing. It is by these men we can remove all these things, if we devote ourselves to this business with care and devotion. That is why we have formulated these proposals. These draft proposals you have got before you. Much comment has been forthcoming since these proposals were made known. We are not afraid of intelligent criticism or any number of attacks. Wherever there is criticism and wherever there are attacks which can aid or help to correct any mistakes, we take them and we do correct those mistakes. I shall now proceed to read the Draft Proposals for associating the public with the food administration.

“The association of the public with the food administration will be effected by the formation of village, taluk and district committees on the following lines.

“*Village Committees.*—The village committee may consist of five to eight members. A committee shall ordinarily be formed for a village which constitutes a revenue unit. Where a village is small, two or three villages may be grouped, and a committee formed for the group. Where a municipality includes a number of villages a committee may be formed for the municipality. The Tahsildar will convene a meeting of all the villagers and in consultation with them will select really representative and influential men of the village without regard to their political affiliations and constitute the committee. The committee can elect its own chairman. The Revenue Divisional Officer shall satisfy himself that the committee formed is really representative.

“Sir, some criticism has been made as to why we have not made this village committee an elected one. I may straightaway tell the author of that criticism that we know what is meant by election. We know what has been the condition of elections to village panchayats, old taluk boards, district boards or municipalities. Under the changed conditions, as people were made to feel that things have gone so much wrong now everyone must recognize

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that it is not a very simple, easy matter to take up those persons and make them perfect men all at once and every time. Every village panchayat election, my good friends must know, has its own appeals carried from place to place, and until lately it is difficult for Government to decide about these panchayats. We are now in peculiar conditions just now. We have said that the Tahsildar shall take the best of the representative men of the village to constitute the committee. When I say Tahsildar, I must tell the person who has advanced that criticism that Tahsildars and all other revenue officials who have been functioning hitherto, as stated in the beginning this morning, have been working loyally and applying themselves to the business of collecting the revenue without any deficit. Now under the changed conditions, this Government as it is constituted is submitting that the Tahsildar, the Revenue Divisional Officer, the Collector and Members of the Board of Revenue, whoever it is that has been functioning—should realize that those men in the villages are the men who pay their salaries, and they would have to be looked after first before the collection of money. The villager will not default. He will pay. He has been selling everything to pay his tax. I know how people were obliged to sell their land even for four annas cash in public auction and they were purchased by other people. The system must change. There must be a change of heart. There must be a change of officers. It is only with the help of the officers and all my colleagues here I appeal for this change of heart in this officialdom. I give this assurance to those people that they need not be afraid. They are bound to serve the villagers, because they are the paymasters. Money is not coming from anybody else. I do appeal to the officers to reconcile themselves to the change that we are trying to introduce in the present state of affairs. That is why the Tahsildar should be there. The Tahsildar is a servant like all of us and just like any one of us. If I am called the Prime Minister or the Chief Minister, I am the first servant, and my colleagues here have to do the same work as servants, and those who are in the system have to do the work as servants realizing our attitude and our policy. I now come to Taluk Committees.

11-30
a.m.

Taluk Committees.—The Village Committees of each firka will be assembled at a convenient centre by the Tahsildar and asked to elect two representatives for the Taluk Committee. The Taluk Committee will thus consist of about ten representatives elected on a firm basis. The Tahsildar will be the convener of this committee and the Divisional Officer, the President. The members of the Madras Legislatures representing that area will be ex-officio members of this committee.

District Committees.—This will consist of the Collector of the District who will be its President, the District Supply Officer who will be its secretary, the District Rationing Officer, the District Agricultural Officer, and the Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies, who will be its ex-officio members; the Members of the Legislatures, both Provincial and Central, and

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one representative of each Taluk Committee elected from amongst its non-official members. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt not more than three members, one of whom shall be a representative of the District Wholesale Co-operative Stores where such stores is entrusted with procurement.

Powers and duties of the committees.—The Village Committees will scrutinize the demand lists prepared by the Revenue staff in regard to procurement. The Revenue staff prepares registers showing the extent cultivated by each ryot, his outturn, his requirements, and arrive at his surplus and intimate it to the ryot concerned. These lists will be placed before the Village Committee and the objections, if any, by the ryots will be heard by them and the lists finally passed. Pending the completion and scrutiny of these lists all grain voluntarily offered may be purchased.

“In the process of procurement, though the present rules make adequate provision for the deduction, in ascertaining the surplus, of the actual needs of the cultivator for the subsistence of himself and his family, and secondly for the expenses of cultivation, it is found in practice that this is not being done properly and the cultivator is being forced to give more than he ought to. This should be stopped and adequate provision should be made for his subsistence and also for the needs of cultivation. The Collector, in consultation with the several Taluk Committees, will fix the scale of allowances for each taluk. In estimating the cultivator's requirements provision should be made for payment of wages in kind and for seasonal labour also. Though this is now allowed under the rules, in practice it is found that allowance is made only for permanent servants and not for seasonal labour. The enumeration for the distribution of ration cards should also be verified and approved by the committee to prevent numerous false and incorrect claims regarding the strength of the families. The quantity required for the consumption of the non-producers and insufficient producers in the village will be determined according to the scales of rations that are fixed from time to time. This quantity will ordinarily be procured by the Village Committee which by itself or with other villagers will form itself into a co-operative society. If the committee finds itself unable to do so, the Tahsildar will select one or two agents for the purpose in consultation with the committee. The business of the agents will be to purchase the stock from the producers at the village prices fixed by the Collector and sell it to the ration card-holders, adding only the prescribed scale of overheads for retailers. If the agents purchase they will find the storage for the grain. If the committee purchases, the Tahsildar will help to secure proper storage until it is able to build one for itself. As far as possible the sales should be in the shape of paddy so that people may resort to handpounding. Where milling is necessary, the agents or the committees will arrange for it. The committees will preferably arrange for handpounding in the village itself and sell rice to the card-holders.

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Taluk Committees.—As the village lists are settled they will be sent to the Taluk Committee which will scrutinize them to see whether the assessment has been fair. The Taluk Committee will have the power to enhance the surplus if it finds that the surplus settled by the Village Committee is low; in which case the Village Committee shall distribute the enhanced levy among the villagers in a fair manner. If any producer is not satisfied with the decision of the Village Committees, he may appeal to the Taluk Committee which would in that event give an opportunity to him to prove his case and revise his demand if necessary. The decision of the Taluk Committee in regard to individual assessments shall be final. The Taluk Committee may appoint a sub-committee to hear and dispose of these appeals; the Tahsildar will preside over this sub-committee.

District Committees.—The Taluk Committees will send up the summaries of the village lists to the District Committees from time to time. The District Committee will scrutinize the assessments settled for the taluks and finalize the position for the district. If it is found that the estimates of local production, local consumption or surplus as determined by the Taluk Committees are low, the Collector shall have over-riding power, in consultation with the District Committee to revise the lists prepared by the Taluk Committee in the interests of the district as a whole as well as the rest of the province.

Procurement for export.—Regarding the procurement of the balance of the surplus which is to be sent outside the village, each firka will be divided into five or six groups and there will be a depot for each group. A collecting agent will be appointed for each group for buying the surplus from the villagers and storing it in the group depot. If there is a co-operative society, it should be asked to open branches for this purpose. Where it is unwilling or where is no such society, the Divisional Officer will select suitable agents in consultation with the Taluk Committees. The collecting agents in charge of firka depots will send weekly returns of stocks to the Tahsildar who will transfer stocks from surplus to deficit areas as required. It should be the aim of the Revenue staff to make use of the co-operative societies in the procurement work at all stages through the District Co-operative Stores. The Registrar will be asked to organize societies where they do not exist.

“It is the aim of the Government to revive handpounding of rice as far as possible and put an end to milling at the earliest possible moment. For this purpose, the Committee will, as proposed above, take all possible steps to see that rice is handpounded. Paddy may be sold to consumers so that they may handpound it themselves. Or the Committee may arrange to handpound the paddy and see that very little of it is given to the mills. Rice instead of paddy may be accepted from producers for quantities required for consumption in the villages. In fixing the relative prices of paddy and rice, every inducement will be given to the producer to give in the form of rice so that he may handpound the paddy before sale.

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Prices.—The Government will fix prices for each district for the next crop in consultation with all interests. The Collectors will work out the village prices and prescribe the scale of overheads for sale in the villages and depots in consultation with the District Committee.

General.—After these Village Committees are constituted, it is essential that they should equip themselves with proper godown accommodation as soon as possible. Steps will be taken to that end soon. As soon as these committees are formed, the distribution of all controlled commodities such as sugar, kerosene, cloth, yarn, etc., will be entrusted to them. The village quota of agricultural implements, cart tyres, tools, etc., will also be distributed by the Village Committees. The quota for the taluks and villages will be settled by the Collector and the Divisional Officers in consultation with the respective committees, i.e., the district quotas will be settled by the Government, the Collector will distribute the district quota between the taluks in consultation with the District Committee, and the Divisional Officer will distribute the taluk quotas to the villages in each taluk in consultation with the Taluk Committees, and the Village Committees will arrange for the distribution in their villages equitably. The Chairman of the Village Committee will convene a meeting of the committee and draw up a list for distribution and get it passed by the Firka Supply Officer before acting on it. Complaints in regard to distribution of food or other commodities by the Village Committees will be heard and disposed of by the Taluk Committees.

“The existing Food Councils will be dissolved.

“Travelling allowance according to scales to be prescribed will be allowed to non-official members of the Taluk and District Committees for attending the meetings of the committees.

“There has been a sense of grievance that procurement in the past has been harsh and that prosecutions have been launched indiscriminately. The Collectors will be requested to scrutinize all pending prosecutions and withdraw all cases except those which involve violence or deliberate evasion on a large scale.

“Sir these are the draft proposals which you have to consider and, after convincing yourself, adopt them with the necessary changes you desire to make. We do not say that our proposals are perfect; that is why we have placed them before you, the representatives of the people, and are requesting you to give us all the help you can. I have no doubt, and it is no exaggeration to say, that if you want to root out the black-market operators, you will have to go to the people and seek their support in persuading the traders to adopt the measures we have suggested. That will be the proper basis, according to us, for the future administration.”

Mr. SPEAKER:—“The question before the House is—

‘that the Food situation in this Province be taken into consideration.’ ”

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11-45 a.m. * M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move the following amendment:—

'Add the following at the end:—

"and on such consideration, the House is of opinion that the draft proposals presented by the Government to the House with regard to the food administration are impracticable and unworkable and ineffective to tackle the impending crisis in food; and

giving effect to the said proposals is fraught with dangerous results; and

such defects as are existing in the present system are remediable without the necessity of substituting the present system by a completely new system as adumbrated by the draft proposals; and

the present crisis in the food situation requires immediate and special attention. It is necessary that a Board consisting of not more than fifteen members and not less than eleven be constituted for the Province consisting of representatives of the major political parties of the Provincial Legislature with plenary powers to deal with all questions relating to food in the Province, that the Board shall elect its chairman and that the Board shall constitute advisory committees in the districts and in taluks consisting of the representatives of major political parties."

"At the outset, Sir, I have to thank the Hon. the Leader of the House for the accommodation he gave us in the matter of agreeing to adjourn this debate from the 27th to to-day. The time which he has given us has been, of course, useful, though I should say, it has not been sufficient, to study the vital problem which is facing our Province and the country. We are obliged to the Hon. the Leader for the time he has given. I have also to assure the Government of the co-operation, the hearty and full co-operation, of my party in tackling the impending crisis that is facing us in the matter of food and cloth. We are out for assisting the Government in the measures, effective measures, useful and workable measures, that they may take in tackling and solving these problems of food and cloth and we are prepared to render all useful and effective assistance to the Government in these matters. But what we want is that opportunities should be given to us for such co-operation. We want things to be made possible for us to be of assistance and use to the Government in attempting to solve these problems.

"The problem of food, Sir, so far as I am able to make out and in the light of the statement made by the Hon. the Leader of the House, falls under three heads. The first is the import of food grains from outside the Province. The second is the increase of the production of foodgrains in the Province itself and the third is to husband our resources and get all the available stocks in the Province and make them go as long a way as

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possible. Under the third head may be included the advisability of introducing alternative food materials for substituting rice and millets as far as possible.

"Now taking the first head, the securing of imports from outside the Province, the Hon. the Leader of the House has assured us that whatever might have been the experience in the past, the Government of India are now supplying us handsome quantities of wheat. Of late, they have been supplying better and larger quantities of wheat, but that is what the Government of India are doing. We have to simply depend upon them so far as their voluntary supply is concerned. What we have got to do so far as we are concerned under that head has not been made clear by the Hon. the Leader of the House, but that is a very important source of supply essential for us in solving this problem. However much we may attempt here in our Province Nature may not be favouring us. There may be so many other difficulties. Therefore the very important question is that we must try to get the supplies from outside wherever they are available. What we can do is to establish a personal contact with the Government of India. Of course the Government of India has fixed the quotas. But to make this quota system work effectively, I say there is nothing like a personal contact. For that purpose there might be an agent of the Madras Government at the headquarters of the Government of India, who may be pressing on the Government of India to expedite matters. I do not know how much more than this the Provincial Government can do under this head.

"Then, coming to the second head,—the increase of production—we find from the statement of the Hon. the Premier that the total acreage of this Province brought under cultivation as a result of the measures recently taken to increase production has not considerably increased as compared with the pre-war position, yet acreage under foodgrains has shown considerable increase. Lands which were not used for the cultivation of foodgrains have been brought under cultivation. But how much more has yet to be brought under cultivation, we do not know. The Hon. the Leader of the House has given us valuable information, but we should like to have more. The increase, as a whole, I should say, is not sufficient. As it was even during normal times, the increase in the acreage has not been keeping pace with the increase in the population of the Province and of the country.

"Then again, we do not know, what are the steps that have been taken to improve irrigation. How many tanks have been repaired, and how many have been restored, we do not know; nor do we know how many wells have so far been dug up in the Province. The Hon. the Leader of the House may say that however much we may exert ourselves in these directions, Nature seems to be unkind to us. In the past nature may have been unkind, but I hope in future there may be better rains. Then the many tanks that have been repaired, may be used as reservoirs of water. As it is, much useful rain water is going into the

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sea in this Province, though the rains in our Province are uncertain and insufficient.

"Now then, Sir, I shall come to the third head which has taken so much of the time of the Leader of the House, that is, the husbanding of the resources of the Province and making the available stocks go as long a way as possible. It is under this head that the Hon. the Premier has brought forward his proposals for establishing and constituting Village Committees and Taluk Committees. In this connexion I may say, it is of course true that there has been defects in the present system. As the Hon. Premier has pointed out, there has been harshness also in the administration. Prices to the consumer are higher than they should be. All that is true, but the remedy suggested by the Hon. Premier does not seem to us, as I have pointed out in the amendment proposed, to be practical and workable. Now, the question before us is not one of associating the people with the Government. We are not now concerned with the question of establishing popular governments in the villages. The question now is one of solving the difficulty and averting the impending crisis. It is a question of getting grain and more grain and the time before us is short. The system of committees proposed by the Hon. Premier is a complicated one, whereas the problem facing us is a pressing one. The people in the villages have to be trained to undertake this work and, for one thing, it will take time. Secondly, the process itself is bound to be tardy. For example, in assessing the surplus, the committee has to go into it. That means time and then there is the appeal to the Taluk Committee. The Taluk Committee has to make its own enquiries and then come to a decision. All this means time. But the crisis, according to the Hon. Premier, is very near us. Before we train the people in this work, this good work no doubt, the crisis may be upon us along with its evil effects. Therefore what we say is, for the time being continue the present machinery, try to rectify the defects, reduce the prices by reducing the emoluments that are now being allowed for that machinery. Otherwise, building of godowns, training of people in this work and so on will take so much time that all these would not be finished till the crisis is actually upon us. The Hon. the Premier has told us that only bones and skin are to be seen in the villages and I do not want the Hon. the Premier to put further strain upon those bones and skins. It is really food that they want now and that very quickly and urgently. All this paraphernalia of a new system is not going to get them food as soon as they need it. So it is we say that it is very desirable to continue for the time being, not for ever, the present machinery and when we tide over this crisis, there will be time enough for us to think of other measures such as those brought forward by the Hon. the Leader of the House.

"Then again, Sir, the Hon. the Premier is overworked. The portfolio of food is one of the many portfolios he is entrusted

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with. And so it is I propose that a Board or a Committee may be constituted and the whole question of food and cloth may be entrusted to that body. That will give an opportunity of associating the Members of the Opposition with the Government in the administration of the food problem. As at present we have no part or lot in this matter.

"I want to emphasise once again that the question before us is one of averting the impending calamity, the threatened famine and we have to adopt such measures as will yield quick results. We are all, all parties and groups in this House for freedom and independence of this country. One of the primary objects in our aspiring for freedom and independence is to provide the people with their elementary needs of food, clothing and housing in a satisfactory manner. In this emergency where such needs are concerned there is no place for political controversy or ideological differences. So it is we say that we are prepared to co-operate with the Government in tackling this problem of food and clothing and it is for the Government to facilitate such co-operation on our part. With these words, Sir, I move the amendment."

MR. SPEAKER:—"This amendment will first be seconded by somebody, then Sir Kumararaja will move his amendment and after that is seconded, both the amendments and the original motion will be before the House for discussion."

KHAN SAHIB D. ABDUL RAWOOF SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Sir, I beg to second the amendment moved by my Leader, Muhammad Ismail Sahib."

* KUMARARAJA SIR M. A. MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD:—"I am very grateful to you, Sir, for the very nice arrangement you have made for moving amendments. I move, Sir, that the following be added at the end of motion, moved by the Hon. Premier:—

'And on such consideration this House is of opinion—

- (1) *that this House should appeal to the public to support all measures instituted by Government for procurement, and increased production and other measures to tide over the food crisis; and*
- (2) *that in view of the clear and incontrovertible statement made by the Hon. the Prime Minister on the Food situation in this Province, this House feels with great concern the grave Food situation that may prevail in the next five months and is strongly of opinion that without imports from abroad it will not be possible to meet the deficit and would urge the Government of India to impress upon the Combined Food Board that Madras has strained all its resources to the utmost so far and is entitled to immediate help from abroad.'*

"It is very gratifying that the Ministry headed by the Hon. the Prime Minister have taken the earliest opportunity to come before this House with a statement on the food situation, and arranged for a full dress debate on this very important question."

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which is engaging the attention of not only this Province and India but of the whole world. The time at the disposal of the Ministry between the time when they took up office and now has been very short and I am very glad to note that they have not attempted to suggest heroic changes in the arrangements already existing and have devoted their attention mostly to taking stock of what has happened in the past and have presented a factual statement of the position to this House. They have of course made some suggestions and invited hon. Members to give suggestions of their own. The public of the Province will of course be immensely grateful to the Prime Minister for arranging a debate on this subject so early and I presume this debate will be followed by many others in the months to come. The primary duty of every Member of this House, every group and party should be to offer his or its fullest co-operation to the Government in all measures that they may take to tide over the crisis; for the question of food—the question of hunger—is one of national importance. If hon. Members of this House who are the representatives of the public give their fullest co-operation to the Government they would indeed be setting an example to the public outside to support the Government in all necessary measures. As I said before the Hon. the Premier's statement is to a large extent a factual one. This is not the occasion to find fault with the previous administration. I honestly feel, Sir, that many in this country would acknowledge the great work that has been done in the last three years by the Food Officials of this Province, and that under great handicaps. Of course, no political party hampered the work of these officials, but they did not have the solid support and co-operation of a political party. In spite of these handicaps, it is a matter for congratulation that the Food Department of this Province was able to achieve so much. If to-day full facts and figures about procurement and organization of distribution are put before you it would not have been but for the elaborate machinery that has been working day in and day out. To-day, the Ministry may make a few minor changes here and a few major changes there. For the many detailed arrangements which are already at work credit must be given to the band of officials spread over the country from Cape Comorin to Vizagapatam and from Madras to Mangalore and it will be fitting if this House pays a tribute to the good work already done by them so that they may be encouraged to do more. As the Hon. the Premier has pointed out it is very necessary to get the co-operation of officials and non-officials for the success of all the measures taken in this connexion. I know, Sir, the officials are doing a very difficult job to-day in procurement, storage and distribution at a time when they are not getting as much support as they expect.

“The Hon. the Prime Minister referred yesterday to His Excellency the new Governor's work in this matter. Though he has been in this Province only for a very short time he has visited nine districts in a short period of 17 days. We who know the great value of the work of the Governors of Provinces, can well

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realize the general feeling of confidence that can be created in the people by a Governor of the Province visiting them and assuring them that he and his Ministers were doing their best to provide food for the people and that they were trying to get more food from abroad. His Excellency's visit to the districts so soon after his arrival has produced a very reassuring impression in the country which is very necessary at a time of food crisis. His Excellency has done a distinct service to the public.

“I have already stated that the question of food should be above parties and I am very glad to find that a non-party spirit prevails in this House in regard to this matter although some hon. Members have given notice of some amendments which may not be wholly acceptable to the Government to-day. I have no doubt that the same non-party spirit which prevails in this House will prevail outside this House also.

“Sir, this is not the occasion when we should devote our time to long range food plans. No doubt the food question has come to stay with increasing population and due to other factors, not only in this Province but in the whole of India and even in the whole world. Long range plans of Public Works and Agricultural Development must no doubt be evolved. But this is not the occasion to consider any suggestions regarding them. I have no doubt the Hon. Ministers for Public Works and Agriculture will come forward with such plans. Incidentally let me say I am sorry that both the Hon. the Minister for Public Works and the Hon. the Minister for Agriculture are not present here to listen to the debate. I am not anxious that they should hear my voice but I want that they should hear the speeches of other members. I hope these two Hon. Ministers will in the near future come forward with statements showing what they have done with regard to Grow More Food Campaign and major and minor irrigation schemes. Our attention may now be devoted to the immediate plan. The time at our disposal is not sufficient even to discuss this immediate plan. With regard to the immediate plan, there is no prospect of imports of rice and however much of non-rice food-stuffs you may give to the poor people they will feel they are suffering from famine so long as rice is not given to them. I do not know when we will be able to get imports of rice from Burma and Siam. In this connexion it is very gratifying to note that due to the efforts of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru there is a chance of our getting rice from Indonesia. With regard to Burma from my experience of conditions in that country I can say that there is no prospect of getting rice from there in the near future. I shall not waste the time of the House by entering into the question of increased rice cultivation in Burma. It is a problem for the Burma Government. Even if they did their best I do not think this Province can expect any imports for a long time to come. Even if the world food situation improves, so far as this Province is concerned for a long time to come we cannot get more imports of rice. Therefore for the immediate future we should not bank on getting any rice imports from the neighbouring countries. The fact that we have done

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well so far, that we have not wasted our grain, that we have procured all the grain available to the utmost capacity, that we have distributed them fairly and that we have reduced our rations to the minimum and that we have come to the 1,000 calory limit, will, I am sure, appeal to people in other parts of India and to those who have the power of making allocations of food-grains to the various deficit areas. If the united voice of this House should go forth saying that we have done all we could and that we legitimately demand from the world stock what we require to make up our deficit, it will strengthen the hands of India's ambassador our distinguished countryman the Hon. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliyar who was ably supported in his work in England and America by a distinguished civilian Sir S. V. Ramamurti. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliyar has shown that India has not been supplied with the grains that were expected. The amendment that I propose will strengthen the hands of the Government of India and India's representatives before the Combined Food Board or the new Food Organization of the United Nations. A resolution passed by a House like this consisting of representatives elected recently with big majorities will have great weight, and I am sure it will not be difficult to get the small allotment of three lakhs of tons which is immediately required.

"I do not want to go into the question of the mechanism of committees proposed by the Hon. Prime Minister and the suggestions put forward in that connexion by the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition with regard to a Central Advisory Committee."

M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Not an Advisory Committee."

ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Against monopoly."

* KUMARARAJA SIR M. A. MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTIYAR:—"I do not want now to enter into any controversy regarding the constitution of committees. This is an occasion when we should give whole-hearted support to the proposals of Government. If the Government scheme does not work I have no doubt that the Prime Minister will be the first person to make the necessary changes therein. (An Hon. Member: 'By that time people will die.') The Prime Minister stated that the object of the debate would be served if hon. Members would take a message to the people to co-operate with the Government in all necessary measures to tide over the difficult period. All the measures may not be perfect and yield immediate results but if they do not yield results, there will be time enough to correct them. We are now at the beginning of a crisis and many measures in addition to those suggested by the Prime Minister will have to be put into effect sooner or later. Anything is possible in a crisis. We have to do all that is humanly possible. I emphasise in my resolution the urgency of getting imports. I do not think three lakhs of tons is enough; I think four or five lakhs of tons will be required to cover the whole province. With a well-experienced staff and a representative Government at the head we may be sure that there will be

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proper distribution all round. We are entitled to this small demand of five lakhs of tons from the huge world stock. I hope that the united voice of this House will go very effectively to the other side of the world and bring forth the needed result. On behalf of the Independent Group let me repeat once more that we on this side of the House will always be very glad to co-operate with the Government and give our full support to them in all the good measures they take to tide over this crisis. That is the best form of conduct for Legislators to help. Those of us who have the time and the energy should go round the country and educate the people about the necessity of the measures taken by the Government. With these words I commend my amendment to the support of the House."

SRI P. NATESAN:—"I second the amendment."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question before the House is that the food situation in the Province be taken into consideration to which the Hon. Member, Mr. Ismail Sahib, has moved an amendment and another amendment has been moved by Kumararaja Sir Muthiah Chettiyar. The original motion as well as the two amendments are before the House for discussion."

*MR. F. FERRELLY:—"For some years voices have been raised outside this House both by Indians and Europeans alike in an endeavour to secure a greater realization of the food problem by the Government as then constituted. The Group which I represent and for whom I speak are indeed grateful to the Hon. the Premier for giving so early an opportunity for the House to discuss this question. I do agree with the two previous speakers that this is not a party matter. It is one in which every Member of this House ought to be behind the Government in the measures which are necessary for the immediate alleviation of the situation. (Abdul Hamid Khan Sahib Bahadur: 'Not behind the Government, but with the Government.') Sir, recrimination is useless. When I look at the papers placed before us, I cannot help commenting on the statement which appears on page 5 that out of a total of 31½ million acres under the plough only 150,000 acres represented the additional area newly brought in. That statement, if it is correct, we consider disgraceful. It is only just more than ½ per cent of the total acreage under the plough in the Madras Presidency. An increase of just more than ½ per cent in the total acreage since 1942 when the Government knew the crisis was approaching is, I say disgraceful. As I said recrimination is useless. I have mentioned this merely to warn the Government that we should not have another statement like this a year hence and that the Hon. the Prime Minister must have better figures to show us. Now, Sir, I think you will agree that throughout the Presidency there is rather a vague impression that the situation is not so bad as it is made out. We on our side feel that the Prime Minister has not quite made out his case. I do not say that his remarks verge upon complacency, because he has given one or two warnings, but I do say he has not made his case sufficiently strong so as to get it over to those people who feel that the

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situation is not so bad as has been made out. The statement says that the period of acute scarcity will last till the end of December, but we are only shown the figures to the end of October. We are not told what prospects there are of securing additional supplies in November and December. I hope, Sir, you will excuse me if I bring this debate on to a level which every one in this Presidency ought to face. If we take the hon. the Premier's statement about the shortage of food at 268,000 tons during the next five months you will find that for 45,000,000 people this shortage works out to only 1 ounce per day. If it is only 1 ounce per day I do not understand the Hon. the Leader of the House saying that he was hoping for assistance from outside.

12-45
p.m.

"I am suggesting that remedy is not necessary. I suggest that the time has come when rations should be adjusted if necessary. I would further suggest for the consideration of the Premier that the system of voluntary rationing has been tried in other parts of the world and results in a hopeless state of affairs. Unless you have compulsory rationing people will not work the scheme as they ought to, for their own good. I suggest that the rationing of rice should immediately be brought to the exact proportion which you know you can fix. Other grains also should be rationed throughout the Presidency. I would ask at this stage if such a scheme should not be adopted. Can the Hon. the Prime Minister or any of his Ministers tell us whether there are large quantities of wheat in this Presidency? Is it not a fact that if wheat and wheat products are kept until next January, they will become bad? You are trying to introduce a new food-stuff to people who are unaccustomed to it. That is the reason for my suggestion for fixing the proportion of rice under the present rationing. Other grains also should be immediately rationed.

"There is one point which the Leader of the House has not brought out in his statement and I would like to have an explanation. We are told that the non-producer and industrial population of about 21.4 millions will get their rations calculated at the rate of 12 oz. per adult. Am I to assume from the paper before us that 1 lb. per day has been reserved for 23.4 million people, and if so, can I be informed up to what period that reservation has been made? Has it been reserved to the end of October? That is a point on which the Prime Minister can show his figures and tell us whether the reservation is made for a longer period. Let me put it in another way; if I can assume for a moment that 23.6 million people have had reservation made for them of 1 lb. until the end of October, we find that the total grains available under the present scheme will be over two million tons and will give each of the 45 million, 14.1 oz. per day. Why should we discuss the cutting down of the rations of the industrial worker or other worker and reduce it to 12 ounces? If these facts are known, I suggest that we have a poor case for getting food from abroad.

"One other point. Why should the senior officials dealing with food be on leave if the food position is so serious.

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"We have very little time to consider the draft proposals. There is one point; there is a little printed slip as an afterthought at page 8, which is in my opinion a danger. The implication of the slip is that prices will be revised in the interests of the producer. The statement says: 'We shall review the question of prices of foodgrains giving full consideration to the interests of the producer.' What about the interests of the consumer, Sir? A man buying his rice in a ration area will have to make an increase in his family budget in having to pay higher price for other foodstuff. I warn the Government they will make a terrible mistake if they increase the cost of living by giving something more to the producer in the manner which is apparently indicated on the paper.

"Some of you may like to know that although I am an Englishman, I also claim to be a Malayalee. I would refer the Prime Minister, to some of my Congress friends from Malabar and ask them what is the percentage of profit derived to-day by grain dealers? 400, 600 or 700 per cent. Distribute it among the producers, but do not increase the prices and thereby increase the cost of living.

"Now, Sir, with regard to draft proposals, the Government of Madras is in the hands of Indian people and not yet in the hands of the Russians. I do not think that the principle of the constituting committees on the principle of Soviets will work in India. The principle of constituting village Soviets can, in my humble opinion, succeed where we have one party of one mind. I say there is a danger. I feel that you are placing enormous power in the hands of a few men (Hon. the Premier:—Not at all Sir) and there is also danger on communal grounds. We have considered this point very gravely and we feel that we can only support the idea as a measure of emergency. If you are satisfied that the emergency is with us and if you cannot procure grain by any other means, we must support it as a temporary measure; but we feel that these committees must go, immediately the emergency ceases to exist. I do not like the suggestion that the Taluk Committees should have a final say over a village committee.

"Another point which has not been brought out in the paper is what exactly is the remuneration you are going to pay to the agents. You are also suggesting that you are giving the collecting work in certain cases to co-operative societies; you are doing away with private enterprise. I also notice that steps are proposed to be taken to see that all control of commodities is entrusted to these committees; this will interfere with private enterprise; why not Government take it up itself? The Prime Minister stated that the prices will be fixed by the Collector; that is what happens now and we are in trouble.

"Will the Hon. Prime Minister inform us who is going to pay for the hand-pounding? Hand-pounding will be expensive, although hand-pounded grain is more nutritious than from a factory.

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7 p.m.

"We are most disappointed on one matter: I feel the House wants a Food Minister. The Leader of the House has got a very heavy task; he is carrying four portfolios; if the matter is so serious, we must have for this subject a whole-time Minister one of the best brains you have got in your party. There is this point; there is a world shortage of food; this matter is not going to be cleared up in a few months; it is going to last for some years. Further, the land is impoverished. The manure which nature gives to us is mostly utilized for purposes of fuel. After years of tilling, the same land will not produce the same quantity of produce without the addition of manure. The introduction of fertilizers can go far in this respect; you can get far better yield on fertilized land than on land which has been planted and replanted for years and years without any manure. That is why I say there is room for a Food Minister; and when I say for Food, I mean that he should devote himself only to food and nothing else. It is not necessarily encroaching upon the duties of the Minister for Agriculture and it cannot take away from him any of his present duties. The whole thing is to be planned for a period of five years or ten years. This Presidency must become self-sufficient in rice and that is the first thing to be attended to.

"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have nearly finished. I suggest that this important food question should be put on a proper basis, on a proper long-term policy, and by carrying out that policy, we must be able to tackle the problem of food for 45 millions of people in the Province, some of whom would otherwise be starving. If this problem is tackled in a proper way and in a proper manner, this Ministry has an opportunity of earning the gratitude of not only the millions now living but of many millions yet unborn.

"Now, Sir, with regard to the three amendments which have been suggested, I should just like to say a word. We cannot support our friend Mr. Ismail because the last paragraph of his amendment is a complete negation of the present form of the Government's proposals. (Hear, hear.) If he suggests a coalition he should consult the Prime Minister; but it does not. What we have got to remember is: Where shall we if the suggested committee of fifteen members with its own chairman—and so far as I know unanswerable to any one—where shall we be, I say if such a committee fails in its task and trouble arise through unequal representatives of communal parties? No, Sir, we cannot support that amendment.

"As regards the two other amendments, we feel we can give them our support."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Now that leaders of parties have spoken, before I call on other members, I rise to remind them of the time-limit I have fixed for each speaker. I propose to call by turn one speaker from the Ministerial group and one from the Opposition. I have received a lot of chits from members requesting to be allowed to speak and at the rate of fifteen minutes for each, I am afraid we will be taking plenty of time. Anyhow, I hope I will have the co-operation of you all."

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SRI A. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir . . ."

AN HON. MEMBER:—"To which group does he belong, Mr. Speaker?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"To the Ministerial group."

* SRI A. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR:—"Before I refer in detail, Mr. Speaker, to the Prime Minister's statement, I would like just to say a few words to show how this situation itself has arisen. It will be useful to know it because it will prevent pitfalls in the future and also will help to adopt a correct policy. It is well-known throughout the history of British rule in the province that there are districts where food crops could be grown only with seasonal rains and failure of the monsoon spelt famine at least in that part of the area. This is so well-known to the administration that any person who pretends to administer the country should always have this fact in view and should have seen to it that there was some stock or storage so as to prevent any kind of occurrence in the nature of a general famine in the Province or even famine in a limited or appreciable area. Such a policy should have been adopted by all Governments which presumed to administer this Province. Unfortunately, however, we find that this important fact has not been kept in view. As a matter of fact, the whole British administration has been punctuated by an ever-recurring series of famines the intervals between which were unfortunately becoming smaller and smaller. And yet, what has been the policy that has been adopted till now? Starting a famine relief work here and a famine relief work there and that on a pitifully insignificant scale and which nobody with any degree of self-respect would ever approve or adopt. Always it has been a question of trying to omit the question of self-sufficiency; and the evil has been done. With all this history before us, let us find out what the real cause of this immediate crisis is. We know that food and clothing could not be left as matters of free trade or as private matters over which people can quarrel about among themselves. It has become fairly certain—at least after the first world war—that food and clothing should be taken charge of by the Government, especially in times of crisis or in times preceding such crisis. Nevertheless, what has been the policy adopted since this new world war broke out? For reasons apparent to everybody we found that as soon as the war broke out, a popular Government had to go out of office because it found that it was not consulted in any way with regard to the declaration of the war and it was pushed out because it said it would not be responsible . . ."

AN HON. MEMBER:—"May I know how all this is relevant to the discussion, Sir?"

* SRI A. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR:—"All this leads us on to the main subject and therefore it is quite relevant. In the year 1939, when the war broke out and the popular ministry had to go out, the responsibility for the administration came to rest more and more on the shoulders of the Government officials. It is unfortunate, Sir, that the statement of the Premier goes back only

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to the period in 1942. It would have been much more interesting if we had it from the year 1939 onwards. From the time of the outbreak of the war, we find that in the countries which were actually responsible for the war, food was rationed and every care was taken to see that enough food was procured and stored up. In England, for instance, have they had any situation there between the years 1939 and 1945 just as the one we have to-day in respect of food and clothing after the close of the war? Therefore, Sir, we find from the year 1939 to 1942 things were allowed to drift for themselves without any planning or policy. We all know—and it is not challenged—that the first concern of every Government is to see that its people get food. And so far as this Madras Presidency is concerned, it became apparent long ago—and the Premier has given statistics in the statement to show that this Province could not be self-sufficient with its own production without being supplemented by imports from outside. Therefore, I say that since the war began, it should have been the business of those who administered the country to have stopped all exports from the Province to any place whatsoever. Nevertheless, what do we find? From 1939 up to 1942 things were allowed to go their own course and in 1942, it was found that imports were in danger of being stopped altogether,—and this is what is stated at page 2 of the note: ‘All imports dwindled after the entry of Japan into war and stopped completely on the fall of Burma and other Eastern countries.’ And even then what was the policy adopted? It might have been possible to keep self-sufficiency by prohibiting all exports whatever. And yet we find in the statement that ‘indiscriminate exports’ were stopped, so that it is clear that even in 1942, some discrimination was made in the matter of exports and imports were allowed to some extent. Does it mean that ‘discriminatory exports’ could not reduce the food available in the country? Surely not. And again what happened afterwards. ‘There was a heavy draw-off by the neighbouring States and Provinces, amounting to as much as 282,000 tons’ per year. And in page 4 you find ‘The exports to neighbouring Provinces and States as well as to the Defence Services were regulated by a system of quotas.’ What has been the actual quantity supplied to the Defence Services? That has been omitted from the statement and it will be interesting to know what that figure is. That shows that in 1942 even after the Government found that the food required by the Province had to be conserved, unfortunately it was allowed to be exported. Again, Sir, this food policy itself comes in for criticism. Every country, however good and well-intentioned it may be, to help others, should consider it as its first duty and responsibility to see that its own people come first in the matter of food and others come in only second. And in cases where there was a probability of a famine, and especially at a time when imports were not possible, care should have been taken to see that a stock was built up. Our previous Governments in South India have been careless in this matter; not only did they not conserve the stocks so that they could control the rise in prices at any time and put in the market the available stock for consumption, but they also permitted exports to be made

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out of the Province. One thing really is curious. On page 1 of the statement it is stated that ‘the normal consumption of food-grains including pulses in a pre-war year was 8.7 million tons’; and at page 2 we find figures quoted of ‘production of rice and millets’ and curiously enough, the figures do not take into consideration the actual consumption. This is a case of a mathematical problem and this has left out of account a quantity of about 10 lakhs of tons.

“As regards the steps taken after 1942, we are told, as I said, that exports were going on although a deficit was found to exist. And so, a wrong policy has been followed throughout. Exports at least could have been prohibited; but that was not done. In items (1) and (2) at page 4, we are told that the other steps taken to meet the situation included ‘the prohibition of exports except under permits issued’ and”

MR. SPEAKER:—“You have one more minute before you.”

SRI A. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR:—“Now that I am warned, I may request the Hon. the Speaker to allow me three or four more minutes because you will find that there are several matters on this question which have not yet been alluded to in anything like a satisfactory manner.

“In regard to the licensing of merchants, there has been a lot of difference and the usual dealers find it very difficult to carry on their business. 1-15 p.m.

“Then, with regard to the scheme for growing more food, there are many complaints from various parts of the country. As a matter of fact, I have in my hand some of such complaints.

“Again, Sir, with regard to the grants given for the purpose of digging wells, it is complained that the amount hardly reaches the parties. There are complaints that the village officers and others responsible for the distribution of the amounts are not giving them unless they get their *mamool*.

“Similarly in regard to the question of rationing, and here also unless one rupee is paid to the village officer, the party does not get satisfactory results. There is a lack of imagination that is being displayed in matters like this”

MR. SPEAKER:—“There is only one more minute for the hon. Member to conclude his speech.”

SRI A. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR:—“Sir, the Collector issues an order prohibiting the selling and export of paddy, but there is a different officer for the purpose of issuing ration cards and the result is all sales were dropped and no ration cards were issued for thousands of people. Then a direct appeal was sent to the Collector and relief was got after some days.

“Even in the matter of the Rs. 15 given as bonus for cultivation, I may point out that it hardly reaches the villager unless *mamools* are given to the officers concerned.

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"Lastly, Sir, in regard to the places for distribution of paddy we find, people have to walk several miles before they could get paddy. Even then paddy is not also given in sufficient quantity . . ."

Mr. SPEAKER:—"Requests for permission to speak have been received, one from the Communist group, two from Independents, 13 from the Muslim League and 30 from the Ministerialists. I would request the Hon. the Premier and the Leaders of parties to confer among themselves in regard to the programme to be followed and give me the result of their decision after lunch."

* BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the outset, I wish to state that I entirely endorse the view as have been expressed by our leader, that in regard to the solution of the food problem, we the members of the Muslim League will extend our unstinted and wholehearted co-operation to the Government in all schemes which we consider to be of benefit to the public at large. We are not unconscious, Mr. Speaker, that we are to-day on the brink of a grim tragedy and no one, no matter to what political persuasion he or she may belong, can afford at this critical juncture not to co-operate with the authorities in the attempts that they are making to solve the existing acute problem in regard to food. The Muslim League has time and again expressed to the Governor-General and the Muslim League of Madras should like to express to the Congress Government of this Province that we are prepared to extend to the Government our unstinted co-operation, provided the schemes that they formulate, in our opinion, serve to ameliorate the condition of the masses and are better than the existing schemes that are provided in the matter of the solution of the food problem.

"Sir, the Hon. the Prime Minister has mentioned in his statement that one of the essential things to-day is the prevention of waste. Surely, no Muslim can afford to incur waste, for it has been strictly enjoined in the Holy Quoran

كلو واشربو ولا تسرفو ان الله لا يحب المرففين *

which means, 'eat, drink, but waste not.' Surely God does not like the wasters. Therefore, Sir, no Muslim will be a true Muslim if he indulges in wasting food stuffs. I am glad that at long last, the former Government of Madras accepted my proposition in regard to the restriction of the number of guests at public and private entertainments which I had been urging at the meetings of the Provincial Food Council ever since the past two years. At a time such as this all should realise that they should desist from indulging in festivities and from giving numerous parties—I am very glad to find that restriction has now been imposed in regard to the number of guests at parties. I was opposed to the large number of parties going on in the City of Madras organised by various persons. At last I wrote to the Provincial Food Council to take serious attention in regard to the matter and I am glad that at last after two years, steps

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have been taken to restrict the number of guests although in the provinces of Bengal and Bombay such a measure had been brought into force a long while ago.

"Sir, there is another matter in regard to which there should be universal response. When the hon. Sir Jwala Prasad Srivasta, the Food Member of the Government of India visited this province, I brought forward a proposal at the Provincial Food Council that propaganda should be undertaken to popularise the use of wheat in this province. For some time this was done, but after a little while it was dropped. When I enquired into the reason for it, I was told that sufficient stocks of wheat were not available for distribution in the province. Now, as there is scarcity of rice, steps are being taken to popularise wheat again. But, what I feel is that the machinery adopted for the purpose is not adequate. For instance, in a place like Chittoor, there is only one wheat Propaganda Officer and one propaganda van. I would therefore like Government to take steps to provide the necessary equipment and more officers for doing wheat propaganda. I am very glad to find that the Hon. the Premier announced that he proposes to reduce the price of wheat in order to make people readily take it. But let me tell you, without teaching people how best to utilize the wheat they get, any amount of propaganda will not suffice. I would, therefore, suggest that cooks be imported from the United Provinces to teach the people of this province how to prepare dry wheat chappatis which are far more nutritious than rice. I am in entire agreement with the hon. Members of this House who just now mentioned about the exports made in the past years. It was not wise on the part of the former Government to have allowed the exports of cereals from this country. While I entirely endorse that view, I wish to know from the Hon. the Prime Minister whether any articles of food stuffs are to-day being exported from this province to the South-East Asia Command. If this is being done, I think it is necessary that urgent steps should be taken to prohibit the same immediately

"Sir, there is another matter which I find that needs attention, and that is the supply of agricultural implements to the people. In this province there is an outcry everywhere that spades, ploughs, tyres and axles are not available. The Government of India have allotted some quota of iron and steel for this province, but I learn that what has been actually supplied has been far short of the quota. I would like the Government of Madras to urge upon the Central Government to increase the quota in regard to iron and steel for this province so that more agricultural implements may be made available to the people.

"Another point on which I would like to say a few words is in regard to fertilizers. I find that nothing much has as yet been done in this province in this connexion whereas in a place like the Hyderabad State, they have made a rapid advance in regard to the supply of fertilizers to the people. In a country like ours where the population is increasing by leaps and bounds, it is of

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the utmost importance. I submit that steps should be taken for intensive cultivation. I should like the Government to supply fertilizers to the cultivators at a reasonable cost and to build a number of godowns for the purpose of storing manure, as has been done in the Hyderabad State. Sir, another point to which I should like to advert is that in a country like the Madras Province which has a large coast-line steps should be taken to see that a large supply of fish is made available to the people.

"Coming now to the necessity for improving the efficiency of the administration of food, I must say that every one is agreed on one point and that is, that it is necessary to secure the co-operation of the public in regard to this matter. But what I am constrained to remark is that the scheme adumbrated by the Hon. the Prime Minister appears to me to be complicated and unworkable. I refer to the constitution of village committees. Here, I may be permitted to observe that on a casual perusal of the scheme, one is apt to be carried away by the high ideal of democracy that it seeks to enforce, but on a careful and proper analysis it becomes apparent that the scheme is impracticable and that it is not realistic, having regard to the conditions that are prevalent in our villages at the present time.

1-30 p.m. "We know that our villages are torn by factions, feuds and underhand dealings. If large powers are vested in the hands of the members of the village committees, it is likely that these powers will be used by them in such a manner as to victimize their opponents; hence, the result will be that the committees will not function in a spirit of harmony and co-operation. With the present standard of public conduct among our villagers, it is easy to foresee that the powers vested in them will be used to the detriment of those who are antagonistic to them or who belong to another faction. The outcome of this will be plain; namely, increase of crimes, blood feuds and the purpose for which the committees have been brought into being will be frustrated. In the interest of the harmony and peace of the country, I do not think that the village committees should be entrusted with such large powers. The correct solution has been suggested by the leader of Party, and I should appeal to the House to accept that solution. It is a different thing to have committees merely for advisory purposes. Instead of entrusting them with large and extensive powers, let the committees be advisory in character because our village folk cannot at present be entrusted with unbridled powers. Things may improve in the course of some years when they perhaps may be better fitted to undertake responsibility. Our experience of such committees has been discouraging in the past. It may be remembered that when the last Congress Government was in office, they established Taluk Committees for the purpose of fostering the cause of education in the districts. What happened? They were a total failure. My fear is that the new village committees will suffer the same fate."

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(After lunch—2-30 p.m.)

* Mr. SPEAKER:—"I have to announce that the programme of speeches will be nine from the Muslim League group, four from the Independent group and eleven from the Ministerialist party. The time-limit allowed to each member will therefore stand reduced to ten minutes each against the fifteen minutes that was previously fixed. Honourable Members will please observe the time-limit, so that all members that are to speak might have their say."

* SRI H. SITARAMA REDDI:—"Mr. Speaker, so far as the problem of food is concerned, I would specially confine my remarks to the Ceded Districts and Bellary in particular as those are the areas that have been very seriously affected by famine and the food problem is much more acute there. Taking up the question of stepping up production, I find that the scheme of subsidy for the sinking of wells has not been taken advantage of by the ryots; it is not due to their unwillingness or lethargy but it is due to delay in the disposal of papers. I would urge, therefore, that steps are taken to minimize red-tape. Otherwise, the sinking of wells will not be a success. I also suggest that the problem of food be taken up on the basis of a short-term policy of four or five years, especially in the dry areas. In the dry districts, in the Ceded Districts, there are a good many tanks which could be easily repaired and improved and some new tanks may also be dug in the course of a year or two. The problem of food will be a question which will require careful handling for at least five years and I believe that the Minister concerned with the Public Works Department will take up the question of construction of works which will yield immediate results so far as the food problem is concerned.

"Regarding the question of procurement, very many cases of complaints of harassment and hardship have come to our notice in the past. This is the case not only in my district but also in other districts. I hope that the village committees proposed by the Hon. Premier will be able to put down or at any rate considerably minimize the evils of harassment and corruption that have been associated with procurement. I feel that fair price to the producer will go a long way to increase the chances of more procurement of food-grains. It is not merely the question of food-grains that is worrying the ryots in rural areas especially in famine-affected areas. If the ryots are to be helped to produce enough for this year and for the next, given good seasonal conditions, they must be provided with facilities for buying cattle for ploughing purposes. In my district and in my neighbouring district of Anantapur, facilities for the purchase of bullocks for agricultural operations are sadly lacking and I hope, therefore, that the district authorities will take up this question as one immediately concerned with the production of enough grain for food of the province. Unless proper help is given to the ryot both by way of water facilities and facilities for the purchase of cattle for agricultural operations, production will suffer with adverse consequence on the procurement plan.

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"Then there is the question of distribution of food grain. I fear that the grain at present is not being properly distributed to the needy people and the people that suffer most are the people of the rural areas. I find that in spite of my repeated representations to the Adviser Government and the Collectors of the districts to see that co-operative societies are preferred to private agencies, they have always favoured the private agency for reasons best known to themselves and probably they had some weighty reasons for their action. Hereafter at least I request that this system will be put a stop in places where there are co-operative societies so that the benefit by way of profits might go back to the people. Of course the authorities have been saying that they would encourage co-operation; but when it comes to a question of action, the Co-operative department is treated like a step-child. I do not know why and I hope that the defect will be rectified. There is another danger. New institutions called syndicates have come into being in my district and they are the merchant community combines. They make huge profits both in procurement and in distribution. In the matter of distribution, they engage their own conveyances and make money. Now that the Government have ample transport facilities, I hope that they would arrange that all food grains be sent to the villages direct and uniform charge be the rule. There must be no difference. If any loss is incurred, the Government must bear it. One more suggestion that I would like to make is that the price of food grains must be uniform in all places. This difference in price which is perhaps an ounce or two from one area to the other, is being exploited by the retailer and middleman to the detriment of the consumer. There must be uniformity in the matter of prices at which the food grain is available to the consumer in whatever part of the district he may be living in and the loss, if any, must be borne by the Government. I know that the Government have committed themselves to huge sums of money on account of subsidies and this small amount is not going to materially affect them."

* SRI P. NATESAN:—"Mr. Speaker, let me at the outset assure you, Sir, on behalf of the mercantile community that the merchants of this Province are as anxious as anybody else to see that the hands of the Ministry are strengthened by trying to co-operate with them. I take it, Sir, that the Hon. Premier would like to do away with the wholesaler and would have the co-operative societies run the business of distribution with the help of the taluk and district committees. Sir, the wholesaler is an important link in business. Co-operative societies have never been a success for the reason that there were continuous factions. You know, Sir, that the moving spirit in a co-operative society is a station-master or the village postmaster or the pan-chayat clerk. I do not understand how you can expect these people to do anything in a business-like way. Wholesalers have been in business from generation to generation; they know how to finance; I do not know what harm there is in allowing them

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to continue to do their business. (An hon. Member: 'But they make money.') After all who are they? They are one of you and why should they not make money for their labours. Of course it is up to you to see that they do not make money at the expense of the public. Everybody has to be paid for his labours and there does not seem to be anything unusual in paying the wholesaler. After all do you expect co-operative societies to invest money, maintain a store house, keep the grains in good condition until they are wanted. You know, Sir, now grains can be eaten away by the rats. The wholesaler thoroughly under-stands his business and goes about in the right manner. (Inter-ruption from Government benches.) I am not here to answer the interruptions. I am only a business man. I say that it is only the merchants when they get the necessary stuff know how to deal with it properly. If, on the other hand, you are going to make the co-operative societies deal with it, they will only make a mess of it as they are inexperienced people.

"But what is the point here we are discussing to-day. We are trying to find a way to grow more crop. We should see that the ryot gets a decent price for his crop. To-day the price of groundnut per imperial maund is Rs. 15. The price of horsegram per imperial maund is Rs. 12 and the price of rice per imperial maund is Rs. 8. The horsegram which is eaten by horse commands a price of Rs. 12, whereas rice which is eaten by human beings commands only a price of Rs. 8 per imperial maund. Naturally this disparity in price is a great factor. The ryot grows only that crop which will fetch him a fair price. That question has to be gone into very carefully.

"Now, Sir, there are 22 wholesale dealers in the City of Madras. They are all under Government control. And yet we hear complaints about blackmarketing. Blackmarketing is not done by them; it is really done by people who are not connected with business. This is a very important point to remember. If you are going to put down blackmarketing and corruption, you have to go into it very carefully. The best thing is for an expert committee of businessmen to look into it and see if they can devise measures to put down blackmarketing. By replacing the wholesale dealer, who is erroneously presumed to be black-marketeer, you are not going to increase production. In the Premier's report, he says that the acreage of land under cultivation has increased by 25 per cent. But we have not been given any information about the increased yield per acre under cultivation. That will be an important point for the Assembly to know. I believe, Sir, irrigation projects are undertaken on a 4 per cent return basis. It is no good thinking in terms of a return for money spent on irrigation works. If you want to help the ryot, you must go with capital works on irrigation without looking for an adequate return which is supposed to be 4 per cent.

"Then, Sir, I must take this opportunity to invite a reference to the communiqué issued on Friday last about the supply of

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electricity to the agriculturists. I appreciate the motive of Government. I am myself a licensee in South Arcot; and I can tell you that during the last one year in South Arcot as many as 110 agricultural service connexions have been effected. The South Madras Electric Corporation have done very well by giving agricultural service connections in their area. But the whole trouble is however much the licensee is willing to help the agriculturist, he is not able to get the necessary materials. For instance, he cannot get copper, he cannot get poles, he cannot get high tension insulators, etc. Steel tubular poles are not at all available. Tatas are not supplying rails. We are not able to get even wooden poles. What is the Forest department doing? Why not the Hon. Minister for Electricity arrange for the Forest department to fell sufficient number of poles for the use of the licensees. If to-morrow, he can give me 2,000 poles, see how agricultural connexions are given by me in my area. It is therefore no good saying that the licensee is not taking interest in serving the agriculturist. There is an association called the Madras Presidency Electric Licensees' Association in Madras. I wish Government gets their officials to contact the office-bearers of the association. The association will only be too pleased to assist the Government.

"Coming back to rice position, I can only say that we must try to increase the yield per acre by giving necessary help to the ryot. And about wholesale dealer I would again stress the point, that he is an important link and every attempt should be made to see that he is taken along with whatever arrangements you may propose with regard to procurement and distribution of food."

* SRI N. S. VARADACHARI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, in a special sense I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity. Because there is a feeling in me that everybody expects from Government a precise policy in regard the food situation. We are thankful to the Premier for giving us this opportunity to discuss the problem. I must say however, I am sadly disappointed with the terms of the order paper. It says, 'Let the food supply and cloth situation be taken into consideration!' What I expected was a resolution stating the goal of Government and the methods they wish to adopt in achieving the goal. We have heard much on the causes of famine. What I expected Government to state is, how are we to fight and grapple with the famine and avert it for the time being, and then for all time to come. The present situation is really troublesome. There is, in the Premier's words, a deficit of 268,000 tons of food, which, according to him, may easily increase to half a million tons, if the target fixed for procurement is not reached and if seasonal conditions continue to be as they are at present. In view of this, what shall be our goal. I may say here and now that the present situation is this: at the end of six months of a starvation diet of twelve ounces per head—that is, an intake of 1,200 calories per head instead of one of 2,800 calories to maintain the normal

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standards of health—we shall be left in much the same position. I say, Sir, that our goal should be that at the end of that period we should not be any more on this starvation diet. We should work with a grim determination to raise the intake to 2,500 or 3,000 calories. That ought to be our goal. To-day we are in a difficult position. I do not blame any one, least of all, Government. The question is, how shall we achieve our goal? I submit, the first and most important duty of Government is to concentrate on production. Any arrangement you may make for procurement would be meaningless, without trying to increase production. It is like milking the bull. (Laughter.) You can't get more food unless your production is up to the mark, unless every acre of land in this country yields more than what it now does. How shall we make a start? The most expedient way of making good the deficit of half a million ton of rice is to bring half a million acres under rice cultivation. For that, the most important thing to do is to introduce crop control. If you have a target fixed for production of more rice and have crop control by restricting lands raising sugarcane and tobacco and turning them over to paddy, you will have increased production of rice. Nothing will effectively increase production in the present than a change in the crop. I do not agree that bringing fresh lands under cultivation is an easy task. Experience has shown that it is very difficult to bring in new land under cultivation. So the only thing possible to do is, put more land under rice cultivation.

"The next question is, how shall we supplement this increase in acreage? We have got the nationalization of produce, whether you like it or not. The produce from land is Government's to-day. All surplus produce goes into the hands of Government. All your procurement arrangement is based on this. I say, we have to take one step further. We should start forthwith State farms. The Government should undertake responsibility for production. To-day there is no responsibility for production anywhere. Landlords look upon it as a burden. If there is compulsory billeting, there will be some sense of responsibility cast on landlords. For example, there is the big landlord, Mr. T. N. Ramakrishna Reddi coming from my district, Chittoor. Now if Government ask him to feed a thousand people every day, and if he knows that he has to find the feed for them every day, morning and evening, two thousand people, he will surely raise more food than he does to-day in an efficient manner. What is the Agricultural department doing? It has in the past been doing research and demonstrations in small plots of 5 cents and 6 cents. But to-day, I ask the Agricultural department to put its best skill, its excellent equipment and its high grade knowledge to the test. Let them take up as State farms the properties of temples in the first instance so that the silent Gods may feed the hungry millions who wait in prayer on them. (Hear, hear.) Will this be given a trial?"

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"Now, Sir, I come to the question of wells. I suggested in a newspaper article that instead of wasting some money—I do not say the whole of it—in the shape of subsidy, let Government spend lakhs of rupees on digging a certain ascertained number of wells and from now on keep a target of say 40,000 wells with two acres irrigated under every such well."

MUHAMMAD ABDUL SALAM SAHIB BAHADUR:—"On a point of information, Sir. May I know to which party the hon. Member belongs?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"Please don't interrupt him. Ask me for the information. He belongs to the Ministerial Party."

*SRI N. S. VARADACHARI:—"If you fix a target like that, I say then that your programme is a success. You have got in time an ascertained number of acres under paddy crop. I would like these wells treated not as private property, but as the property of the State to be used later for certain purposes connected with public health and the like. That is one constructive suggestion that I make."

"Sir, some people think that by persuasion landlords will be able to grow more food. It is as difficult for any Minister to persuade the landlord to grow more food as it is for me to persuade the leader of the House to go to the Congress High Command. (Laughter.) The only method of persuasion in so far as the landlord is concerned is this: compulsory billeting and aids to production in the order of the crop."

"Now, Sir, I come to another important point. I said, Sir, that we should fix a goal on reaching which we shall get out of this 12 oz. standard. It may be said that for the interval we may have to cut rations further. Let us have no rule inflexible in regard to rations. If we are going to be short by half a million tons, it may perhaps be necessary to cut down the ration to 10 oz. There is a change in the composition of the ration already, as you know, 10 oz. of rice and 2 oz. of optional wheat. Optional wheat enforces a cut in the ration even to-day. I do not mind the ration in urban areas being cut further, but for the rural areas we should stand guard, we should mount guard and see that no reduction in the ration is made so far as the agriculturists and the labourers that rely on the land are concerned. (Hear, hear.)"

"Now, Sir, nutrition standards have to be maintained amongst us. These are not times when we can do so but this is a time for experimenting. In my opinion, Sir, we are going through a curative crisis. There is such a thing as curative crisis in nature cure parlance. We are going through a nature cure. I say, Sir, we ought to make experiments in mixed diet."

"Finally, before I wind up my speech, I wish to tell the Government that they must aim at a high goal. Their targets must be clearly visible and fixed. There should be no wobbling in this matter. We shall judge their success or failure by the target they fix and the nearness to the target they attain."

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ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, India and the whole world to-day are involved in a very serious problem on account of the shortage of food. So far as our country is concerned, we were also affected by the war. All the same, I am afraid that the Government of India firstly and the Government of this Province failed to discharge their responsibility towards the people of this country and of this Province. The Government of India is there in charge of agriculture. I found that they had no record, no statistics, and that they did not know what was happening in the country. I found that they were having a very quiet sleep over the thing. Otherwise, at the commencement of the war, they should have anticipated what was going to happen so far as the food question is concerned. In other countries, they knew what was coming and they took all necessary precautions to ease the situation. In this country, as usual, things were allowed to take their own course, and hence developed the situation with which we are now faced. This country, and particularly this Province, is faced with the loss of the import of rice from Burma and other countries on account of war. As a result of that, our rice position has weakened and there has been a remarkable shortage. Even after the commencement of the war so far as Burma is concerned, I fail to see any real and genuine steps taken to meet the situation. Nothing has been done to fill the country with sufficient produce to ease the situation. Famine faces us and is of a very serious character. It is no doubt true that the methods that were employed by the Government of Madras in order to meet the situation are supposed to be the best. But methods alone will not do. We want foodgrains. Attention has been drawn by one of the Hon. Members who have spoken before me to a statement of the acreage of crop under cultivation, but in that statement, we have no information as to how much has been added by the production of rice so far as this Province is concerned. Well, the present Government might come forward and say 'We are not responsible for it. The Government previous to ours, which was only an autocratic Government run by Advisers, are responsible for such a situation, and that we are the inheritors of the deeds and misdeeds of the past Government.' I would like to know whether the present Government has realized the exact seriousness of the situation. I am afraid not. Because if they did, they would not have come forward with the draft proposals which have been placed by the Hon. the Premier before this House for our information, for if one examines these proposals one after another, one can see that it is not intended so much to tackle the crisis with which we are faced, but that it is an emotion of an idealism which one has been nurturing. On the other hand, as has been pointed out in the amendment that has been tabled by the League Party, we apprehend that if these draft proposals which have been placed before this House for acceptance are given effect to, instead of meeting the crisis and averting it, it would on the other hand place the people of this Province in grave danger on account of the fact that production will

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be adversely affected and procurement will be greatly in danger and affected. If the village and other committees are to function immediately, as they are sought to be done, I have no doubt in my mind that the result will be that there will be less procurement and there will be less rice to be distributed among the poor people of this Province. What is to be done with a committee which consists of, I understand and I dare say, mostly rich and very influential landlords of the village. It is they who are now complaining against procurement. They do not have that patriotism, that fellow-feeling which alone is responsible for the people of this Province to tide over the serious crisis with which we are faced to-day. Their primary consideration is to conserve as much paddy as possible not only for sale, but for future use for themselves and their families. As every individual is nervous about the future contingency and the possibility of not getting rice, these cultivators and landlords are also anxious that they should not be sufferers along with the others, and that they must hoard as much as possible. Therefore they want to hoard as well as profiteer. This committee will only be aiding and abetting them in their attempt. Again Sir, we find that it is not only procurement that will be adversely affected and not only will the quantity of rice that will be available for the people of the Province will be considerably reduced, but it will also create faction. As it is we know that in the villages we have factions, and the person who has got the greatest influence with the party will have the upper hand with the result that the machinery will break down and the amount of procurement that will have to take place will be affected. We find, Sir, that there is an attack against mill rice. I can understand the Hon. the Premier belongs to the Congress Party giving preference to hand-pounded rice. There are not many people in this Province who would like to take to hand-pounded rice. (Voice: Question.) Perhaps I believe that the number of people with that feeling is growing or has already grown. But it seems to me that it is only wishful thinking. Perhaps the villager might have been brought to that view on account of the fact that he finds it difficult to get rice. The Hon. the Premier, when he had put forward his draft proposals, had not made out a case against the existing arrangement and method. He stated there was a hue and cry from the platform, from the press, from the petitions and memorials that Government have received that everybody seems to be against. He does not tell us whether it has failed. Undoubtedly and admittedly, it is a system to a certain extent. But instead of improving the existing system, he replaces it by another system which is highly complicated, unworkable and impracticable. The establishment of a committee will only complicate the situation. I believe the Hon. the Premier and the party which he represents in this House have not yet realized the seriousness of the situation. For if he did, he would not, in the middle of the crisis, have come forward with a scheme like this. The situation is grave. Instead of improving the situation with practical methods, he seeks to introduce a complicated machinery

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which instead of solving the problem and overcoming the difficulties, will delay the solution of the problem. I am afraid people of this Province will suffer and suffer very heavily. As has been stated not only by ordinary officials, but even Sir S. V. Ramamurti, who before this Government came into office was practically running the Food Department in this Province before he went to America, feared that if there is not sufficient import from abroad, there would be a calamity and would result in the death of millions of Indians."

* SRI V. I. MUNISWAMI PILLAI:—Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the outset I must say that we are on the verge of gloomy days. That has been created in this Province for want of enough food-stuffs. Though it may be a few days since the Ministry assumed office, it is plain to every one of us that the Prime Minister has not lagged behind to bring before the House a statement clearly setting out the procurement policy with regard to exports and imports and finally saying that we are faced with a deficit of nearly 268,000 tons to end of October 1945, which will have to be got from procurement either from our own country or from outside.

"Sir, before I proceed to the method of rationing adopted for the cultivators, I feel it my duty to say that the ration system that was in our land during the last three years has not been beneficial to the poor man in the village, or the agricultural labourer who has been toiling day in and day out to produce rice. What happens? These people have been paid not in cash but in kind. The labourers have to set apart a certain percentage for their own use, and to sell the rest for his other necessities of life. These people were put to trouble when they were trying to sell the quantities. Moreover, Sir, the procurement of the ration card was not also an easy matter. The Hon. the Prime Minister proposed a plan for the future conduct of ration. He envisages committees for villages, taluks and districts. I appeal, the toiling labourer is given a chance to be represented in all these committees and that his representation will not be by other people who may be interested."

ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Now you will not be there."

* SRI V. I. MUNISWAMI PILLAI:—"In the statement, the Hon. Prime Minister refers to the popularization of other food-stuffs. He has mentioned sweet potatoes and groundnuts. But he has entirely forgotten the parent potato. During war time, I know thousands of tons of potatoes were produced by cultivating large tracts leased lands in the Nilgiris which were specially given for this cultivation. They even went to the extreme length of cutting away beautiful forests thereby drying up all perennial stream devoid of irrigation facilities. When the agriculturists in the Nilgiris were taking to this industry, we were not given a fair treatment. In 1942 they brought an Act called the Nilgiris Potato Dealers and Traders Order, whereby they created a committee. The personnel, deliberations and decisions of that

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committee, I need not indulge in because they were of the worst type. Real representatives of growers were not there. There was much inconvenience in the disposal of the crop. In 1945, the main crop was a failure, and the December crop was a thorough failure, and they were not able to get even one for one. According to the agriculturists, potato can be said to be a short term crop. But last year, the main crop began in March, and they were able to sell the produce only in January 1946. This has put the grower to heavy expenditure. Even in this year, for want of manure in proper time, they could not plant it in the month of April. I hope the Hon. the Prime Minister will take this into account and see that manure is given to the potato growers in good time and see that some arrangement is made for quick transport. There are thousands of military lorries lying idle in every district. If the Hon. the Prime Minister cares, he can commandeer all these not only to help the potato growers but also the rice growers so that the produce might be brought to the market.

"Another point, Sir. It is in regard to the fixing of prices. They have appointed a committee without representatives of the growers and they are sitting to-day to decide the fate of 95 per cent of the growers. There was late sowing of potatoes and I do not think it will be possible for any human being to correctly estimate the output for the current crop before the middle of June. But it is most unfortunate that the committee is sitting to fix the price now. The Hon. the Prime Minister said that the question of prices would be considered separately. I welcome this. It should not be only for food-grains, but include everything connected with the staple food of the people. The other position is about the vegetable. The Government leased large tracts of land to people under the Grow More Food campaign to grow more vegetables. Now the military personnel has been reduced and they have to shut up the depots that were purchasing all these things. If the Hon. the Prime Minister will take note of this and allow the agents to continue to gather all these vegetables and distribute them in famine areas, it will be beneficial and cheap. About the fixation of prices, I wish the Hon. the Prime Minister instructs the District Officers to take the growers into their confidence and fix a fair price. About the composition and policy of the village and taluk committees, I do not wish that these committees should be placed on the same lines as it was in the last two years. Merchants have all been dragged into this. I wish they get people who have nothing to do with this matter of distribution of food to the people, people who are away from politics and who can really serve the people must be on these committees."

* SRI K. ANANDA NAMBIYAR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, on behalf of the communists and on behalf of the 3 lakhs of organised kisans of this country, I thank the Hon. the Premier for giving us a chance to be present here and to take part in the discussions on this important subject. I would wholeheartedly support all progressive measures which the Hon. the Premier might bring forward in this House in connection with food. But at the

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same time, I would like the Hon. the Leader of the House that he may kindly give up the policy adopted by the Advisers' Government."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Usually written speeches are not allowed."

* SRI K. ANANDA NAMBIYAR:—"I have not got a written speech, Sir. I am only having the printed statement in my hand."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member may go on."

* SRI K. ANANDA NAMBIYAR:—"Now this is more or less a certificate granted to the old regime which has brought us to this level of 5,769,000 tons when there is a necessity for 2,083,000 tons of deficit to be made good. According to the Gregory Committee Report, it is 1:17 lb. that is allowed per head and according to this, the total requirement of food should be more. But the present Hon. Premier has reduced it to 12 oz.; thereby another reduction of 811,000 tons is made in consumption. All these are only paper adjustments. Even with all these adjustments, the Hon. the Premier has stated that he is doubtful about the success of his scheme for the next five months to come. We do not know whether we can live till then. It is doubtful if we can get even 10 oz. per head. That is the miserable plight to which the Advisers' Government has brought us and I again request the Hon. the Premier not to give any certificate to the Advisers' regime."

"Now the plan is for 'Grow More Food', but the Hon. the Premier did not give us any account of the Grow More Food campaign or the results thereof. About the irrigation projects also, no account has been given. I do not know how many tanks have been repaired till now. There was an Act by the grace of His Excellency the Governor which gave facilities for repairs to tanks. But nobody knows what has happened and what was the result. We do not know whether even one ton more of rice is produced out of this tank clearing scheme."

"Then about bringing more waste lands under cultivation. I beg to submit, Sir, that in Malabar in the Janmam of Kalyat, there is a cultivation called punam. That Janmi has not allowed his tenants to cultivate punam. Thereby he is not only preventing them from cultivating punam, but he is even burning certain cultivable areas. The Hon. Minister, sitting here, who was once the head of the Estates Committee, which also went into this question, has not mentioned in his statement a word about the punam cultivation in Malabar."

"Now, coming to the scheme of intensive procurement, I say we are not given any details about the quantity of paddy or rice so far procured under the scheme. There does not appear to be much chance of getting any more food-grains from other Provinces. The Punjab Government which produces more of wheat

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once promised us to give us enough of wheat, but now it has not carried out that promise and even the minimum quantity that it is bound to give has not been supplied to us.

"We want long-term improvement schemes and a reform in our land policy. I should like to draw the attention of the Hon. the Premier here that in his Committee's Report, he has stated that the system of irrigation and land tenure in zamindari and ryotwari areas, are far from satisfactory and that the whole system should be abolished, or radically changed. Nothing is mentioned in the Hon. Premier's statement to-day about any such long-term policies.

"Coming now to the short-term schemes, such as digging of wells, which is much discussed here, I may state that yesterday in the Legislative Council, Dr. Rajan stated that the military can be used to dig wells. I quite concur with him and I support his idea. Instead of breaking the skulls of the poor workers, let gun-powder and muscle be used for the digging of wells, and for producing food to feed the people who are now starving. They are now idling away their time and I suggest to the Hon. the Premier that they may be asked to do this job, which they will do more efficiently than the ordinary labourers.

"On the procurement and distribution side, I see that the Hon. the Premier has proposed the constitution of some committees, the village committees and taluk committees and so on. In that connection he has used the word 'selection' by the Tahsildar. I know what a Tahsildar is, and I also know how a Tahsildar selects. He will only select men of influence in the village, such as the zamindar, or the mirasdar, but not the poor agriculturist. So I request the Hon. the Premier to order that the personnel of the committee should be elected or if not, to see that all interests are represented on the committee. Otherwise the poor agriculturist may not have any chance of being represented in the committee. The selection of the members will only end in confusion and fiasco, because I know from my own experience that these Tahsildars are Badasahibs in the village and the poor agriculturist labourers are at their mercy.

"On the production side also, I request the Hon. the Premier to see that similar committees are organised for silt-clearing of tanks and for minor irrigation and for other executive jobs and for distribution of fallow lands. The formation of non-official committees with the suggestion I have made regarding the representation of agriculturist may be adopted on the production side as well.

"Then, I request the Hon. the Premier to see that fair wage is determined for agricultural labourers. Sir, you might have heard what is happening in Tanjore to-day. The agricultural labourers there have refused to plough the land saying that they were not given fair wages, and that unless and until they are given fair wages, they would not cultivate the lands. Sir, you might have received some memoranda to this effect from them. Thus hundreds of acres of land in Tanjore are lying uncultivated

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for this reason. So I submit, that fair wages must be determined for these agricultural labourers and justice should be done to them. If not, this sort of confusion and dislocation in agricultural operations will continue and the Assembly will be drawn to repress the agricultural labourers instead of organizing food production for the people. Instead of organizing food production, this Assembly will have to ask the District Magistrates and District Superintendents of Police to break the heads of the agriculturists and then Section 144 will have to be applied with all attendant troubles. Sir, I therefore request that that Hon. the Premier may kindly see that fair wages are settled for the agricultural labourers, not only in Tanjore but in other parts of the Province also and see that no trouble or dispute arises on this account.

"Finally, Sir, I may state the Communist Party's attitude in this matter. I can tell you Sir, that the Communist Party has got an organization in almost every village and in every taluk throughout the whole Province. We are prepared to extend our wholehearted co-operation to all other political organizations in the working of the whole scheme and do what all we can to make it a success."

* SRI KALA VENKATA RAO:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, the problem of food is not one of occasional drought only. It has become practically a question that has to be solved and viewed as a long-range problem. To-day in India we have a population that is growing at the rate of 14,000 per day or 5 millions per annum in spite of the fact that we have got a higher death rate in this country than in any country of the world. On account of our innate poverty and our public health conditions, we are unable to produce more children in this country or prevent them from a high infant mortality; but, nonetheless the growth is dangerous enough and it is increasing and increasing. Therefore, Sir, in laying down our policy in regard to food we must have a long-range solution integrated into the emergency programme that we are thinking of now. Let me draw your attention to the fact that when the last famine occurred in Rayalaseema, two crores of rupees were spent on road works, etc., as a measure of famine relief and not on lasting irrigation works or on public utility works. If all that money had been systematically spent on irrigation schemes, famine in Rayalaseema would have been alleviated to a great extent. On account of the absence of a well-thoughtout long-term policy, whenever famine visits the countryside we are going on spending or giving as wages to every relief claiming member of the area affected one anna and three pies and opening free kitchens and so on to do away with famine for the time being. But famine recurs. Why should there be recurring famines in our land? In Bengal it occurred only two years ago. In the second biggest city of the British Empire, we saw the pitiable sight of people dying for want of food in the streets of Calcutta and being dragged by jackals and not carried by men to their burial ground. This is a pitiable plight. It was

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a man-made famine as some one called it. Therefore, man-made famine can be rectified by man. It is up to the State to take measures even in this emergency and plan it in a manner that will help the long-range programme also. I say that an irrigation policy, on a broad-based programme, should be drawn up for the dry areas especially. In giving full swing to the Grow More Food campaign, you can get the people to work on more useful things than stone-breaking. Therefore, I request you to integrate a bold programme with the emergency programme and give permanent relief. We have to solve this problem now and we have to go on solving it.

"Sir, it has been ascertained that the acreage under cultivation excluding Bengal in 1943-44 was 53.4 millions in India and the yield was 18.8 million tons. Of course this is an increase over the pre-war total, but let me tell you that as between 1903 and 1943 the net area per capita has decreased from .883 acre to .841 acre and the food growing area also has decreased from .829 to .785 acre. One difficulty we encounter in arriving at some kind of understanding in regard to this matter is that we have a number of wrong estimates given to us. Unfortunately the system of statistics gathering is not at all good in this country. They are arbitrary averages and modifications of crop statistics according to personal judgment. This question will have to be attended to at an early stage and we should have proper statistics to know our deficits and to make them up.

"I wish at this stage to refer to the question of the international help suggested by the Kumararaja of Chettinad. The U.N.R.R.A. has taken much of our money, but we are told that that this organization is not free to come to our aid to-day in spite of the impending famine. I think that the combined food board wants to use the food famine as an atom bomb against the starving people of the world. Else there is no meaning in promising big things for India one day and later on saying that they never considered India at all. Even according to the statistics published in this morning's paper, there is not much hope that we will get that help from that organization. I do not think that under the present political situation we can get the ear of the Big powers, who are bent upon quarrelling about the division of the world. They have no time to think of the starving millions.

"We are told that there is a deficit of about 12 lakhs of tons in this Province till the end of October and that we have in stock only 5 lakhs of tons. This necessitates rationing in the rural areas also. But I am told that about 20 per cent of the ration cards are not produced at the ration shops at all and that their quota is remaining unsold. What is the reason for this? Is it due to the higher prices? I think so. Therefore, Sir, I would recommend to the Hon. the Prime Minister to give a subsidy to the poor people in the deficit areas and not to the rich.

"Then, Sir, about the question of procurement and requisitioning, I find that during the last three years, in spite of the praises which the Kumararaja of Chettinad, showered on the

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administration, I cannot agree with him that the red-tape Government has administered the resources of the province quite well. If they had conserved the resources on proper lines they could have prevented the present famine. If they had carried out the policy chalked out by the Woodhead Committee or grain stored as suggested by the Grains Policy Committee this disastrous situation would not have been reached."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Only one more minute remains."

SRI KALA VENKATA RAO:—"Let me tell you, Sir, that in the matter of village committees, my friends on the other side, remarked that we are thinking of the Soviets. Let me remind these friends that hundreds of years before the word 'Soviet' was coined, India had panchayats and such village panchayats have been known to have run the administration of the country for hundreds of years. The British Government succeeded in completely destroying them only a hundred and odd years ago. Now, if the Hon. the Premier wants to renovate them and re-establish them and make use of them, I am perfectly certain that the soil is prepared to receive them kindly. I hope that with the present scheme he will be able to help the villagers and eliminate the wholesaler who is a powerful element in the rural area, the one who has funds in abundance, the Police in his hands and the corrupt officials in his pockets. We must improve this state of affairs. I hope that under the scheme adumbrated by the Premier all these ills will disappear. With goodwill from all sides of the House we can overcome this famine. I appeal for a dynamic support to this scheme."

* MAHABOOB ALI BAIG SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, let me at the very outset clear a doubt or two in the minds of a few members of this House raised by the fact that the Muslim League Party to which I have the honour to belong has moved an amendment to the motion moved by the Hon. the Premier. Let me make it clear beyond any shadow of doubt that we, the next best organised party in the country, are determined to give organised help to the Government for the time being. If anyone thinks that only a coalition Ministry will be entitled to the co-operation of the Muslim League Party and that the party will not co-operate with the Ministry in power, he is greatly mistaken. We may not be on the Ministry as Ministers, but yet there is much scope for any party outside the party in power to do good. If anyone thinks that the Muslim League Party and the Congress Party can be separated on all matters, he is badly mistaken. No one can separate us any longer. We are out, as far as this matter of good is concerned, to extend our help to the party in power.

"Sir, I echo to a very great extent the sentiments of pity expressed by the Hon. the Premier on the condition of the ryots. The Hon. the Premier has not overdrawn the picture of their sad plight. People in the country who know the condition of the ryots will certainly agree with him. It is no doubt true that we are equally concerned with the condition of the non-producer and

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the labourer. But the condition of the ryot is the worst of all. There are historic reasons for it. The permanent settlement robbed the ryot of his land and the advantages that should accrue to him as a result of his labours on the land. The system of permanent settlement should have been scrapped long ago. The zamindari ryot is in a worse position than the ryotwari tenant. Till the Government of the country was taken over by the Crown the East India Company simply concerned itself with the collection of revenue by whatever means available. When the Crown took up the reins, the people in the country who were imbued with the idea of getting power into their hands for bettering the lot of the people could not do much against the organised foreign power. Yet their voice though feeble was heard here and there and some amelioration in the condition of the ryots took place. At last the last Ministry also made vigorous attempts to improve the lot of the ryots. An attempt was made also to improve the condition of the ryotwari tenants though it came to nothing in the end. The Ministry was unable to give even temporary relief. Agriculture in the end became a non-paying proposition. If this were not so, the ryot would have continued to cultivate his land and increased the area under cultivation. But as the Hon. the Chief Minister has stated land was sold for a song, for four annas. That is the position of the ryot and I echo the sentiments of pity expressed by the Hon. the Premier. But is this the time to consider what the Ministry is going to do for the amelioration of the condition of the ryots? Should we not now think of ways and means for fighting the impending famine?

4 p.m. "I entirely agree with the statement made by my friend Mr. Varadachari with regard to making India self-sufficient. It is true that this is an old tale of neglect. Governments in power had no necessity to face a deficit. Imports were coming in, and it is only when imports stopped, on account of Japan joining the war, and our stocks being diminished on account of supply to the military from 1942 we had to depend on our current production. That is the origin of the present trouble. Now the deficit is staring us in the face. During the last three or four years, the administration from which the present Ministry took charge had been trying to solve this problem in its own way. It has established a machinery which is working now. The question now is whether that same machinery should continue and whether it is sufficient to tide over the troubles in the four or five months before us or whether we should substitute another new machinery in its place as adumbrated by the Hon. the Premier. We, Muslim Leaguers, think that it is quite simple to tide over this period. We feel that the machinery proposed with the several grades and powers, the village committees scrutinising the demand lists, the provision of appeals to the taluk committees and so on are all too cumbersome. It is just like the judicial administration in the country."

Mr. SPEAKER:—"You have exceeded your time-limit already by 2 minutes. (The hon. Member was still standing.) I will allow you half a minute more."

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* MAHBOOB ALI BAIG SAHIB BAHADUR:—"I will finish in half a minute. Though I do not agree with the hon. Member who said that it will be just like the Soviet Union, I see there is some point in what he says. If the population in a particular area belongs to one party, then perhaps this scheme might easily come into existence. That is a different matter." (At this stage the Hon. the Speaker called on.)

* SRI M. S. PATTABHIRAMA AYYAR:—"Mr. Speaker, the Hon. the Prime Minister deserves the support of the whole country for the way in which he has placed a statement explaining the food situation in the Province before the Assembly. The remedial measures proposed are not sufficiently drastic and radical to appeal to the people of the Province. I am sorry to note, Sir, that the present popular Government is like a train standing on the same rails laid down by the former bureaucracy and the direction of the track does not appear to have sufficiently changed. The steps taken to meet the food shortage have been mentioned in the statement made by the Prime Minister, and I will say a few words about each one of them. The first is:

'the promulgation of an order by the Government of Madras prohibiting exports of foodgrains outside the Province except under permits issued by the Commissioner of Civil Supplies' and the second is:

'the promulgation of an order by the Commissioner of Civil Supplies extending the prohibition against the export of rice from one district to another within the Province to millets and certain varieties of pulses also.'

For all practical purposes the wholesale dealers were able to take away things from one district to another by hoodwinking the officials or the officials themselves have connived at them. The first two measures have not been effective. The third is:

'the licensing of merchants under the Foodgrains Control Order.'

This was a system of monopoly introduced by the Government to enable them to conduct a totalitarian war against the wishes of the people. There was terrorization of the people beginning from the dark days of August 1942. Licences were given only to the National War Front people who helped them and to the big merchants and other rich people who were indifferent and were simply looking on. Next comes:

'the institution of a campaign for growing more food.'

It was a farce. They never did anything to grow more food by this campaign. The next step is 'an intensive procurement drive.' This drive was a weapon in the hands of those people who posed as being loyal and promised openly or clandestinely to support the Government in all their actions against the people. A lot of grain was wasted. It was a notorious fact in those days that lots of grain were thrown into the Hooghli in Bengal and into the sea in Malabar. The last step was 'rationing.' This was not

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introduced for the benefit of the people and to avert famine. Famine is a chronic disease of the people of India. Rationing was introduced as a war measure and in the pamphlet which the Government circulated among its officers they justified it as a war measure and not as a famine measure.

"All the above measures have been given the approval of the present popular Government. It is rather strange.

"The yield per acre in our country according to international standards is very low and the return to the actual cultivator is also very low. The Government which was in power has done nothing to increase this. The bonus of Rs. 15 per acre is not a sufficient inducement to the ryot to bring more land under cultivation. As was pointed out in the other House the ryots even refuse to take this bonus for fear they should be harassed by the subordinate officers of the Government in regard to the procurement of the grains. I think a subsidy would be much better.

"With regard to the reduction in the scale of rice ration, I am against any further reduction in the ration allowed to the producer. People living in the cities take other kinds of food, such as vegetables, fruits and milk, but the people in the villages are entirely dependent upon cereals. Any further reduction will be a great hardship on them.

"In a matter of familiarizing subsidiary foods every member of this Assembly should do something to make the people understand that it would go a long way to avert the crisis if they accustom themselves to some subsidiary foods also. In the latest issue of the *Harijan*, Mahatma Gandhi says:

'Every ounce of food saved is so much gained'

and quotes an extract from 'Current Science' showing how mango seed kernel is a fair substitute for cereals and fodder.

* * * * *

'The observations credit mango seed kernel with a place in the category of foodgrains and make available every year about 70 millions lb. digestible protein and 780 million lbs. of starch equivalent from a hitherto unutilized source. It has been also calculated that the digestible protein obtained from 80 lb. of oats is equal to that of 100 lb. of the kernel and the starch equivalent for 86 lb.'

Then Gandhiji adds:—

'I have known this use from my early youth. But no one seems to have thought of conserving this seed for food. The mango season is upon us and though much time has been lost, it will be a good thing if every mango seed was saved and the kernel baked and eaten in the place of cereals or given to those who need it. Every ounce of food saved is so much gained.'

I have finished, Sir."

15
a.m.

SRI. S. SAHAJANANDAM:—"தலைவரவர்களே, முதல் மந்திரி கொடுத்த யாதாஸ்தை நான் ஆமோதிக்கிறேன். அவர்கள் சொன்னார்கள் நமது மாகாணத்திற்கு அக்டோபர் வரையில் வேண்டிய உணவுப் பொருள் 1,272,000 டன் என்றும் இப்பொழுது மேல் நாட்டிலிருந்து இறக்குமதியும் இங்கு கொள் முதல் தானியங்களும் உபரியாக 1,004,000 டன்கள் தானியக் கின்றன. மொத்தத்தில் 268,000 டன்கள் சேகரஞ் செய்யவேண்டியிருப்பதினால் அதற்கு வேண்டிய நடவடிக்கைகளைச் சொன்னார்கள். உபரி தானியங்கள் வசூல் செய்வதற்கு கிராமக் கமிட்டிகள் தாலுக்காக் கமிட்டிகள்,

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ஜில்லாக் கமிட்டிகள், மாகாணக் கமிட்டிகள் ஏற்படுத்தலாமென்று சொன்னார்கள். இந்தக் கமிட்டிகள் ஏற்படுத்தினால் பின்னால் பயன்படுமே தவிர இப்பொழுது அதனால் யாதொரு பிரயோசனமும் ஏற்படாது. Grain purchase ஆபீஸரும், தாலுகா சப்ளை அதிகாரிகளும் இருக்கின்ற நெல்லை யெல்லாம் கொண்டுபோய் விட்டார்கள், எனக்கு இந்த வருஷத்தில் 250 மூட்டைகள் நெல் இருந்தது. அதை அப்படியே கொண்டுபோய் விட்டார்கள். சென்ற வருஷம் 300 மூட்டைகளிருந்தன அவற்றை அப்படியே தருவதாகத் தெரிவித்தேன். வாகன் நிறைவதற்கு 330 ஆகக் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று நயமாகச் சொன்னார்கள். அவர்கள் நயமான வார்த்தைகளுக்குக் கட்டுப்பட்டேன். பிறகு ஏன் 30 மூட்டைகள் கொடுக்கவில்லை, ஏன் பிராசுகூஷன் செய்யப்படாதென நோட்டீஸ் அனுப்பினால் பிறகு கணக்கைக் காட்டி தப்பி வந்தேன். இந்த விதமான முறைகளிலே நெல்லை வாங்கி வருகிறார்கள். Grain purchase அதிகாரியும் தாலுக்கா சப்ளை அதிகாரிகளும் உபரி தானியங்களைக் கொண்டு வர முடியுமென்று நினைக்கிறார்கள். உபரி தானியம் இருக்கிறதென்று சொல்லுகிறவர்கள் ரெவின்யூ இன்ஸ்பெக்டர்களும் கணக்குப் பிள்ளையும்தான். கணக்குப் பிள்ளைக்கு வேண்டியவனாய் இருக்கிறதாயிருந்தால் அவனுக்கு மாத்திரம் குறைந்த அளவுள்ள தானியம் இருப்பதாகத் தெரிவிக்கிறார்கள், வேண்டா தவனாயின் அவனிடம் அதிகமிருப்பதாகத் தெரிவிக்கிறார்கள். இந்த முறையிலே நாட்டிலே அமுல் நடக்கின்றது. ரெவின்யூ இன்ஸ்பெக்டர் கணக்குப் பிள்ளையை நம்பிக்கொண்டே இந்த மாதிரி நடக்கிறது. C.I.D. வைத்துக் கொண்டு பல இடங்களிலே நன்றாக ஆராய்ச்சி செய்து பார்க்கவேண்டியதாயிருக்கிறது. பங்கீடு முறையிலே இன்னும் இரண்டு அவுன்ஸ் அரிசியைக் குறைக்கக் வேண்டுமென்று சர்க்கார் கருதுகிறார்கள். அது முடியாது. எவ்வளவுக்கெவ்வளவு சாப்பாட்டைக் குறைக்கிறார்களோ அந்த அளவுக்கு மறு வேளையில் அதிகம் சாப்பிடுவார்கள். ஒரு நாள் சாப்பிட்டாமல் போனால் அடுத்த நாள் இரண்டு நாள் சாப்பாட்டையுஞ் சேர்த்துச் சாப்பிட்டுவிடுவார்கள். நாள் ஒரு காலத்திலே 40 நாள் விருதம் இருந்தேன். பகலிலே ஒரு வேளை சாப்பிடுவேன், இரண்டு வேளையும் சேர்த்துச் சாப்பிட்டு விடுவேன். பங்கீடு முறையிலே குறைக்க வேண்டிய அவசியமில்லை. அப்படிக் குறைத்தால் உபரியாக கோதுமை முதலானதைக் கொடுத்து 16 அவுன்ஸ் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். ஒரு படி அரிசியில் 8 பேர் 6 பேர் தான் சாப்பிட முடியும். ஸர்க்கார் 14 பேர் சாப்பிடவேண்டுமென்று உத்திரவிட்டார்கள். கிராமத்திலே 14 பேர் சாப்பாட்டையும் 3 பேர் சாப்பிட்டுவிடுவார்கள். அவர்களுடைய சாப்பாட்டைக் குறைக்க வேண்டுமென்று சொன்னால் நிலத்திலே பயிர் ஏறுது. தொழிலாளிகளுக்கு அதிகமாக ரேஷன் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று நான் சொல்லுகிறேன். ஸர்க்கார் ஏதோ மனோராஜ்யம் பண்ணிக்கொண்டு இப்படிச் செய்தால் ஏதோ தன்னைக் கட்டலாமென்று நினைக்கிறார்கள். இது தவிர அவசரமாக நெல் விளைவிக்க வேண்டும். இப்பொழுது குருவையை ஏன் போடக் கூடாதென்று கேட்கிறார்கள். தானிய விளைவைப் பெருக்க ஜின் மாதம் குருவை பயிர் செய்யலாமென்று மந்திரிகள் அவனாகிலங்கம் செடியார், பாஷ்யமய்யங்கார் எல்லாம் தஞ்சாவூரில் சொன்னார்கள். இப்பொழுது தொடங்கினால் கூட இன்னும் மூன்று மாதமாகும். குருவை விளைவிப்பதிலே கஷ்டங்கள் பல இருக்கின்றன. குருவை சரியாக விளைந்த பிறகு ஒட்ட அல்லது சம்பா பயிர் விளையாது. அதற்கு ரொம்ப உறம் போடவேண்டும். மறுபடி சம்பா பயிரிட ரொம்ப ஆட்கள் வேலை செய்யவேண்டும். மூன்று விதமான கஷ்டங்கள் இருக்கின்றன, அதற்கு பயிர் செலவு, ஆள்மொனச் செடு, உறம் வேண்டியது. சரியான உறம் கிடைக்கிறதில்லை. அநேக விவசாய டெமான்ஸ்டிரேட்டர்கள் வைத்து கண்காணிக்காக வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். சிறிய கிராமங்களுக்கு வந்ததாக நாம் கேட்கவில்லை. புஞ்சை நிலங்களிலே தானியம் விளைவிப்பதற்கு 15 ரூபாய் கொடுப்பதென்று அட்வைஸர் ஆக்ஷியிலே உத்தரவு போட்டார்கள். இந்த ஆக்ஷியில் குருவை நெல் விளைவிப்பதாயிருந்தால் 25 ரூபாய் கொடுக்கவேண்டும். சர்க்காரே உறங்களைப் போடும்படியாகக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். பங்கீடு முறையிலும் கடுமையாக இருக்கிறது. சென்ற ஆண்டிலே இரண்டு ஆதித்திராவிடப் பெண்கள் வயலிலே வேலை செய்துவிட்டு பக்கத்து கிராமத்தில் போய் அரிசி வாங்கிக்கொண்டு வந்தார்கள். அதற்காக அவர்களை 1½ மாதம்

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ஜெயிலுக்கு அனுப்பிவிட்டார்கள். ஸர்க்கார் சட்டத்தைவைத்து நம்மைக் கொடுமைப்படுத்துகிறார்கள். அந்த முறையிலே அந்த இரண்டு பெண்களில் ஒருத்தி இறந்துபோய்விட்டாள். ஸர்க்கார் உணவுப் பொருளுக்குப் பதிலாக வேறு சில தானியங்களைக் கொடுக்கலாம். மணிலாக்கொட்டை சாப்பிடலாமென்கிறார்கள். மணிலாக்கொட்டை சாப்பிட்டால் சிலருக்குப் பித்தம் வந்துவிடுகிறது அதனால் அவன் நோயால் பீடிக்கப்பட்டு இறந்து விடுவான். மகாத்மா காந்தியடிகள் இந்த மணிலாக்கொட்டையைச் சாப்பிட்டு பழகியிருக்கிறார். நான் சிதம்பரத்திலிருந்து கடலூருக்கு காரில் வந்துகொண்டிருக்கும்போது புதுச்சத்திரத்தில் ரேஷன் பங்கீடுகாரர் இருந்தார். அவர் தொவித்ததாவது, சர்க்கார் விருத்தாசலத்திலிருந்து மணிலாக்கொட்டை மூட்டை ரூ. 12-க்கு வாங்கி பங்கீடு கடைக்கு அனுப்பியுள்ளார்கள் இங்கு மூட்டை 4 ரூபாய்க்கு கிடைக்கிறது. ஜனங்கள் எதை வாங்குவார்கள். கண்மூடித்தனமாக சர்க்கார் நடக்கிறது என்றார். ஸர்க்கார் கிராண்டாக நிலத்தீர்வையைக் கொடுக்கவேண்டும். சாப்பிட உணவு சரியாக விளைய வேண்டுமானால், இரண்டாவதாக அவர்கள் பயிர்வதற்கு 25 ரூபாய் கொடுக்கலாம். மூன்றாவதாக நெல்லாகவே கொடுக்கலாம். நான்காவதாக ராஜாஜி சொல்லுகிறபடி எல்லா நிலங்களையும் ஸர்க்காரே ஏற்றுக்கொண்டு பயிரிட்டால் தானியமும் விளையும், வேலைக்காரர்களுக்கும் நல்ல சம்பளம் கிடைக்கும். ஆகையால் இந்த யோசனைகளை கணம் முதல் மந்திரி கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டுவருகிறேன்.”

KHAN SAHIB D. ABDUL RAWOOF SAHIB BAHADUR:—

“Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are thankful to the Hon. the Premier for the detailed statement he has placed before the House. This must be an eye-opener to everybody. This Province has been a deficit Province not only now, but in normal times also. This is due to the policy adopted by the Madras Government, not necessarily this Government, but every Government that has been in this Province in their failure to take up many irrigation schemes, that should have been taken up. If the several irrigation schemes recommended by the Irrigation Committee had been taken up and not turned down on the ground that they did not yield a return of 3 to 4 per cent, more land would have been brought under cultivation but as it is there are vast tracts of uncultivated land and we are faced with a deficit in foodgrains. Deficit in food is not peculiar to India. It is a problem facing many countries in the world. Whatever schemes we may adopt now will be only just palliatives to tide over the crisis which may occur in the next three, or four months. The deficit condition of this Province is going to continue for some years to come. What are the Government going to do to increase the production of foodgrains in this Province? For one thing a large portion of the area cultivated is devoted to money crops and not to food-crops, because the prices fixed for the grains procured by Government are very low and ryots prefer to cultivate money crops instead of food-crops. The ryots in my own district of Bellary prefer to grow sugarcane instead of paddy because they get a better price for sugarcane. In spite of several representations made to the Government, no attempt has been made to ascertain the actual expenses incurred by the ryot to find out whether the price paid is adequate or not. We are told that Government have a uniform policy of price-fixing for the whole Province but conditions in all the districts are not the same and a price that may be fair and good for the deltaic areas will hardly be sufficient for a district like Bellary. An artificially

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uniform policy is adopted all over the Presidency and the ryot is in many cases compelled to sell his crop for much less than what he actually spends on growing it. I know statistics are there and they will be flung at our face showing that the ryots are on the plus side. The Hon. the Premier will pardon me if I say that the statistics are not prepared in a proper manner. Usually the Collector writes to the Tahsildar, the Tahsildar to the Reddy and the Reddy to the talayari and his sister-in-law collects the statistics. Even in the statement made by the Hon. the Premier he has not stated when he is going to raise the prices. I ask, Sir, whether the Hon. the Premier will raise the prices of foodgrains before the next harvest.

“I urge on the Hon. Premier to fix the price of food-grains in the case of procurement so that the ryot may know that it is 4-30 p.m. advantageous to cultivate food-crops in the coming season. The cultivator is as shrewd as any other business man; he will be doubtful what will happen to him; so, he will cultivate a money crop and be rid of the bother of procurement and the loss he will suffer if the present rates continue.

“Speaking about the proposal of the Hon. Premier, as rightly pointed out by some Hon. Members, I do not know why it is necessary to change the present system except a vague reference that there has been some trouble in a few cases of procurement. I do not think that the present system of procurement is bad; there may be some defects; in some cases it has resulted in some hardship to some people; prosecutions have been launched wrongly. I am thankful that the prosecutions have been withdrawn, because there were a large number of prosecutions in my own district. This House has to find out whether it is necessary to have the remedy proposed. The present system has been working satisfactorily in the matter of distribution.

“I agree with the Hon. Premier and other speakers who have spoken before that blackmarketing should be put down. No decent or honest citizen will say that blackmarketing should be encouraged. But does the present proposal and the train of committees put down the evil? Some hon. Members of this House have said that these committees would be factious beds. That is the reason why the party to which I have the honour to belong, has tabled an amendment that we should have a Board with plenary powers to deal with the food situation. This proposition has been made not because of the anxiety of the Muslim League Party to grab power; that has been repudiated by some hon. Members of our party. It is a case of extending our co-operation in the matter of food policy. The supreme need of the hour is to consider how best to get over the present crisis.

“The Hon. Premier has made a statement that he is going to issue groundnuts as one of the substitutes for rice. May I request the Government to see that groundnuts are not exported in large quantities from this province as is being done now. It is a good food-substitute; if it is exported, there will be no groundnut at all for consumption.”

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MR. SPEAKER:—"As many hon. Members wish to speak, the debate will be continued to-morrow also."

* P. P. C. HASSAN KOYA SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Prime Minister has stated that it is because of the enormous margin of profit that is allowed to the wholesaler and the overhead charges covered by them, that high prices are prevailing. But the Hon. Prime Minister has completely forgotten another important factor; the collection made by the Government is also responsible for high prices. May I bring to his notice that the collection by way of sales tax is responsible for high prices? Under the prevailing system of procurement, sales tax is collected at three different stages. For every 100 rupees worth of food-grains, the Government is getting Rs. 3; this is taken from the consumer; the wholesaler is making a profit of 8 annas per bag of rice and the Government is making a profit of 8 annas. May I ask the Hon. Prime Minister to exempt foodstuffs from the levy of sales tax immediately?"

"May I also bring to the notice of the Government the very bad quality of food that is obtaining now? We have spoken about the quantity. May I suggest that better inspection of food by food inspectors and better direction to millers may lead to the improvement of the quality of food? May I bring to the immediate notice of the Hon. Prime Minister the special condition of the district of Malabar and the great injustice and cruelty that has been done to Malabar ever since the system of rationing was introduced. The ration allowed to the people of Malabar is still 2 oz. less than that for other parts of the presidency. I brought this fact to the notice of the Hon. Minister, Mr. Karanth and he has promised to look into the matter. When the rest of the province was getting 14 oz., Malabar was getting only 12 oz.; when the ration was reduced from 14 oz. to 12 oz., in the rest of the province, ration for Malabar was reduced to 10.8 oz. The Chairman of the Municipal Council tells me that the Food Council has further reduced it to 9.04 oz. May I appeal on behalf of the people of Malabar that this distinction against Malabar should be removed immediately and that the same ration that is allowed to other parts of the province should be allowed to us also. Compared with other districts, Malabar is a poor district. I appeal to the Premier not to add to our difficulties."

"After a general perusal of the proposals submitted by the Government, I have very great reasons to doubt whether the Government proposes to improve the food position. There is also the political intention to increase the strength of the Congress party. The creation of the autonomous village committees will facilitate the investment of political power with the Village Congress Committees. I cannot understand why the scheme should have been brought forward so speedily. It is not anybody's case that the present food famine and emergency has been brought about by the present system of procurement and distribution. I cannot understand the wisdom of the Government in trying to overhaul the present system, when we are facing an emergency."

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In spite of its defects, the present system has done specific good to the people. The scheme that has been suggested by the Hon. Prime Minister is, in my opinion, complicated, unworkable and cumbersome. It may take a very long time to put it into working order. Knowing our villages as we do, with factions and internecine quarrels, it is dangerous to shoulder the committees with great responsibility."

"The Premier referred to the difficulty of constructing storage accommodation. I would request the Government to pay more serious attention to it. The draft proposals seem to be based on pet theories and seem to indicate the vague idealism of the Congress. I am not convinced of the necessity that milling of rice should be stopped at the earliest possible moment. It is a very dangerous proposal. I feel that stopping of milling will make the position far more worse."

"By the constitution of village, taluk and district committees, I know that one community will be substantially benefited; and that is the community of briefless lawyers. I do not think that the constitution of these committees will solve the problem. That is why my party has suggested the constitution of a Food Board to consider what changes are necessary and what schemes should be introduced to remedy the defects of the present system. I do not know whether the Hon. Premier is aware of all the intricacies of the food problem. I would therefore request him to continue the present system which has done some good, though it may be a little defective. If any changes have to be made, let us not make ill considered and hasty changes. Let us appoint a Food Board or Director to make a special study in all its aspects and introduce useful schemes."

* THE HON. SRI M. BHAKTHAVATSALAM:—"I wish to make this brief statement with reference to the observations of some hon. Members on the question of irrigation. Government are fully aware that the problem of irrigation is vitally connected with the food question. In pursuance of the 'Grow More Food' campaign, the Government of India undertook to contribute fifty per cent, of the net cost or the value of the annual output of the food-grains, whichever is less, in the case of the unremunerative schemes undertaken by the Provincial Government. Government have accordingly sanctioned, since February 1943, about 90 schemes at an estimated cost of about 1.28 crores of rupees intended, to bring under irrigation, an additional extent of about 135,000 acres, of these 61 schemes have been completed by 31st December 1945."

"We are considering a new orientation in our Irrigation policy. As suggested here, we may have to think, not solely in terms of investment, regarding the schemes that we shall be taking up, but also in terms of production of food. Food being the primary issue, we shall be considering irrigation schemes from that point of view only."

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“ We have to tap all undeveloped resources and harness waters that are wasted which should aid food resources in favourable years and also help to provide a food reserve with a carryover from a good to a lean year. We shall have to pursue the development of irrigation directly by exploitation of surface water resources as well as sub-surface water resources, and indirectly by economy in the use of irrigation water, prevention of damage due to flood, drainage and submersion. The new class of projects which Government are examining will embrace a wider category of works, mainly intended to augment the production of food. They will not be to improve commercial ventures. Such projects can be classified under three heads:

(a) Large storage reservoirs built across rivers and run without adverse heads of existing irrigation so as to irrigate new ayacuts to augment supply to existing ones.

(b) Works for effecting economy in the distribution of water.

(c) Improvement and drainage of irrigated areas.

“ Government have already investigated into 20 schemes which are proposed to be taken up irrespective of the consideration whether they would be remunerative or not. Twelve of these schemes have been included in the five-year plan for Post-war development. Three of these twelve schemes have already been sanctioned:—

(1) The Tungabhadra Project at a cost of ten crores of rupees.

(2) Twelve schemes for improving the drainage in the Cauvery delta at a cost of 29.6 lakhs of rupees.

(3) Romporu drainage scheme in the Guntur district at a cost of 96 lakhs of rupees.

“ The detailed investigation of the Ramapadasagar Project which is estimated to cost about 66 crores and which is intended to bring under cultivation 23½ lakhs of acres of new lands and to improve the existing irrigation facilities for 21 lakhs of acres is in progress. The position so far as this scheme is concerned requires further examination in view of the objections recently raised by the Hyderabad State, we do, however, hope to settle the differences satisfactorily. The Tungabhadra and Ramapadasagar Projects together will give an acreage of 3.0 millions and are estimated to yield a produce of 1.5 million tons of rice. As soon as this Ministry took up office, the question of possibilities of expansion to cultivation in view of the acute shortage of food supply in the Province has been taken up for examination. After carefully going through the list of the schemes already executed and the schemes now under execution as well as the schemes abandoned after investigation it is considered that it might be possible to bring more area under cultivation in some of the districts and we hope to provide necessary funds for this purpose. I have been examining the schemes available in every district so that it will be possible to help additional production and give relief in all the districts within the shortest possible time. During my recent tours in the villages of Chingleput and North Arcot districts I have found that lands which could

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have been properly cultivated have been neglected for want of repairs to supply channels which exist and are expected to be executed under kudimaramath. In pursuance of the Government's move to stimulate production of food crops, instructions have been issued that where ryots are unable under the present conditions to take up repairs to channels, they should be taken up immediately at Government cost without having recourse to the provisions of the kudimaramath.

“ Regarding the Cauvery-Mettur Project area, in Salem, Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts, we are adopting a different course. The Chief Engineer for Irrigation has been directed to issue notices immediately under the compulsory Labour Act and proceed on repairs to the channels. In cases where the formality of the issue of such notices to a large number of persons is likely to cause undue delay, the Chief Engineer for Irrigation has been authorized to give notices personally to the leading ryots at a conference especially convened for the purpose about the works to be executed and the contribution proposed to be recovered from them and then to proceed on the work expeditiously. The Chief Engineer for Irrigation has also been authorized to employ additional staff whenever necessary in anticipation of the sanction of Government.

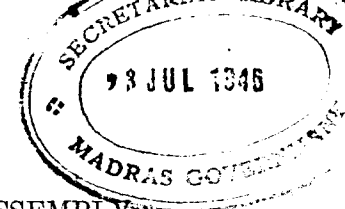
“ Government are also aware of the complaints from the ryots of proprietary villages regarding the condition of the irrigation tanks which have been neglected for a long time. Government propose also to examine shortly the question of executing repairs in such villages through the Government agency so as to avoid neglect and delay. Government also propose to examine whether it would be feasible to increase the capacity of tanks in non-deltaic areas with a view to meet the increased demand for irrigation for the expanded ayacuts, by evolving, if possible, they system of co-ordinating expenditure for the maintenance and repairs of major irrigation tanks and also the minor tanks which are now under the control of the Revenue Department.

“ We propose further to arrange for District conferences of Public Works Department officers with the leading ryots and representatives in the Legislature in each district so as to discuss the several problems and see how far it would be possible to extend irrigation facilities.

“ I do hope that, with the co-operation and guidance of hon. Members of this House, we shall be able to show substantial progress before long, so as to help augmenting production of food.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“ Government members want to attend a meeting of the Council at 5 o'clock. The debate on food will continue to-morrow. I adjourn the House to 11 a.m. to-morrow.”

The House then adjourned to meet again at 11 a.m. on Thursday, the 30th May 1946.



THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Thursday, the 30th May 1946.

The House met in the Assembly Chamber, Fort St. George, at eleven of the clock, Mr. Speaker (THE HON. SRI J. SIVASHAN-MUKHAM PILLAI) in the Chair.

I.—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

STARRED QUESTION.

Strike of Hotel Workers in Madras City.

2 (26)* Q.—SRI V. M. RAMASWAMI MUDALIYAR: Will the Hon. the Minister for Industries, Labour, Electricity, Co-operation, Planning, Forests and Cinchona be pleased to state—

(a) How long has the hotel workers' strike in Madras been in progress;

(b) whether the Government have intervened in the dispute;

(c) whether any rapprochement has been brought about between the parties in dispute;

(d) whether the Government are aware that the Hotel Proprietors' Association has passed a resolution to close down the hotels from 30th May 1946; and

(e) what steps the Government propose to take to combat the effects of any such decision?

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI:—“(a) The strike of the hotel workers started on 23rd May 1946. The President of the Hotel Workers' Union requested the Madras Hotels' Association that restaurants and hotels may be closed on the 1st May 1946 to allow the workers to attend the Annual General Body Meeting on that day. The hotel proprietors were unwilling to grant a holiday or allow the workers to go away after 12 noon. On the intervention of the Commissioner of Labour, the hotel proprietors agreed to allow 10 per cent of the workers to be absent from 12 noon that day as the meeting was scheduled to start only at 2 p.m. The workers were however not satisfied with this and in spite of the advice from the Commissioner of Labour the workers absented themselves without permission from midday on the 1st of May. On 2nd May the workers went back to their hotels. Most of the proprietors raised no objection to take back the men, but the managers of a few hotels refused to take them back. The President of the Hotel Workers' Union then sent a strike notice threatening a general strike from the 13th May and demanding reinstatement of the workers numbering about 200 who were refused re-employment by the proprietors.

“The Commissioner of Labour advised the President of the Hotel Workers' Union on the 10th that any strike without fourteen days notice would be illegal under the Defence of

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India Rules and that the workers were not justified in absenting themselves without permission and that they may express regret for having done so. The Commissioner of Labour also promised to take the matter up with the proprietors and see that the workers were taken back. The Commissioner of Labour made further attempts to bring about a settlement between the Union and some of the proprietors but it was not possible to arrive at any amicable settlement. On the 23rd May, the hotel workers employed in most of the Hindu restaurants in the City went on strike. Some of the hotels are run with a skeleton staff.

“(b) Yes, as detailed above.

“(c) It is regretted that no settlement has yet been effected.

“(d) No.

“(e) The President of the Madras Hotels' Association has met the Hon. the Prime Minister and the Hon. Minister for Industries and Labour. The Government have decided to appoint a Board of Conciliation to settle the dispute and orders have been issued accordingly.”

SRI S. NAGAPPA :—“ May I ask when the Hon. Minister expects the dispute to be settled? ”

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI :—“ As soon as it can be settled.”

SRI V. M. RAMASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—“ May I ask whether Government are aware of the fact that there is a large floating population of students and clerks and others who are entirely dependent upon these hotels for their food and who will be put to great hardship if these hotels are closed as they are threatened to be? ”

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI :—“ The Government have noted the facts stated by the hon. Member. The hotels have not been closed.”

SRI V. M. RAMASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—“ If the threatened contingency arose, I only want that the Government should be prepared to give relief to the people affected.”

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI :—“ I can only say that we shall look into the matter.”

MUHAMMAD ABDUL SALAM SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ May I know whether the Hon. Minister will allot a day for discussing this matter? ”

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI :—“ I do not think it is necessary. The Conciliation Board is sitting and we shall wait and see.”

SRI S. NAGAPPA :—“ May I ask whether any time-limit has been fixed for this Conciliation Board to finish its work? ”

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI :—“ The intention of the Government is that the Conciliation Board should settle the question soon.”

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SRI V. M. RAMASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—“ May I ask the Hon. Minister whether the aspect of the question regarding the large floating population has been put to the Hotel Proprietors' Association and they have been told that in no circumstances they should close their hotels? ”

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI :—“ I think so, Sir.”

SRI A. SATYANARAYANA RAJU :—“ వర్కర్లకు ప్రాప్తికరమైనది కుదర్చడానికి ప్రభుత్వం ఏమైనా ప్రయత్నం చేస్తుందా? చేస్తే ఎంత వ్వరం చేయగలదు? ”

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI :—“ That is what we have been doing.”

SRI S. NAGAPPA :—“ In case the hotel proprietors close their hotels, what arrangements will be made to provide food for those that have come here? ”

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI :—“ We shall fast along with others. I have already assured by hon. Friend Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliyar that we are looking into the matter.”

[Note.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates rev's on by the Member.]

GOVERNMENT MOTION.

II.—MOTION *RE* FOOD AND CLOTH SITUATION IN THE PROVINCE—*cont.*

MR. SPEAKER :—“ We will now resume the debate on the food situation.”

* SRI P. VENKATESWARLU :—“ Sir, the food problem is not a problem which has arisen to-day or this year. If we want to solve it satisfactorily, we must go to the root of the matter. For one thing, due to the monopoly in the land system, we have never been able to produce sufficient food in our presidency to meet the needs of the population. There has always been a deficit throughout the 200 years of British rule. The Advisers' regime that was in power during the war did nothing to solve the problem. The Governments in power cared more for the financial interest than for getting enough food for people.

“ We must congratulate the Hon. the Prime Minister on his proposals to tackle this food problem by the formation of Food Committees. If these committees function efficiently, I am sure the food problem will be solved. But there is the danger of these committees being dominated by the Government officials from the District Magistrates downwards who will force their views on these committees. Referring to the elections to the food committees the Hon. the Prime Minister feared that there might be clashes. I think, Sir, there is no necessity for this fear. As a matter of fact, we find that amongst all those who have contested the elections, after the elections were over there is complete harmony in the matter of solving the problem of food. But as I pointed out already the real danger for these committees will come if their chairmen or presiding officers should be Government Officers. The Prime Minister may have faith and confidence in the Government officers. He may say that they are our servants. But it is possible

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to look upon them as such only if they behave like that. But the facts speak to the contrary. The Government officers do not care much for the interests of the people whom they are expected to serve. I suggest, Sir, that these Government officers should not be allowed to preside over these committees, but these committees should be allowed to elect their own chairmen.

"The proposals of the Hon. the Premier are very radical proposals, and if they are carried out, there is the possibility of eliminating the black-marketeers and bringing the wholesale dealers under the control of the people's representatives.

"I am reluctant to point out that the Prime Minister has not put forward any new proposals for growing more food and has merely confined himself to the proposals chalked out by the Adviser's regime. Under the circumstances, I am afraid there is no possibility of saving the people from the coming famine. The Grow More Food plan of the Advisers' regime was mere bungling. The plan is not at all functioning. The Government officials, the Zamindars and the mirasdars have torpedoed the plan. Take for instance the supply of manure to the ryot under the Advisers' raj. Even the Premier has stated that the manure was being supplied at cheap rates to the people. Unfortunately the fact is contrary. The original price of manure is Rs. 5 per bag and with all the expenses it comes to Rs. 6-4-0 per bag and it is being sold in the Government depots at Rs. 8-4-0 per bag, whereas the private dealers are giving it for Rs. 7 per bag. How can you expect the people to go to the Government manure depots? How can you expect the people to associate themselves with the Agricultural Department when it is making a profit out of the manure? Even with regard to the supply of agricultural implements and iron, you find the same sort of bungling.

"With regard to the cultivation of waste lands and fallow lands, it is given out in the statement that about 144,000 acres were brought under cultivation. As a matter of fact, there are about 109 lakhs of acres of lands in Andhra alone that required to be brought under cultivation. The machinery provided for this purpose is not sufficient. . ."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Your time is up."

* SRI M. G. NATESA CHETTIYAR:—"Mr. Speaker, the statement of the Premier on the food situation in our province is as it should be and it is neither wanting in particulars for consideration nor in justification for the proposed change. Perhaps a note from the Controller of Food Supplies or from the Revenue Board Member in charge of the subject would have added to the facilities for discussion. Too much talking won't give us food. The suggestions made from the other side of the House for a change in the Prime Minister's proposals seem to be quite unnecessary.

"It need hardly be said that the present situation is a result of the indifference and negligence of the autocratic Advisers' regime. They were enthusiastic in procuring food for the other people and not for the people of this province. They defaulted

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in their duties to the people of this province while they were enthusiastic on the other side. In order to tackle the food situation, the necessary materials were not wanting and there was no need to have any fresh investigation into the matter. There were several reports on the subject and the main principles have already been laid down. If they had only been followed, this situation would not have arisen at all.

"In 1936 or 1937, if I remember correctly, the Director of Industries, Mr. Green, submitted a report on the possibilities of the development of the industries including the agricultural industry in this province which was not implemented at all. In 1937 or 1938 in answer to a starred question put to the then Hon. Minister for Industries, he replied that the shortage of rice and other staple food crops would be met by developing the said industries. Again, Sir, in 1942 or 1943 the Development Department issued a questionnaire and elicited eminent opinions from various persons interested in the development of the agricultural industry. I am afraid that all these have been shelved once for all and now again, schemes for implementation are called for. Does it not show indifference and negligence? The unsatisfactory situation for which the Advisers' regime is responsible is being handed over to the popular Ministry for tackling. The Advisers' regime must have implemented the policies and programmes laid down by the last Congress Ministry before they resigned. At present the situation is so appalling that anybody who tries to handle it, even the present popular government, will become unpopular. Sir, it must be remembered that it was the people's government that relieved the agriculturists of their debt; it was the people's government that tried to wean the people who were addicted to drink away from that bad habit; it was the people's government who imposed the necessary additional taxation for the development of industries and rehabilitation of agriculture which gives a means of livelihood to 75 per cent of the people of this province. But we have come to this pass due absolutely to the neglect and indifference of the Advisers' regime. In a very short time, we have to find ways and means of producing enough food to keep our people from starving. All the adjoining provinces and States round Madras are also faced with food shortage.

"Speaking about the production of more food, Dr. Rajan in the other House observed that it was quite possible to produce the required food within the period. Mr. Varadachari, my colleague in this House, also pointed out that it was possible to grow sufficient food crop to stave off the situation in time. We need not go with a beggar's bowl to rich England's recommendation to richer America for food. I have a number of practical suggestions to make, but I have no time to put them forward here one by one. The following are my suggestions for production, procurement and distribution to stave off the situation and I am confident that these would stave off the situation as well as the deficit:—

"(1) Increase the price of paddy, ragi and cholam. Let Government purchase directly from the producer and give a bonus

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of Rs. 15 for paddy and Rs. 10 for ragi and cholam per 480 Madras measures on delivery at the Government depot. No intermediary to be engaged in respect of these three commodities. . ."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member's time is up. He can pass on those suggestions to the Hon. Premier for consideration."

* MUHAMMAD ABDUL SALAM SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Sir, frequent references have been made by hon. Members sitting on the other side to what the Advisers' regime has or has not done. At any rate this must be said of the Advisers' regime that they never claimed to be responsible to the people. Therefore there is no use of speaking about them as though they were so many accused in the dock, who were being tried for what they have done during the last seven years. But what do we find this popular government, who are supposed to be responsible to the people, now doing? In the measures they are proposing to solve this problem, they have not taken steps to get the co-operation of all sections of the House. Therefore, Sir, if there should be a breakdown of the arrangements in the future, I have to announce here and now that it is the Government and Government alone that will have to bear the responsibility and not the other sections of the House who have no part in these arrangements. There was the election cry that a popular and stable government alone can solve the food problem. I quite agree. But is the present government a stable government? I have been to the villages, Sir, and I find there is a feeling of real doubt on the point. They feel that any day the Congress High Command might ask this government to vacate."

MR. SPEAKER:—"We have nothing to do with that question."

* MUHAMMAD ABDUL SALAM SAHIB BAHADUR:—"The Hon. the Premier said the other day in the other House that the Congress High Command had agreed to the increase in the salaries of the Ministers. That showed that the present government paid heed to the words of the Congress High Command. If the Hon. the Premier would say that his Government would carry on in its own way in spite of any orders of the High Command, then alone Sir, this Government can be called a stable government. Otherwise a reasonable doubt will always exist in the minds of the people, that any day an order may be passed by the Congress High Command like a bolt from the blue and this government may go out of office."

"The schemes adumbrated in the draft proposals of the Premier are quite familiar ones and they are as old as the leadership of Mr. Prakasam himself. They are more than 20 years old. He has been very very anxious to revive the villages. Perhaps he is trying to put the clock back and not make our country advance industrially on modern lines. When a food crisis and cloth crisis are facing us and when we will be faced with great difficulties in two or three months to come, I do not think that the bullock-cart mentality will be of any help. In the name of God and of the dumb millions let

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the Hon. Minister wait for some time more till we tide over the crisis, and then there will be time for him to try out his fads. The best thing to-day will be not to come forward with proposals for handmade cloth and handpounded rice. If you want to avert the crisis, buy up all the rice mills, all the stock of rice and remove the middleman including the co-operative societies. The other day I was talking to the Registrar of Co-operative Societies and he told me that due to the dearth of technically qualified staff, he would not be able to extend the scheme further."

SRI B. S. MURTI:—"On a point of order, Mr. Speaker. Is the hon. Member in order in referring to a conversation which he has had outside this House?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"It is not a point of order."

* MUHAMMAD ABDUL SALAM SAHIB BAHADUR:— 11-30 a.m.
"Already 40 per cent of business in this province is done by the co-operative societies; I fear they will not be able to take up additional responsibility. More drastic action, without the old theories of the Congress, is necessary. It is very unfortunate that the majority of the members sitting on the Treasury benches are all vegetarians; it is really a tragedy. They have not devoted much attention to the non-vegetarian section of this House."

"It is very good, Sir, that a responsible and a great man, the Leader of the House, tackles the food problem; he should do so exclusively. With all deference I wish to say that our leader is nearly 70 years; it is better that his experience is devoted exclusively to the food problem; problems like finance, etc., are not problems of the day and of the season; they can conveniently be put away for the present or may be attended to by some other Minister. I make this suggestion not with any prejudice but with all respect and owing to the anxiety that this side of the House feels with regard to this food problem."

"In the note supplied to us, nothing has been mentioned about fruit. Fruit also is food and wagons of mangoes and limes are going out of the province. It was mentioned by the Hon. Premier that a lime is sold at 1 or 1½ annas each. Lime is going to Calcutta and other places. Some attention may be given to fruit also."

"What about fisheries? At present there is no separate department as Fisheries department. Attention should be devoted to the development of poultry and other things. It is very high time that some attention should be given to commercial crops like groundnut, etc. Groundnut is grown in large quantities in this province, which is now being exported to other provinces. Only the other day Mr. Rajagopalachari said that for the consumption of wheat, oil was necessary. Oil, groundnut and other commercial crops should be detained in this province."

"As regards co-operative societies—either wholesale or retail—it is a matter well known that they are in the hands of one community. At present it is very difficult for the minority communities to make their voices felt in these societies. I know that the

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village, taluk and district committees are going to be in the hands of Congressmen. The real workers in the villages are Muslim Leaguers and Communists. Congressmen are not workers now. This is a good chance to eliminate the Communists and others from these committees. You will see what will happen in the next two months.

"It is very strange that the European and the Independent groups have not supported the Muslim League amendment."

* SRI A. KALESWARA RAO:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to offer my hearty congratulations to the Hon. Premier and his colleagues on their patriotic and bold policy of tackling the problem of food crisis that faces them at the very beginning of their assumption of office. When we went to the country at the time of the elections we met the masses, they talked about this matter; they were complaining to us that there was not sufficient food, that their rations had been reduced and that they had to forego even the comforts that were absolutely necessary; and that the corruption that prevailed from top to bottom in the official circles was making their lives intolerable. We promised them that when the Congress Government took up office, it would do its best, whatever was possible. The Congress party has pledged itself that it will provide food, cloth, shelter, medical aid and education to every citizen of this province. The Congress Government has taken up the food question first; it has spared no time; the Hon. Premier from the very start has not devoted his time to any other subject than this food problem; the other Ministers also have gone to the districts and found out the actual conditions; they have now come forward with a new scheme.

"As we read the report that has been placed before us, we see three outstanding facts. The first thing is; Madras is permanently a deficit province; it is deficit by 8 lakhs of tons of food grains year after year. Who is responsible for this state of affairs? It is the British Government. It has trampled down all the industries of the country; village industries have gone out of existence; village communities have lost their rights; village panchayats have been obliterated; even agriculture has been neglected, even though this country is known to be a great agricultural country. Before the advent of the East India Company, under the Hindu and Muslim rule and even under the Nizam's rule under whom the Northern Circars were, we were prosperous. Villages were self-sufficient both in agriculture and industries. It is the East India Company that has brought to this chronic state of famine. Madras has become a deficit province in producing food grains. The British Government has been reckless. It only wanted to gather taxes and keep people down under law and order and exploit the country. That Government has done nothing else. Therefore the first remedy, and the only remedy to avert such a crisis permanently for all time to come is to drive away the foreign Government. We are trying to drive it away. The 'quit India' slogan has been accepted by the British Ministers; they are working out plans for quitting this country peacefully and honourably.

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"The second fact is that the last war accelerated the present crisis. For whom was the war fought? It was for the British Imperialism. We had nothing to do with the war. The war has made our position worse. As the war was waged in Europe and Asia, some countries to the east of ours have been destroyed; they are not able to grow foodgrains even for themselves. It is not possible for them to supply us food any longer.

"The third fact that we find in the statement is that the remedial measures said to have been adopted by the Advisers' regime have all failed. It is a dismal fact to see that in spite of 60 lakhs of acres being brought under cultivation under the so-called Grow More Food Campaign, no increase in foodgrains has been effected. You will see that 60 lakhs of acres have been brought under cultivation. With what result? No increase in foodgrains. Of course some principles laid down by the previous Government to make the province self-sufficient have not been attended to. Thus the British Government and the Advisers' regime have dismally failed. They are said to have taken some remedial measures by introducing grain purchasing officers by, exporting from deficit provinces under the quota system and by licensing wholesale and retail dealers. What is the result? Corruption has spread from top to bottom. Everybody in the street knows that officialdom is full of corruption. That is my belief; that is the belief of every educated man. In this critical condition the Congress has taken charge of the Government. As soon as it assumed charge, it had to solve the food problem. Really you must be grateful and glad that the Ministers have gone into this question very carefully. What is the use of having the old system?

"Three classes have become very rich at the expense of the poor, Government contractor, merchants and the officials. It is a notorious fact that these three classes have become very rich. The Advisers' regime was very bad; we were in prisons; Mr. Satya-murthi died because of his jail life. Outside people were suffering. People were thinking that the present popular Government would do everything for them. The Hon. Premier has taken a very bold step. I know there has been culpable negligence on the part of officialdom. The agricultural labourer would earn as his wages 4 lbs. of rice or cholam every day. The labourer requires 2 lbs. per day for eating. The 2 lbs. of rice were reduced to 1 lb. and that 1 lb. has been reduced to 12 oz.; the labourer was promised that 4 oz. will be given in addition to him in the shape of other foodgrains, wheat, cholam, etc. After being elected to this House I made enquiries in the ration office at Bezwada. Thousands of hard-working labourers and mill-hands are in Bezwada. I represent them. I was told that on 17th February 1946 the new ration system was introduced; that is the reduction from 1 lb. to 12 oz.; the other 4 oz. was to be given from that day in the shape of wheat, etc. From 17th February 1946 till 15th May 1946 when I went and enquired, no arrangement had been made for the other 4 oz. Can there be a more glaring and culpable negligence on the part of officials? People have a right to take 4 oz. But there was no stock provided. Just one week before my going there, i.e., 15th

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May 1946, they were getting small stocks of cholam. Matters have been managed in this way. There is no use of trusting any longer the bureaucracy who were going in the old fashion. Therefore the Prime Minister and the other Ministers want to entrust the whole matter to people's committees."

11-45 a.m. * RAJA SRI SHANMUGA RAJESWARA SETHUPATHI of RAMNAD:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is indeed a generous gesture on the part of the Hon. the Premier to have invited intelligent criticisms on the floor of this House. It shows how he has felt for the problem; he feels that the food problem is definitely above party consideration, and it is also indicative of the fact that he is quite willing to implement all constructive suggestions that may be made in this House after considering them before the final shaping of the policy for dealing with this problem.

"Sir, learned and hon. Members of this House have been speaking from yesterday and several have talked about the conditions that have led us to this calamitous state. By talking about those conditions, I thought, Sir, we would be wasting our time; and unless those maladies that existed then continue to exist to-day and we are going to find out methods for eradicating them, it won't be worth our while to talk about them now. The Advisers' Government or whatever the Government was that landed us into this mire, is not here now; and those who caused us all this trouble, are not at present with us. It is, therefore, up to us at the present moment to act.

"Several hon. Members laid down certain programmes for the future, such as the improvement of the nutritive standard of the food in this Province, placing this Province on a self-sufficient basis in respect of food in the future, and so on. We are sure the Hon. the Premier will devote his attention to all those suggestions ere long and that shortly he will be making proposals. But what we are at present faced with is a food crisis; and I may be allowed to say we are already in the midst of it. It is only because we are already in it that the Hon. the Premier has placed certain proposals before us. He has referred in his statement to the existing state of things, the procurement system and also suggested the constitution of some committees to take over these functions. I would like to ask, whether it will be advisable to embark on an experimental scheme like that. I do not dispute that the scheme will succeed, but it may amount to a gamble if it is not going to succeed. The Hon. the Premier has himself given certain reasons for doing away with the existing system. He has also mentioned that in the course of procurement under the present scheme, from a village, stocks are being resold in the same village at an increased price of Rs. 2 per maund, thereby the middlemen getting the benefit and the poor men, the tillers of the soil being made to suffer. Sir, when a country is under rationing, it must be the paramount duty of the Government to secure all the stocks available in the country; and in the course of such procurement there may be some undesirable methods adopted by officialdom; but I do not think they exist to the extent

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pointed out by the Hon. the Premier. And after all, the middlemen's profit could not be helped in certain cases, because the immediate problem is to get food somehow. We are all aware that several people are prepared to pay even black-market prices because they have to live; it does not, of course, mean that the poor people should be made to pay, but this could not be helped in some cases. Now that a popular ministry, a National Government, is here, they could certainly effectively control all these practices under the existing arrangement; for instance, they may do away with the middlemen altogether and entrust the whole thing to co-operative stores or societies in the respective villages. One of the chief reasons mentioned was that the officials were unduly harsh and they had taken away more than they should take from a ryot. I am sure, Sir, such a thing cannot happen now; it might have happened in the past. After the very lucid and frank statement made by the Hon. the Premier yesterday, I think most of the officials would be afraid; and I am sure after his statement that the officials should realize that they are the servants of the ryots whose sweat and toil it is that keep us going on, no officer would be insensible to his duties and indeed this home-thrust would be an eye-opener to many of the officials. I suggest, Sir, these village committees may be inaugurated; but I humbly submit that they may be of an advisory character to begin with. After gaining some experience of the executive functions, they will be very useful at the time of implementing the long-range policy of this Government. The Hon. the Premier stated that all steps would be taken for intensive procurement of stocks. I am doubtful, Sir, whether with these village committees, that purpose could be achieved to the fullest extent and whether we will be able to realize the full 336,000 tons. I would, therefore, humbly suggest that the existing system might continue under better control, that these village committees might be advisory in character and that wherever there were differences of opinion between the officials and the advisory committees such as in the matter of assessing stock with a ryot, say by a 15 or 20 per cent margin, an appeal might lie to the Collector of the district.

"One other point I would like to refer to. We are now in the midst of a crisis and we want to increase the production of food. May I suggest that people may be encouraged to grow the short kuruvai crop? I understand that if you start now, this crop can be reaped by the month of October. What is required is that the Government should give some sort of encouragement. I find the Government are contemplating to give a bonus of Rs. 15 per acre; but I would beg to suggest that a better incentive would be to give a better price for the produce. I should not be considered to be transgressing into the question of raising the price which of course must be settled later on; but this kuruvai crop does require a higher price as against the long-term crop, so that it may be an incentive to the ryots, and the price of rice need not be increased so far as the consumer is concerned. Even if this is considered a hardship, I understand the Advisers'

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Government have set apart a sum of Rs. 9 crores for procurement of millets, etc., from outside the Province, and I suggest that expenditure on this proposal may be met from out of that amount of Rs. 9 crores in order to alleviate the present crisis.

“Lastly, Sir, I was told that free manure has been supplied all over the Province here and there in small scattered places. I would commend for the consideration of the Hon. the Leader of the House the desirability of granting manure to large areas where there is protected irrigation, places like Tanjore, portions of Madura and Tinnevely; because, by concentrating upon such big areas, really solid results can be achieved.”

* **SRI N. ANNAMALAI PILLAI** :—“ஸ்பாநாயகரவர்களே, அங்கத்தினர்களே, இந்த நெருக்கடியான காலத்தில் நாம் இங்கே கூடியிருக்கிறோம். பஞ்சம் நாட்டில் வந்து கொண்டிருக்கிறது. வரப்போகிற தென்று சொல்லிக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். பஞ்சம் வந்துவிட்டது. ஜனங்கள் உணவின்றி பரிதவித்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த நிலைமையில் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் மந்திரி சபையை ஏற்றுக்கொண்டதானது ரொம்ப கஷ்டமான காரியம். ஒரு கஷ்டமான சமயத்தில் நாம் சிக்கிக்கொண்டிருக்கின்றோம். இந்த நிலைமையில் அங்கத்தினர்கள் எல்லோரும் அதற்குப் பூரண ஒத்துழைப்பைக்கொடுத்து இந்நாட்டின் மக்களை, இந்த மாகாணத்தின் மக்களை பாதுகாக்கக் கடமைப்பட்டிருக்கின்றோம். நாம் பிரதிநிதிகளாக வந்த பிறகு பொறுப்பையுணர்ந்து சரியான வழியைக் கண்டுபிடிக்கவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன். பிரதம மந்திரியவர்கள் கொண்டுவந்திருக்கின்ற கமிட்டியுறையானது நல்ல பொறுப்பானவர்களைக்கொண்டு நடத்தப்படுமேயானால், மேன்மையானதாகவே யிருக்கும். ஜில்லாக் கமிட்டிகள், தாலுக்காக் கமிட்டிகள், கிராமக் கமிட்டிகள் வைத்து நல்ல பொறுப்பானவர்களைக் கொண்டு நடத்துவோமானால் நன்றாகப் பயன்படுமென்பது என்னுடைய அபிப்பிராயம். ஆனால் அதிகாரிகள் அதிகமான பொறுப்பை எடுத்துக்கொண்டு நடத்தும் விதத்தில் வைத்து நடத்துவோமானால், கமிட்டி அம்மாதிரி அமையுமானால், அது பிரயோசனப்பாது. ஏற்கனவே இருந்த அதிகாரிகள் 7 வருஷம் 8 வருஷம் நிர்வாகத்தில் இருந்து வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். முடிந்த யுத்தம் காரணமாயும் அதிகாரிகளை மாற்றமுடியாமல் அட்வைசர் அரசாங்கத்தார் காலம் கடத்தி வந்தார்கள். இப்படி நீண்ட நாளாய் ஒரே இடத்தில் வேலையில் இருக்கின்ற அதிகாரிகளை உடனே மாற்றிவிட வேண்டும். அப்பொழுதுதான் நிலைமை சீர்படுமென்பதாக நான் தெரிவிக்கின்றேன். என்னவென்று கேட்டால் இப்பொழுதிருக்கிற நிலைமையில் அதிகாரிகள் அனுபவசாலிகளாய்விட்டார்கள். அட்வைசர் அரசாங்கத்திலிருந்து சுகபோகமானது இந்த காங்கிரஸ் மந்திரி சபையில் இருந்து வரமாட்டாது. ஆனதினால் காங்கிரஸினுடைய உத்தரவுகளுக்கும் காங்கிரஸின் திட்டங்களுக்கும் பொருத்தமானவர்களாக இருப்பவர்களை வைத்தால் மாறுதலாகிவிடும். இப்பொழுதிருக்கின்ற அதிகார வர்க்கத்தில் அடியிலிருந்து நுனிவரையில் எங்கு பார்த்தாலும் லஞ்சப் பேய் தலைவிரித்தாடுகிறது. இந்த லஞ்சப் பேயைத் தொலைப்பதற்கு முன்னே நீண்ட நாள் அதிகாரத்திலிருந்த அதிகாரிகளை வேறிடத்திற்கு மாற்றுவது அல்லது நீக்குவதுதான் முதல் வேலையாகச் செய்யவேண்டியிருக்கிறது. இரண்டாவதாக நமது மாகாணத்தில் கொடுத்து வரப்படும் அரிசியையும் சோளத்தையும் நான் உங்கள் முன்பே காண்பிப்பதற்காக இங்கே கொண்டு வந்திருக்கின்றேன். புழுத்துப்போன அரிசி, நாற்றமெடுத்த அரிசி, புழுத்துப்போன சோளம், நாற்றச் சோளம் இவைகளைக் கொடுக்கிறார்கள். அது கையிலே நிமிட்டினால் மாவாகப் பொடியாகப் போய்க்கொண்டிருக்கிறது. பிரதம மந்திரிக்கும் அக்கிராசனருக்கும், சபையோருக்கும் காட்டவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். மற்றும் இந்த அரிசியைச் சாப்பிடும்படியாக ஸர்க்கார் கட்டாயப்படுத்துவதுதான் ரொம்ப விந்தையாக இருக்கிறது. ரேஷன் அதிகாரிகள் இந்த அரிசி

30th May 1946]

[Sri N. Annamalai Pillai]

வயத்தான் எங்களைச் சாப்பிடச் சொல்லுகிறார்கள். இதோ பாருங்கள் புழுவை. இந்த அரிசியைக் கையிலே வைத்துக் கொஞ்சம் நிமிட்டிக் காட்டுகிறேன் உங்களுக்கு. அது தவிடாகப் போய்க்கொண்டிருக்கிறது பாருங்கள். அதை ரூபாய்க்கு 2½ படி வீதம் பணம் கொடுத்து வாங்கிச் சாப்பிடவேண்டுமென்று கட்டாயப்படுத்துகிறார்கள். நெல்லாகக் கொடுத்தால் நலமாகியிருக்கும். குடியானவர்களிடம் ஹோல்ஸேலர்கள் நெல்லை 6½ படிக்கு வாங்குகிறார்கள். அதை அரிசியாகச் செய்தால் 3½ படிக்குக் குறையாது. 3½ படி அரிசி வாங்குவதை விட்டுவிட்டு 2½ படி அரிசி வாங்குவது நியாயமா? 3½ படி அரிசி சாப்பிடுவதுபோல் அதிலிருந்து விழும தலித்குப் போடவும் உடையை எரிக்கவும் வகையில்லாமல்பொதுமல்லாமல் இந்த 2½ படி அரிசியை வாங்கிச் சாப்பிட ஸர்க்கார் கண்ட்ரோல் ஸ்டீட்ம் கழுத்தை அறுத்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறது. ஹோல்ஸேல் வியாபாரிகள் ஒரு மூட்டைக்கு 6 ரூபாய் லாபம் சம்பாதிக்கிறார்கள். நான் வியாபாரம் செய்யும் காலத்தில் ஒரு மூட்டைக்கு கால் ரூபாய் லாபத்திற்கு விற்பனைக்கொண்டிருந்தேன். இந்த ஹோல்ஸேல் வியாபாரமுறை ஸர்க்கார் கண்ட்ரோல் ஸ்டீட்ம்தின் கீழ்தான் வந்தது. ஹோல்ஸேல் வியாபாரிகளுக்கு மூட்டை ஒன்றுக்கு 6 ரூபாய், 7 ரூபாய் லாபம் கிடைக்கும்படியான சந்தர்ப்பத்தை அட்வைசர் அரசாங்கமே அழைத்துக் கொடுத்துவந்திருக்கிறது. அது எப்படி இருப்பினும் நமக்கு வேண்டியது நெல். எங்கோ நடந்த யுத்தத்திற்குக் கொண்டுபோன சமுத்திரக் கரையிலே உப்பங்காற்றடித்து மக்கிப்போன இந்த அரிசியை நாம் ஏன் சாப்பிடவேண்டும்? யுத்தத்தில் ஈடுபட்டவர்களே சாப்பிடவேண்டும் அதை. அதை விட்டுவிட்டு யுத்தம் போனபிறகு அதை ஜனங்கிடத்தில் கொண்டுவந்து கொடுத்து சாப்பிடவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். யுத்தத்திற்காக ஸர்க்கார் சேகரம் செய்தார்கள். வாங்கும்போதே அந்தப் பணம் இனிமேல்பட வராதென்று நினைத்துத்தான் வாங்குகிறார்கள். அது சரியான காலத்தில் செலவிடப்படாமல் நின்றுபோன அரிசி. அதை ஜனங்களை சாப்பிடும்படி சொல்லுவது சர்க்காருக்கு முறையல்ல. அதை அப்படியே எடுத்து சமுத்திரத்தில் கொட்டிவிடவேண்டும், அல்லது குதிரை, மாடு, ஆடுகளுக்கு வைத்துக் கொள்ளவேண்டும். அதை மன்தன் சாப்பிடும்படி நிர்ப்பந்தப்படுத்துவது மகா பாஷவாகுமென்பதாகத் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

* **Mr. JOHN MOSES WILSON** :—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, let me 12 noon.
congratulate at the very outset the Hon. the Premier on having placed before us the very bold proposals, proposals for the formation of peoples committees and thus associating the people with the food administration. For one thing, these proposals are intended to remove black-marketing, hoarding and the corruption of officials and replace the wholesaler and the middleman, by the people themselves and for another thing, they constitute a landmark in the onward march of democracy by enabling the people to take an active part in the daily administration of the food problem which is at present the most important problem in this province.

“Sir, some of the hon. Members who preceded me stated that these peoples committees were unworkable and that they would not solve the problem and to them I would reply that the true test of democracy in a particular country is the amount of peoples' participation in the actual administration of the country; and, democracy is after all an experiment and it lives by error and trial, and I would say to those that argued that these committees could not solve the problem of food at all, that the people themselves know better how to tackle the problem than the middleman,

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the wholesaler who has been trading in food with profit motive. That should reach the people at fair and legitimate prices.

“ While congratulating the Hon. the Premier, I might also suggest to him that in order to allay the fears expressed by the hon. Members of this House and also to enable effective procurement and distribution, the Hon. the Premier would place specific proposals to the effect that these committees may be so constituted that all sections of political opinion and also all classes of the people may be included on these peoples' committees and that they are not left to be dominated by a particular class or by any particular political section.

“ There is another aspect of the problem which I would like to bring to the attention of the Hon. the Premier and that is the production aspect. While the indifference, inefficiency and corruption on the part of the official are sought to be rectified and eliminated in the matter of procurement and distribution, the same things have been allowed to remain in the matter of production. For example, the scheme of the Government food campaign which has been talked of so much, is not known to most people at all. No doubt, it is printed in the official gazette and published in the daily papers but it does not reach the ordinary low illiterate peasant; neither do the officials concerned tell these things to the people at all. Of course Acts and Ordinances are passed which enable the people to produce more. But, they are only on paper; and they are not put into operation and where they are put into operation, they do not give the necessary facilities to that section of the ryots who are the actual growers of food and the tillers of the soil but only to an exploiting section. Take, for instance, the promise of the Government to pay a bonus of Rs. 15 per acre. How many poor peasants have till now received this bonus and how many people, as a matter of fact, know that there is such a promise of the Government? To take another instance, the instance of a subsidy of Rs. 310 for the sinking of new wells and Rs. 160 for the repair of old wells. The sinking of wells, in fact, costs much more than this subsidy and in some places it costs Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 1,500. In the first place, the poor peasant can never hope to avail himself of this opportunity because he is poor and cannot afford to put in the extra amount required for digging a well and he can never hope to raise this money that is required for the purpose. Secondly, in the case of those people who are lucky in getting this subsidy from the Government, there is a long process to be gone through before actually getting it. They have to go to the karnam, then to the Revenue Inspector, to the special clerk and then to the Tahsildar several times and by that time half the amount that he hopes to get shall have been spent. I may therefore bring to the notice of the Hon. the Premier that similar committees on the lines which have been placed before us may be constituted in order that the scheme of production also may be left to the people themselves. This committee may consist of the concerned agricultural officials and may also include an agricultural expert who may be able to put forward very successful

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proposals—not such proposals as have been recently put forth by the Government in regard to the growing of tobacco and rice together practically on the same land. I therefore request the Hon. the Premier to constitute such peoples' committees for production also and bring forward this legislation to its full length.

“ Lastly, Sir, I cannot but refer to the scepticism of the Hon. the Premier in regard to imports. He seems to have put too much reliance on the imports from outside. While we may require imports from outside I would like to point out to him that there are tremendous potentialities and resources in this province to grow more food, if only we give the poor labourer proper facilities to do so. There are of course Acts and laws to enable the peasant to produce more, but in fact they are never put into operation at all and added to that there is the indifference and callousness of the official towards the poor peasant. In some cases the zamindar resists the peasant from cultivating the waste lands and fallow lands. For example, Mr. Nambiyar has given an instance of that and such instances can be multiplied. Therefore, may I bring to the notice of the Hon. the Premier to at once see to it that all these fallow and waste lands and cultivable lands—in the Andhra Province, it comes to about one crore and ten thousand acres—are brought under cultivation. No doubt, there are thousands of labourers and peasants who are most willing to take up cultivation of such lands and this will go a long way to relieve this problem of famine in the country.

“ Now, Sir, I would be failing in my duty if I do not bring to the attention of the House a very fundamental fact. This famine is not a temporary one; it is not a temporary phase; it is on the other hand, a permanent problem. It has been a chronic affair. Ever since this country came under the yoke of British Imperialism, production has been falling, the condition of the agriculturist has been made miserable and the yield per acre has gone very low. I would therefore suggest that in order to solve this problem, the Hon. the Premier should have a long range view of the social and economic structure of the country on which agriculture is based and see that if necessary they are all altered or changed radically.

“ Take for instance the existing system. The condition of the ryot under the zamindari system is bad and the plight of the ryot under the ryotwari system is worse since he is subjected to most penal exactions. For example in the Ramnad and Madura districts, a tenant has to pay the most penal exactions to the landlord. Besides this, he is not certain that he will get the same land next year after having wasted all his labour during the year. He will not even be prepared to use his skill because he does not get the same land the next year. If on the other hand, he is sure of getting the land for next year also, it will be an incentive for him to work more on the land. I therefore pray that the Hon. the Premier would take steps to see that very radical changes are made in the agricultural system of the province. Of course, till recently we have been having an Imperial Government; now we have a

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peoples' Government, a Government to which people look forward for a better standard of living and better conditions of life. So, Sir, the members of this Council, all of us sitting here, shall have betrayed the interests of the people, and the confidence reposed in us by the people, if we do not see to it that their standard of life is raised consistent with the dignity of human personality."

12-15 p.m. * SRI K. CHANDRAMOULI:—"Mr. Speaker, I am very thankful to the Hon. the Premier for giving such a statement of the position regarding food problem as the one in the hands of hon. Members of the House. My time is very short and I shall only deal with one or two important points regarding the production and distribution of food. It is true that there was the 'Grow More Food' campaign and there has been great bungling in the whole method adopted for that purpose and the result was failure which is laid at the door of the poor peasants. It is very unfortunate that that should be so. This Province is well served; we have got large and perennial rivers and the soil is very fertile and yet attempts made in the past have failed miserably and officialdom has not hesitated to take shelter behind failure of monsoons or floods as the case may suit them. The ryots have not been given any scope for initiation; they have not been given encouragement or assistance. The ryots are men who have been carrying on agricultural operations from generation to generation and they must be properly understood by the departmental people and must be properly advised. They must be made to feel their responsibility for feeding the people of the country and the position they hold in the economy of the country. If such a thing were not done, all the suggestions given to them will become futile and useless.

"Water is needed for increasing the productivity of the land. You may say that it will take several years to make water available for this purpose through some irrigation scheme. Though steps should be taken to bring water through this means, the immediate sources of water-supply like tanks should not be lost sight of. If there are heavy rains, much of the water is allowed to go waste for want of proper repairs to tanks or for want of proper depth. Many tanks have been allowed to get silted up and new lands are given for irrigation without affording any facilities for water or for drainage. While I am dealing with the question of water facilities, I wish to say that either due to red tape or callousness on the part of the officials to the needs of the ryots, water is not made available just at the moment required, namely, during the transplantation time and at the time of the harvest and this at a time when there is enough water in the canals. I place the whole blame on the system of mamuls and I believe that this will be put a stop to with a stern hand.

"In connexion with the 'Grow More Food' campaign, lands have been given for cultivation to ryots as a temporary measure, say for two or three years. I do not know how you can make the ryot exert his utmost on land or put the utmost that he can invest on it, seeing that after the stipulated period of years the land is

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likely to pass away from him. There is thus no encouragement to him to improve the holding. The better course will be to give the lands permanently to the ryots so that they may feel that the land is theirs and so that whatever improvements they make will be to their advantage. This will be the best way of making the land yield its full. This policy of giving lands on lease for whatever period it may be is unsound and should be departed from if the food problem is to be solved satisfactorily.

"The officials have bungled regarding the question of manure at every stage. I will only give one instance regarding this. The existing rate for one bag of groundnut cake is Rs. 6-1-0 at Tenali factory. One half of it is given to the Agricultural Department and another half is kept in the hands of the merchants. On account of the charges of removal from the factory, the Government charges something more and it becomes Rs. 6-11-0 per bag but the merchant or the factory owner can sell it at Rs. 6-8-0 or Rs. 6-9-0 and make much profit. Even in the matter of distribution, what little profit is being given to the ryots does not reach them. No doubt, the loss that is incurred by the Department is treated as so much of bonus or something in the nature of benefit to the ryots; but really the benefit does not reach the poor ryots.

"So far as distribution goes, there is so much of corruption and it has permeated to the core of the administration. There is not much good in continuing such a system and if persisted in, it will become a failure and there would be no benefit either to the producer or to the consumer. It has to be remembered that the producer takes so much trouble in the matter of production and his efforts should not go waste. There must be a democratic system which every hon. Member of the House wishes to have under which the very desirable principle of associating the people with the administration of the question has to be observed. And the system of co-ordination between the Department and the Committee should not also be lost sight of. Under the scheme it is hoped people will have the confidence that they are themselves solving their own problem. To this I assure the Hon. the Premier will take courage in both hands and give drive and initiative and thus make the scheme a complete success."

M. MUHAMMAD SCHAMNAD SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, I believe that one of the methods of dealing with the present food position is the improvement of the machinery for procurement in the villages. At present, this is in the hands of the village karnam and his estimate is either an overestimate or an underestimate. It is not infrequent that he takes sides and underestimates because of bakshish. Whatever, he says, ought to be the quantity to be surrendered by a particular ryot is endorsed by the Revenue Inspector and confirmed by the Tansildar. It is necessary that there ought to be a check on the karnam's work and any injustice that he might do must be stopped. People in the villages stand in need of food; they are prepared to pay very high price for it. Even labourers in the village parts have jacney. Against the eight or twelve annas they were getting previously,

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They are now getting more and their day's wages can last them for two or three days, whereas previously, they were living from day to day. Even they want to have some rest for some days. When the position of the labourers is like this, what is the position of Government servants? They have to pay for articles of food at thrice and four times their normal price and what do they get? They are only given seventeen and a half per cent of their pay extra and this is not sufficient. It is very difficult for them to get on with their work. They are, therefore, compelled to stoop to corruption or to pledge their wives' jewels. I wish to draw the attention of the Hon. the Premier to the condition of the Government servants.

"Coming to the question of distribution, I feel that the only medium through which this can be properly carried out is the co-operative society. The co-operative society is not run for profit but for the good of the people. The shareholders of the co-operative society do not get any portion of the profit except their dividend on the amount that they invested by way of share capital. The work is conducted under the supervision of directors, who are elected from time to time. Being an elected office, they can be ousted or they may be substituted for at an election meeting."

12-3) Mr. SPEAKER:—"The question has been sufficiently discussed. Hereafter I am going to fix a time-limit of 5 minutes for each speaker."
p.m.

SRI V. C. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am glad that I have been given an opportunity to make certain representations in the capacity of a grower. India is famous for its hospitality. It has been said that it was a land flowing with milk and honey. But now the fate of such an India is very deplorable. A time there was when India was said to be self-contained. The rule of India by foreigners for the last two hundred years and the present civilization have brought this country to this deplorable condition. And so the most important duty of ours is to plan for the present as well as for the future. We are on the threshold of a threatening famine. The ryot has to come to the rescue of the consumer; but the condition of that ryot is not very encouraging. For there is no use of hiding the fact that the producer is entitled to better treatment and better price. It is sad to say that a European member sitting on the opposite side made the dangerous statement yesterday that you should not give the producer a higher price for his crop. It is up to the grower to secure what is his due. So, it is time we assess his condition correctly. The European member remarked that if we give the producer more price, we will be increasing the cost of living and it will not be possible for the consumer to balance the family budget. That remark applies equally to the producer as well. Unless he gets an adequate price for his produce, how can he balance his family budget? The producer has to sell his produce to buy all his needs under control rates, and therefore he is at a disadvantage as compared with the consumer. So I appeal to the

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Premier to take courage in both hands and come to the rescue of the producer."

MR. SPEAKER:—"One minute more."

SRI V. C. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER:—"I am sorry, Sir, my attention has been drawn to the time-limit."

MR. SPEAKER:—"It is not for you alone. It applies to all future speakers."

SRI V. C. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER:—"Thank you, Sir. One more word, Sir, as to the way in which we can tide over the food crisis. You can produce more food in the Province by one stroke of your pen. You issue an order to distribute manure at a double dose for every acre of land, dry as well as wet, in all parts of the Presidency, whether Andhra or Tamilnad. In the distribution of manure, I was told there was some partiality shown. I am sorry to hear that remark. Let groundnut-cake and sulphate of ammonia be given to all double-crop lands, and you will get double the crop that you were getting till now. With these remarks I resume my seat."

KHAN SAHIB H. S. HUSSAIN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have only 5 minutes, within which I have to finish my speech."

MR. SPEAKER:—"So you begin it at once." (Laughter.)

* KHAN SAHIB H. S. HUSSAIN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"But the microphone is not working. Sir, my hon. Friend, Mr. Kaleswara Rao said that the Premier has taken a very bold step to meet the impending food crisis. No doubt it is a very bold step. It requires a good deal of daring to wreck a structure. But at the same time, you should remember that it requires a good deal of patience, imagination and resource to preserve and improve a structure that has been built up for saving the lives of millions in our Province. No case has been built up for changing the existing system, that has been in vogue for the last three and a half years. It has not been proved that the present system has broken down. Simply because a few memorials and petitions and a hue and cry have reached the Premier, the present draft proposals have been placed before this House. According to my Hon'ble Friend, Mr. Ramakrishna Karanth, Minister for Revenue, you should not change horses in mid-stream. Therefore I would urge that we should not experiment while we are in the midst of a crisis. The proposals are that there should be committees for the villages; also to improve food situation for the people. But this is not the time for such schemes. The Advisers' Government might or might not have been able to do things as satisfactorily as people wanted, or as the Congress party wanted, or as the Muslim League wanted. But that is no reason why a popular Government should not be able to exercise proper check over the subordinate officials to see that the existing system of procurement and distribution is continued and improved to meet the emergency. That is the main

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question for this House to consider. It is a question of speed to tide over the crisis. Speed is the essence of action now. If you are not able to put more speed, I am sure, the whole structure will have to crumble down, whatever the character of that structure may be. Do you realize, how long it will take to form village committees? In my own district there are 800 villages and there are thousands of villages all over the province. How long will it take for these committees to come into existence and function? It is the surgeon's knife that should be used to save the life of the dying patient by operation and not by a change in the treatment. The present Government may not accept my advice. But they should not experiment with the lives of millions of people in this province. Try to get as large supplies as possible. If any rice is taken away from civilian population, stop it. At the same time, get as much rice from outside, if necessary, even from any part of the world. On the question of procurement of produce, improve the existing machinery, and if you are competent enough, exercise greater control. The next question is one of transport. There must be quick movement of food-stuffs from one part of the province to the other. You have the Royal Indian Army Supply Corps. They have thirteen companies, and each company has got a fleet of 150 lorries. These lorries can be utilized to transport food very quickly. These lorries are lying idle now. I don't see why Government should not take advantage of these. Then, the most important thing is to have a Food Board for the province. Instead of having a large number of committees all over the province, have a Food Board at the centre, which will give an opportunity to all parties to co-operate and be easily accessible to all from every nook and corner of the province. The Kumara-rajah of Chettinad remarked yesterday that the object of the proposed Food Board was to get power—who does not want power? Everybody wants power, we want to associate ourselves with the Government, and for that, we want a Food Board which should be representative of all parties. We want power to exercise it for the good of the people. We all know in England, in times of crisis a national Government is formed and my hon-Friend, Mr. Ferrelly knows it. Even so, in India, to-day when we are faced with food crisis, why not we have an all-party organization to meet the crisis? With these remarks, Sir, I thank you and I resume my seat."

* SRI V. M. RAMASWAMI MUDALIYAR:—"Sir, in rising to speak on this occasion, I have to say that nothing is more important to-day than the food problem. I am glad to note that the first step the Premier has taken in tackling it has been to take us all into his confidence, to extend his hand of co-operation to all parties, and I trust to the country as a whole. My friend, Mr. Ferrelly (European by birth and Malayalee by adoption) said yesterday, to build up the State from the village is to introduce the thin end of the Soviet Union system. I request my Friend not to forget that this system bore the full

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brunt and the most savage part of the World War II. In a situation like the present food situation and in a change over from war time to peace, such a proposal as the present one, will ensure the country from starvation. I would like to point out that the previous system of Government by Advisers has resulted in divorcing itself from public opinion and surrounding themselves by toadies and brack-marketeers. Sir, the previous Government has been responsible to break up our village economics. It was responsible for making the villagers sell their cattle, their gold and their land, so much so a lot of land has to-day passed into the hands of the non-cultivating capitalists. That will be the problem which the Government will have to tackle in its long-term policy. In this emergency, it must concentrate upon getting more food either by growing or by importing them. Here I will confine myself to the growth of food. I would suggest, Sir, that mere digging of wells is not enough. Wells must be accompanied by pump and electric power. Manure and things of that sort must be provided. I only make this last appeal within the rationed time that has been allotted to me by the Speaker."

12-45
p.m.

* Mr. W. J. FERNANDEZ:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, confronted by the threat of starvation staring the peoples of this Province in their faces, and charged with the grave responsibility of piloting the Province through the food crisis, the Hon. the Prime Minister has, presumably after due consideration and consultation with his colleagues, propounded certain proposals which in his opinion would enable him to tackle the problem. He knows his responsibilities and he will do just what he thinks best to meet the situation with which he is confronted. I say therefore that we should give full support to his proposals.

"Much has been said about procurement. As a short term plan, however, I would suggest that efforts be directed towards conserving as much as possible of the stocks on hand. In this connexion, more rigid rationing and prevention of waste should be pursued. My thoughts go out to the Military Department, whose active co-operation could usefully be enlisted to help the civilians by conserving the large supplies they receive for their troops. One has been accustomed to seeing eating houses and restaurants in the City full of troops having meals there by day and by night. The question that arises to one's mind is: what is happening to the rations that are being drawn as a matter of routine for these soldiers in their messes? Apparently, they find their way into the blackmarket! The Military authorities might help by exercising a more rigid control over the drawing of rations and by sending us the surplus to Government or by short-drawing supplies for their requirements.

"Another important point is: Do all people draw their rations every week in the month? By the third week our purses are practically empty and we are not able to pay for the rice

[Mr. W. J. Fernandez] [30th May 1946]

which we have to buy in the fourth week. I believe many people forego at least a week's ration in a month. What is happening to these undrawn rations? These are apparently being accounted for by the ration shop dealers by entries in the register. No test check is being made to ascertain whether the rice supposed to have been given has, in fact, been given to the ration card-holders by a comparison of the cards with the register. If rigid steps are taken and a test check made with the registers, much useful surplus could be got at. These suggestions may seem trivial but they could in their own way help to meet to some extent the anticipated deficit. They are made for what they are worth."

SRI K. VARADACHARI:—"Mr. Speaker Sir, I would go directly into the question of the draft proposals adumbrated by the Hon. the Premier to compress my points within the short period allotted to me. I know that even this sentence has been included in the five minutes.

"The document issued by the Premier with regard to associating the public with administration of food and its procurement and distribution is a radical one in many ways. In the first place it gives place to a policy of avoiding spoonfeeding of the people and inculcates in them a spirit of self-help and co-operative effort. It should not be understood that the proposals adumbrated by the Government are only a way of shifting the responsibility for working this procurement and distribution on to the people, without making the officials responsible for the same. It is not so, and I hope that my friends in the Muslim League would give up their mere negative attitude of criticism (A voice: question.) and take the proposals in the spirit in which they are offered by the Government. After all is said and done, I think that these draft proposals concern themselves only with the aspect of associating the public with the food administration. They do not go far enough to open up, as it were, a food front of the Churchillian type in the war and other emergencies. There are no doubt some lacunae in these proposals, because in their very nature, they touch only one aspect of the problem. As a matter of fact, insistence upon the work of the wholesale co-operative societies for the purpose of procurement and distribution has not been sufficiently emphasised in these proposals. I would like clear emphasis is placed upon that aspect of procurement and distribution in the proposals to be finally issued by the Government in this behalf.

"The second thing is that no mention is made with regard to further help or modification of policy with regard to the sinking of wells that has been ordered by the Government. The subsidies are not adequate. On the most suitable soil, you have got to spend not less than Rs. 600, and to ask for merely loans for half of this amount would not solve the problem. Not only that. There is lack of help from the Government by way of agricultural engineering expert knowledge to these people to sink wells in a

30th May 1946] [Sri K. Varadachari]

proper manner and make them permanent sources of water supply. That is a matter which has to be discussed and thought about much more deeply than merely offering pecuniary help in the shape of the so-called subsidies which may after all prove to be nothing in the regular working.

"I want to mention only one more point in the time allotted to me, namely, that in the wake of famine, you will have to face epidemics on a wide scale. From now on, we may have to take measures to see that such a contingency does not occur even in this famine-stricken province. Apart from the Public Health Department which is working in its own orthodox lines in preventive medicines and other things, I would recommend that from now on we will have to attend to environmental sanitation, so that with much less expense, we can secure the health of the people who are going to be put to a course of underfeeding for a long time to come.

"In the matter of distribution of subsidies and other improvement loans, great care must be taken to see that there is no corruption or leakage of funds before they reach the ryots. That is a most important thing that we have got to see when we are spending large sums of money on this matter.

"Lastly, Sir, I would request the Government to give thought to the opening of vegetable farms in every taluk and district so that there will be supplemental food raised everywhere, and this matter of arranging for vegetable farms in every taluk is a very easy matter. No great expense is necessary. There will be no loss at all. Military vegetable farms have been opened up in several places and they have been working at a great profit and it should not be difficult for the civil administration to do something in every taluk to supplement the food of the people by means of vegetables."

* RAZA KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are nearing the completion of the debate, and it is now for us to accept either the draft proposals submitted by the Hon. the Premier or the amendment moved by Mr. Muhammad Ismail Sahib, the Leader of the Opposition. As has been said by a number of speakers on this side of the House, this is not the time for us to go on with our new experiments. "No new experiments" I say, and I will like to impress on the Hon. the Premier that for God's sake, do not come out with your new experiments. It may be that the experiments will yield good results, or it may be that they yield worse results as far as the food administration is concerned. I say there is no sense in coming out with new experiments, as this is not the time to change horses in the mid stream, because the famine is there with all its ghastly spectre. If it happens the members of this House may not live to see the results. At the same time, the Hon. the Premier has not made out a good case against the present scheme. Whatever its defects, I say that it has worked well. The fact remains that the officials have done well. If there are defects, we can rectify

[Raza Khan Sahib Bahadur] [30th May 1946]

them. It has become the habit of the Government to condemn officials. They have done well with all the zeal and vigour, and it is for us to encourage them. Things will improve, and we can face the situation. Whatever the schemes, they will remain only on paper unless and until we do a good deal of intensive rural propaganda. You have to impress on the villagers that it is their responsibility to help others, because on them depends the lives of millions of people.

"The suggestion made by the Leader of the Opposition will really go a long way in tackling the food problem, inasmuch as the Committee will go into the matter, and if it is entrusted with powers, it will impress every now and then about the feasibility of taking measures.

"Sir, within the few minutes allotted, one cannot bring out even one or two points, and I wish that at least next time, the Hon. the Prime Minister will bring us under the 15 minutes time limit. I thank you, Sir."

SRI KALA VENKATA RAO:—"On a point of information, Sir, I wish to request you to state whether we have to sit tomorrow also."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I think so. We will finish food to-day, and to-morrow we will take up cloth."

SRI KALA VENKATA RAO:—"We have already made arrangements for our departure to-day. As it has to be postponed, I wish the Secretary makes the necessary arrangements for our departure, as there may be blackmarketing in railway tickets also."

AN HON. MEMBER:—"Are we concluding to-morrow?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"Yes, to-morrow is the last day."

1 p.m. *SRIMATHI V. LAKSHMI AMMAL:—"அக்கிராசனாதிபதி யவர்களே, நான் இரண்டொரு வார்த்தைகளை மாத்திரம் இந்த உணவுப் பிரச்சனை பற்றிச் சொல்லிவிட்டு நிறுத்திக்கொள்ள விரும்புகின்றேன். இந்த உணவுப் பிரச்சனையானது நம்முடைய மாகாணம் மாத்திரமில்லை உலகம் பூராவும் இருக்கிறது. ரொம்ப அவசரமாக ஒவ்வொருவரும் போசிக்கவேண்டிய விஷயம். இந்த சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் நமது பிரதம மந்திரியவர்கள் முதல் முதலாகச் சபை கூடினவுடனே இதைப்பற்றி விவாதத்திற்கு எடுத்துக்கொண்டு தகுந்தபடி உணவுப் பிரச்சனையைச் சமாளிக்க வேண்டிய ஏற்பாடு செய்வதற்கு முன்வந்திருப்பது பொருத்தமானது. அதே மாதிரி இப்பொழுதுக்கும் இந்த நெருக்கடியான சந்தர்ப்பத்தை எவ்விதம் சமாளித்து, ஒருவாறு ஜனங்களுக்குத் திருப்திதரும் படியான நிலைமையில் செய்யவேண்டுமென்பது இப்பொழுது நம் காங்கிரஸ் கவர்ன்மெண்டின் முக்கியமான வேலை. இந்த உணவுப் பிரச்சனையை மூன்று விதமாகப் பிரிக்கவேண்டும். தானியக் கையிருப்பை மதிப்பிடுகிறது, உபரி தானியத்தைக் கொள்முதல் செய்வது, மூன்றாவது அதை விநியோகம் செய்வது. கையிருப்பில் எவ்வளவு இருக்கின்றதென்பது அறிக்கையில் காண்பிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றது. அதை நாம் எப்படி கொள்முதல் செய்வது, விநியோகத்திற்குக் கொண்டுவருவது என்ற இந்த பிரச்சனைகளையும் பார்க்கவேண்டும். நிலச்சுவாந்தார்களிடத்திலிருந்து அவர்களுக்குத் தேவையானதுபோக பாக்கியை நாம் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளுவதற்கு அநேக விதத்தில் கஷ்டங்களிருக்கின்றன. பிரதம மந்திரியவர்கள் கொடுத்திருக்கின்ற அறிக்கையிலே இது காணப்படுகின்றது. உணவு தங்களுக்கு வேண்டியதுபோக நிலச் சுவாந்தார்களை பாக்கியை கவர்ன்மெண்டு அதிகாரிகளிடத்தில் கண்ட்ரோல் விலைக்குக் கொடுக்க அநேகம்

[30th May 1946] [Srinathi V. Lakshmi Ammal]

பேர்கள் இஷ்டப்படுகிறதில்லை. இருக்கப்பட்ட இந்த சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் நம் காங்கிரஸ் கவர்ன்மெண்டு திட்டத்தைத் தீவிரமாகச் செய்ய முன்வர வேண்டும். அதற்கு அதிகாரிகளை நம்புவதில் பிரயோசனமில்லை யென்பதாக எனக்கு முன் பேசினவர்கள் குறிப்பிட்டார்கள். அனேகர் அதிருப்திகரமாக அதிகாரிகள் நடந்துகொள்ளுவதாகக் குறிப்பிட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அதற்கு பிரதம மந்திரியுடைய அறிக்கையில் கமிட்டிகள், கிராமக் கமிட்டிகள், தாலுக்காக் கமிட்டிகள், ஜில்லாக் கமிட்டிகள் ஏற்படுத்தலாமென்பதாகக் குறிப்பிடப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அது மிகவும் வரவேற்கத்தக்கது. ஆனால் அந்தக் கமிட்டி முன்னிலையிலே சரிவர ஜனங்கள் தங்களுக்குத் தேவையான பாக்ஜியை ஒப்படைக்க வேண்டுமென்றால் அதற்குத் தகுந்தமுறை கவர்ன்மெண்டிலிருந்து கொடுத்தால்தான் முடியும். மனப்பான்மை மாறவேண்டும், ஜனங்களுக்கு அதிகாரிகளிடத்தில் நம்பிக்கை இருக்கவேண்டும். அதிகாரிகளுக்கு ஜனங்களிடத்தில் நம்பிக்கை இருக்கவேண்டும். தங்களிடத்தில் இவ்வளவு விளைந்து வந்திருக்கின்றது, தங்களுடைய தேவைக்கு இவ்வளவு வேண்டும் அவைகளெல்லாம்போக உண்மையாகத் தங்களிடத்தில் இருப்பவற்றை கண்ட்ரோல் விலைக்குக் கொடுக்க அவர்கள் தாங்களாகவே முன்வரவேண்டும். அதற்கு கவர்ன்மெண்டு என்ன செய்வது, கவர்ன்மெண்டார் ஓர் சட்டத்தைப் பிறப்பிக்க வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். யுத்த காலங்களில் அநேக ஆர்டினன்ஸ் அவசர சட்டங்கள் செய்திருக்கிறார்கள்; அது மாதிரி அவசர சட்டம் செய்து தங்களுடைய தேவைக்குப் போக பாக்கியை அப்படியே கமிட்டியிடத்திலோ கவர்ன்மெண்டு அதிகாரிகளிடத்திலோ தாசில்தாரிடத்திலோ பட்டாதாரர்களே கொண்டுவந்து ஒப்புவிக்கும்படி சட்டத்தைப் பிறப்பிக்க வேண்டும். அப்படி ஒப்புவிக்காவிட்டால் அவர்களுக்குத் தகுந்த தண்டனை கொடுக்கிறதாயிருந்தால்தான் அவர்கள் கொண்டு வந்து ஒப்புவிப்பார்கள். அம்மாதிரியாகச் செய்தாலொழிய நாம் நலச் சுவாந்தார்களிடத்திலிருந்து நெல்லை வாங்கமுடியாது. உண்மையாக அவர்கள் நெல்லு பூராவையும் கண்ட்ரோல் விலைக்குக் கொடுக்கத் தயாராயில்லை. திருட்டுத்தனமாக விற்பதற்கு அவர்கள் கொஞ்சம் நெல்லை வைத்துக்கொண்டுதான் இவ்வளவு தான் இருக்கிறதென்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். ஆகையால் அதற்குத் தகுந்த முறையை காங்கிரஸ் கவர்ன்மெண்டு இப்பொழுது இருக்கப்பட்ட நிலைமையை சமாளிப்பதற்கு இதைச் செய்ய வேண்டும். அடுத்தபடியாக ஒரு இடத்திலிருந்து ஒரு இடத்திற்கு நெல்லைக் கொண்டுவரவதற்கு ரொம்பத் தாமதம் ஏற்படுகிறது. எங்கள் ஊரிலே மொத்த வியாபாரியினிடத்திலிருந்து கோவிலப்பட்டி தாலுக்காவுக்கு நெல் போகவேண்டியதாயிருந்தது; 15, 20 நாளைக் ரயிலிலே ஸ்டேஷனிலே அப்படியே கிடக்கிறது. அந்த ஆப்சர்களைக் கேட்டால் ரயில்தே அதிகாரிகள் கேட்கவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். குறைந்தது 10 லாரியாவது ஒவ்வொரு ஜில்லாவுக்கும் விவசாய இலாக்கா அல்லது கலெக்டரிடத்தில் ஒப்படைத்து எந்த இடத்திற்கு நெல்லு தேவையாயிருக்கிறதோ அந்த இடத்திற்குக் கொண்டுவரச் சேர்ப்பதற்கு ஏற்பாடு செய்யவேண்டும்."

*SRIMATHI V. SITHAMAHALAKSMIAMMA:—"అధ్యక్షా! ఇప్పుడు మన రాష్ట్రంలో ఆహారం విషయమే చాలా కష్టంగా ఉంది. మేము కష్టపడి వ్యవసాయము చేస్తున్నాముగాని మాకు తినడానికి సరియైన ఆహారము లేదని పేద రైతులు కూలీలు అంధోళ్ళు డబ్బులు ఉన్నారు. ఇప్పుడు పెంటన్ ఆహార లోటును ఛర్చి చేయవలసినది. అంటే క్రీస్టా, గోదావరి జిల్లాలలో ముఖ్యముగా ఆహార భాగ్యములు అధికముగా పండించడానికి ఆహారశక్తి ఉన్నది. ఎందువల్లనంటే క్రీస్టా, గోదావరి లోకల్ రైతులు ఎక్కువగా పొగాకు పండిస్తున్నారు. ఇప్పుడు మనకు ఆహార భాగ్యములు ఆహారం కాబట్టి ఎక్కువ ఆహార భాగ్యములను మెట్ట ప్రదేశాలలో జొన్న వర్గరాలు పండించవలయును. అందువల్ల మన మద్రాసు ప్రభుత్వం, మన ప్రధాన మంత్రిగారు పొగాకు పంటను నిషేధించి మెట్ట ప్రదేశాలలో మనకు ఆహారముగా ఆహారమున్న భాగ్యము పండించుటకు పెంటన్ చర్య తీసుకొనవలసినది నేను కోరుచున్నాను."

[30th May 1946]

P. K. MOHIDEEN KUTTI SAHIB BAHADUR:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, this cut in time is more uncharitable than the cut in rations in Malabar. Mr. Speaker, Sir, in rising to support the amendment moved by the Leader of the Opposition I am not unmindful of the fact that the Government have given us an opportunity on their own initiative to discuss this all important problem. As far as I am concerned there seems to be a serious lacuna in the Government proposals. I know they are very anxious to associate the public with the administration of the Food Department. But they forget one thing. It is this. At the top they have omitted that very principle they have adumbrated in their proposals. That is the association of the public with the administration of food. It has been admitted that the question of food is one that has no politics. Therefore, it should have been desirable and advisable to have a body comprising of all the political parties in order to direct and supervise the administration of the Department of Food of this Province. Because of the shortness of time I want to deal with two or three points only. We know the Procurement system that is the system of distribution as far as the middlemen are concerned is unwarranted and they have to go. Very sensational stories have been told about the middlemen who are profiting at the expense of the poor and the sooner you do away with these human leaches I should say the better for the country. Another point I want to lay stress on is this, production within the Province itself. However, well-intentioned you may be, the bottom is filth and unclean. You have to clean it with a very long and strong broom and I am sorry to say it. I know you can do it and I trust that you will do it. Another point to which I want to invite your attention is this. I wonder whether the Government of Madras cannot depute one of its agents to America where they say they have plenty of grains and get some grains in exchange for cashewnuts. We have a large amount of it and why not try the exchange system. However much you try to improve distribution that is not going to be the solution as far as the impending calamity is concerned. Therefore, I will request you to immediately try to send one of your agents to the United States of America. Another matter I would urge upon the Government is to put this Department of Food in charge of a separate man. If you are not able to provide a Ministry of Food, you can at least put it in the hands of a very able parliamentary secretary. The Hon. the Premier had one such during the last Ministry. Another matter to which I would draw the attention of the Hon. Premier is this. The proposal may appear to be rather fantastic if not ludicrous. It is this. All founders of religion have advocated and enjoined a system of fasts. This can be observed during the weekly holidays. You must enforce a day of fast in this Province and try to save the grains at least for three months. Thus you will have twelve days of fasting within the three months. It will not affect the health of the people. It is better to have this abstinence than die slowly and gradually.”

30th May 1946]

* SRI K. SUBBA RAO:—“సభాపతి! శ్రీ మం ప్రధానిగారు తయారు చేసిన పథకము చాలా ఉత్తముమైనది. సందేహంలేదు. దానిని ఆక్షేపిస్తూ, ఈ మంత్రి వర్గం శాశ్వతమైనది కాదు. కావున యీ విధానము మెచ్చుకో తగ్గది కాదు అని కొంతమంది ఆక్షేపించుచున్నారు. కాంగ్రెసు మంత్రిత్వము, కాంగ్రెసు విధానము యీ రాష్ట్రానికి శాశ్వతము. అడ్డగించడానికి ముస్లిము లీగు వర్గానికిగాని మరి ఏ వర్గానికిగాని చేతకాదు. అన్నమీ రామచంద్రా అని ప్రజలు అల్లాడుచున్నప్పుడు ఆహారశాఖా మంత్రి ఈ విషయమై గట్టు పట్టుదలతో ఈ సమస్య పరిష్కారానికి పూనుకోవడం ఆత్యంత అవసరము. ఇంతవరకు ఉన్న అడ్డెయ్యిళ్ల ప్రభుత్వం ఎన్నో కోట్ల రూపాయలు ఖర్చుచేసి ప్రజా సంహరికుల సంరక్షణ చేసినారు. ప్రజల తరఫున ఆధిపత్యం వహించిన ప్రభుత్వం ప్రజా సంరక్షకుల రక్షించడము చాలా అవసరము. రాజు మొదలకొని యెల్ల ప్రజలను రక్షించే బాధ్యత వహించిన పంట పండించే ప్రజల మన్ననలను పొందిన ఈ ప్రభుత్వం ఒక విధానమును అమలు పరచడానికి పూనుకున్నది. అతి ఉత్సాహముతో పని చెయ్యగలదు. యుద్ధము వచ్చిన తరువాత అనేకచోట్ల ప్రజలు Commercial crops చెయ్యడం మొదలు పెట్టేరు. దానివల్ల డబ్బు బాగా వస్తుందిగాని ఆహార ధాన్యమును ఇప్పుడు కావలెను కాబట్టి ప్రభుత్వం ముజరా ఇచ్చి అయినా శాసనముచేసి అయినా సగము కంటే ఎక్కువ భూమిలో Commercial crops పండించకూడదని చెప్పవలెను. ఈ ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఎన్నికోట్ల రూపాయలు ఖర్చు అయినా సరే ఎరువులను వెంటనే రైతులకు Supply చెయ్యవలెను అని కోరు చున్నాను. అప్పుడే రైతు ఎక్కువ పంట పండించగలుగుతాడు.

“రేషనింగు పంపకం పద్ధతిలో నేక ఒక సలహా చెబుతున్నాను. కొంత గోధుమ కొంత వరి ఇస్తామంటే పల్లెటూరివారికి పనికిరాదు. ఇంతవరకు పట్టణవాసులు పొందిన సహాయమునకు ప్రాయశ్చిత్తముగా బియ్యము తగ్గించి గోధుమ ఎక్కువగా వారికి Supply చెయ్యవలెనని నేను కోరుచున్నాను.”

SRI N. SANJEEVI REDDI:—“Sir, the food situation in this Province as a whole is bad, but it is worse in Rayalaseema. In Rayalaseema, people have for ages been accustomed to starvation diet and may not therefore die like the people of Bengal when famine prevailed there. All the same, famine is staring us in the face and we are suffering acutely from want of food. Luckily we have a popular Government in power and we look up to it to save the people of Rayalaseema from famine and starvation.

“Mr. Speaker, I have one little suggestion to make to improve the food supply. Within easy reach of our districts, there is electricity available in the Mysore State. There are dozens of wells in our areas from which water can be pumped out electrically, we can solve the food problem in our parts at least to some extent. The difficulties of agriculturists are many and the price fixed for paddy is, comparatively speaking, low. Hence it should not be surprising to find that food grains find their way to the blackmarket where high prices are obtainable. The prices fixed by the authorities vary from district to district. In Anantapur, it is Rs. 12 but in Bellary it is Rs. 15. I do not know why this difference is permitted. Price of food should be the same throughout the Province. In places where it is low, there should be a slight rise allowed. If this is done, I do not think people will go to the blackmarket with their grain. Surely as cost of

[Sri N. Sanjeevi Reddi] [30th May 1946]

cultivation has gone up considerably, the price of the agricultural commodities should also go up. Recently when the Minister for Religious Endowments visited Anantapur, he was made to believe that there was a surplus of foodgrains. The officials are callous and arrange things in such a way that the visitors, including His Excellency the Governor, go away with a wrong impression about the condition of the place visited. Last week or so, His Excellency made a tour of a particular area and the officials showed him huge stocks of rice and fodder and His Excellency went away thinking that there was no scarcity there. But in truth there was rice only in the stores. For the suffering masses that stock is not available. The rice that is supplied to the masses is of a very bad variety. The villagers must be enabled to get at least millets.

"Then, Sir, I wish to say a word about the agricultural implements and other things. These should be made easily available and at cheap cost. If the Government were to incur some loss in arranging for these things, to my mind it does not matter. There is nothing wrong in subsidising the growers of food.

"The next point I wish to refer relates to the profit made by the middlemen. Instead of the cultivator being made to sell to the wholesaler and losing Rs. 5 per bag, he may be asked to sell to the other villagers direct. If this is permitted, a sum of Rs. 5 or 6 per bag would be available either to the consumer or the producer. This is now going into the pockets of the middlemen.

"The Hon. the Premier may fix a uniform price for all paddy produced in our province. This should be at a slightly higher level than what it is now so that the cultivator may be encouraged to grow food and not give up cultivation. He must be made to feel that he is carrying on his business for the good of the country and not merely for profit. If this is done, he will do honest work as service to the masses."

* N. MUHAMMAD ANWAR SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, the other day in an excellent repartee the Hon. the Prime Minister made a shrewd observation on life—a side-light on high life—when he said "What is tragedy for some may be comedy for others." Indeed such is the paradox of the realities of the situation to-day. Against the background of the mounting tragedy of the impending famine, we have got to-day the piling windfall of the black-marketeers. It will indeed be a bolt from the blue to the powers-that-be that we have got in our midst not only stocks underground, hidden from public accounts which never see the light of day but which still keep on moving by night, thanks to the nocturnal adventures of the black-marketeers. Really, with apologies to Shakespeare, I say, these black-marketeers are the minions of the moon and gentlemen of the night who keep their caravan passing. And, in this country, in this province in particular, let me bring to the notice of the Hon. the Prime Minister, we have got to-day a net work of trade routes of black marketing

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underground. We have got from district to district, certain recognized channels wherein the black marketeers have got their free play. Indeed, it must be said to their credit that their transactions are on a basis of 'cash and carry.' Why is it that we have got such black marketing now? I wish now to refer to one particular variety of rice which is relished as a very delicious item of menu and which, at the source costs Rs. 60 per bag, but at its journey's end, fetches Rs. 240. At every stage, at every milestone and if I may be permitted to say so, at every toll-gate, by pleasing the itching palms, these black marketeers carry on their trade. By a system of relays at every stage and from one end to the other in their trade route, this is taking place night after night. Where does this outflow of contraband come from? I only appeal to the Hon. the Prime Minister. Let there be a vigorous vigilance to root out this menace to society, the black marketeers. Out with them! Indeed, our Party is wholeheartedly behind him in rooting out this menace to society, this Public Enemy No. 1 (Cries of 'Hear, hear'). It is really not deserving of good grace for one hon. Member of the Congress Party to have said that we (Muslim League Party) are here adopting a negative attitude. Never, Sir, never. We are not a whit behind the Congress Party. In fact, we go one step further and say that this menace should be rooted out. It is only an All-party Government, not obsessed with party considerations, that can tackle this problem that has enveloped humanity.

"We must congratulate the Hon. the Premier that he has fixed no finality for his draft proposals. But should we flog a dead horse, the Adviser Regime and criticise the antecedents of this problem? This is a crisis which is global in nature and is not peculiar to our country or to our province in particular. Now, how is it that our Prime Minister has discovered overnight that the middleman, the wholesaler, is the villain of the piece. I ask. How is it that you want to make him your scapegoat and try to find fault with him when the machinery has not broken down? Here I should say that the forces of nature have conspired with the devils of war in bringing about the famine and not the wholesale dealer. The wholesale dealers are under your control. They have been allotted a certain margin of profit. They take the profit you have allowed them. Why not let them continue on a commission basis? Otherwise where are you going to find the necessary godowns for stocking the foodgrains? Is the official machinery a substitute for trade channels?

"I am only sorry, Sir, that the Hon. the Premier is obsessed with the utopian idealism of village politics. He is associating village politics with primitive pristine purity. What do we see around us in every village? Life in every village is polluted by fictions and frictions, factions and fractions and you cannot overnight expect them to smile with serenity and sanity, sincerity and sobriety. Let us now face the hard facts. Let us not have costly experiments in village politics. Let there be, as suggested

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by the Leader of the Opposition; a concerted machinery generating speed and drive embracing all aspects of rationing. Let it be given that drive and speed that is essential for dealing with an emergency of this kind. Let it be treated as war, war against famine. Only fools fear crimes. We all fear famine: the crime of crimes, a crime against humanity."

(After Lunch—2-30 p.m.)

MR. SPEAKER:—"I have to inform the House that it will not be possible for us to finish our discussions on the food and cloth situation by to-morrow, and I think it will be necessary that we will have to sit day after to-morrow also."

* SRI V. RAGHAVIAH:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I should like to express my thanks to the Hon. the Premier, who is proposing to do away with wholesalers, who have been making enormous profits out of the present situation. I know recently that a huge sum of about Rs. 36,000 was made as profit by one of the rice wholesale dealers annually for the town of Nellore in my district, and by the timely intervention by the authorities, that person was removed, and we were able to obtain a reduction of 2 pies in the price of every seer of rice."

"I should also like to make a few observations regarding the cultivation of vast areas of waste lands in this Presidency. The Hon. the Premier, when he was Revenue Minister in the former Ministry, was good enough to collect statistics regarding the extent of waste lands available in the various districts of the Province. But after the Ministry resigned, no further action appears to have been taken in the matter. The Advisers' Government were trying to evolve a scheme for the colonisation of ex-army men. I have no objection to the ex-army men being given facilities, but what I should like to suggest is that these waste lands which, I believe, amount to some 50 to 60 lakhs of acres may be given to colonies of agricultural labourers [without the right of alienation] either directly or through co-operative societies. If this is done, it would increase production of foodstuffs in the Province, which may exceed beyond the expectations of the Government."

"Another suggestion I would make is in regard to the cultivation of lands in the zamindari areas. There is already provision in the Act compelling the zamindars to carry out repairs to irrigation sources; but now most of the zamindars seem rather reluctant to invest the necessary amounts for the purpose. In that case, the Government should permit the villagers to carry out the repairs themselves out of their own funds, and recover them from the zamindar at the time of collection of rent. By this means, I am sure, several thousands of acres will be brought under cultivation."

"The next suggestion I wish to make is that the Government should concentrate their attention upon short-term crops. There are plenty of short-term crops which can be grown and harvested before the next September or October, and by this means, the famine situation will be relieved to a great extent. The Government, if necessary, should finance the cultivators for growing

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short-term crops and see that the cultivators are paid any difference in price between the richer long-time crop and the comparatively less costly short-time one.

"The Government should also take immediate steps to reduce or stop the cultivation of commercial crops, such as tobacco, etc., and in their place, food crops should be ordered to be cultivated. This would certainly mean some loss to the individual, but we are faced with an unprecedented situation and there is nothing wrong about it. The Government can make good the loss."

"My next suggestion is that the committees which are proposed to be constituted may also be entrusted with the task of the distribution of cloth, as well as yarn to the weavers, in villages. These committees, if they work on efficient lines, will become the most equitable medium for the distribution of foodstuffs, as well as other things, and also for controlling their prices. Incidentally I would mention that sugar which has become one of our chief daily needs is very difficult to be obtained in villages, and when these committees are formed, their activities may be extended to the distribution of sugar also."

"So far as the nomination of members to the committee is concerned, I think there is this difficulty. These villagers have no faith in nominations, and it is only the influential men in the villages that generally get nominated. I would suggest that the villagers may be asked to elect six or seven men from the village, and the Tahsildar will be there to see that the election is properly conducted. Special provision should be made to ensure that some agricultural labourers do find a place in the committee, as otherwise the mirasdars will get into it and dominate. If such a committee is formed, I have no doubt that the scheme will meet with general approval."

* K. M. SEETHI SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, representing as I do, a rural constituency in Malabar, I wish to bring to the notice of this House the great hardships that my people in the rural areas of Malabar are undergoing on account of the reduction of the rations. While all other districts are treated with greater consideration, Malabar alone has been accorded such a discriminating treatment. And so I join with the hon. Member representing the Calicut (rural) in the complaint he has made against such wrong and discriminating treatment that Malabar is having at the hands of the Government. Again in the matter of the allotment of grains, I would especially urge that the Government should take into consideration the habits of the people in the matter of diet. We in Malabar are not accustomed to eat raw rice or groundnut. Hence the Government should not impose either raw rice or groundnuts on us, in the allotment of grains to various districts."

"Then in the matter of production, I would respectfully urge the Government that the Agricultural department should be made to pay greater attention to the needs of people in the villages. In the taluks of Ernad and Walluvanad, I have

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no doubt that a number of villagers do not even know of the existence of the Agricultural department. The propaganda work that is being carried out by the department is very inadequate with the result that there are a number of villages in the district which are unaware of the existence of the Agricultural department much less its activities. I urge that the officers of the department should bring to the doors of the ryots their special knowledge and instil in them ideas of the most efficient methods of production and of the use of modern implements and the need and method of bringing more lands into cultivation of foodgrains. The staff of the Agricultural department should be increased, if necessary, and the officers should be directed to make greater contact with the villagers and their works should be checked and watched by superior authorities. It is only then that the Agricultural department will be of any use in the matter of increasing production.

"About the constitution of village committees and taluk committees, proposed by the Hon. the Premier, I have to make an important suggestion, though I believe the committees will not be constituted with the powers now proposed in the light of the amendment of the Muslim League Party. If these committees are to serve any useful purpose, the two major political parties that we have got in this country should be represented on them. Fortunately or unfortunately, there is no gainsaying the fact that our country has got itself divided into two major political groups, the Hindus represented by the Congress and the Muslims by the Muslim League. I do not see anything wrong about it. If these committees are to be effective, both these parties must be represented on them. The Government should bear this fact in mind in constituting the committees. Otherwise they will only end in failure.

"The other point that I would mention is in connexion with the remarks made by my hon. Friend Mr. K. Varadachari. I was very sorry to hear him advising the Muslim League Party not to adopt a negative attitude in the matter of the proposals of the Premier. I submit, Sir, that it comes with ill grace from a member who belongs to a party which refused to co-operate by nominating a representative on the important Foreign Deputation which the Government of India appointed recently to negotiate with foreign countries like United States of America for procuring more foodgrains for this country. It was a negative attitude literally and figuratively that his party adopted. His suggestion, therefore, to my party which readily co-operated by sending one of its ablest members to serve on the deputation, not to adopt a negative policy is clearly undeserved."

2-45
p.m.

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, நம்மை எதிர்நோக்கும் கொடிய நிலைமையைப்பற்றி எல்லோரும் பேசினார்கள். என்னுடைய ஜில்லாவாகிய இராமநாதபுரம் ஜில்லாக் கலெக்டரிடம் பேசிக்கொண்டிருந்தபோது அவர் தந்த புள்ளி விவரங்கள் மிகவும் பயங்கரமான நிலைமையைக் காட்டுகிறது. வங்காளத்தில் நடந்த பயங்கர நிலைமை இராமநாதபுரம் ஜில்லாவில் ஏற்பட்டுவிடுமோ வென்று பயப்படக்கூடிய நிலைமை இருந்தது. இந்தப் பஞ்சத்தை, கஷ்டமான நிலைமையைச் சமாளிக்கவேண்டு

30th May 1946] [Sri R. V. Swaminathan]

மானால் இந்தக்காரியங்களை முக்கியமாகச் செய்யவேண்டும், **blackmarket** காரர்களை ஒழித்துவிடவேண்டும், உணவைப்பெருக்கவேண்டும். **Black-market** காரர்களை ஒழிக்கவேண்டுமென்பதை எல்லோரும் ஒப்புக்கொள்ளுகிறார்கள். ஆனால் அவர்களை ஒழிப்பதற்கு கடைசியான நடவடிக்கை எடுத்தாலொழிய ஒழிக்கமுடியாது. நமது தேசியத் தலைவர் ஜவஹர்லால் நேரு சொன்னதுபோன்று உணவுப்பொருளை **blackmarket** செய்கிறவர்களைத் தாக்கிப்போடவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லுகிறேன். இந்த விஷயத்தில் முஸ்லீம் லீக் நண்பர்களும் ஒத்துக்கொள்ளுவார்களென்று நம்புகிறேன். அடுத்தபடியாக உணவைப் பெருக்க வழி விவசாயத்தை அபிவிருத்தி செய்யவேண்டும். என் ஜில்லாவில் முக்கால் பாகம் ஜமீன் **area**. அங்கு இருக்கும் வரிக் கொடுமையினால் ஜனங்களுக்கு விவசாயத்தில் **interest** இல்லாமல் போய் விட்டது. லக்ஷக்கணக்கான நிலங்கள் விவசாயமில்லாமலிருக்கின்றன. கிரகாசம் கமிட்டி ரிபார்ட்டால் கேஷம் ஏற்படுமென்று எதிர்பார்க்கிறார்கள். அந்தக் கமிட்டி ஒருவாறு பரிகாரம் வருமென்று அவர்களுக்கு உறுதி கூறுவார்களானால் இந்தவருஷம் இப்பொழுது தே கஷக்கணக்கான எக்கர் நிலங்களில் விவசாயம்செய்ய மனமுடன் முன்வருவார்கள். ஒரு அமெரிக்கர் சொன்னார் : 1947-ம் வருஷம்வரையில் இந்தப் பஞ்சம் வராமல் போகாதென்று சொன்னார். எங்கள் ஜமீன் **area**வில் பல கஷக்கணக்கான எக்கரா நிலங்கள் விவசாயமில்லாமல் இருக்கின்றன. தன்னார்வசதி இல்லாததினால், மதுரையில் பெரியார் அணைக்கட்டு கட்டியிருக்கிறார்கள். அந்தமாதிரி அணைகட்டுவார்களானால் இராமநாதபுரம் ஜில்லாவில் 50 லக்ஷம் எக்கரா விவசாயம் செய்யமுடியும். சென்னைக்கும், இன்னும் எங்கு உணவு தேவையாயிருக்கிறதோ அங்கெல்லாம் ஸ்டீன் செய்யமுடியும். உணவைப் பெருக்கவேண்டுமானால் ஜமீன் முறையை ஒழிக்கவேண்டும். இல்லாவிட்டால் பிரயோசனமில்லை. இந்த சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் கிணறுவெட்டுவதற்கு 400 ரூபாய் தந்தார்கள். நானூறுரூபாயில் எங்கே கிணறு வெட்டமுடியுமென்று பாருங்கள். குறைந்தபட்சம் 1,000 ரூபாய்க்கு கிணறு வெட்டமுடியுமா என்று கேட்கிறேன். ஆயிரம் ரூபாய் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று சபாரச் செய்கிறேன். கிராமங்களுக்கு எலெக்ட்ரிக் ஸ்டீன் கிடைக்கும்படி செய்யவேண்டும். உற்பத்தியைப் பெருக்குவதற்கும், விவசாயம் செய்வதற்கும், இந்த இரண்டு காரியங்களையும் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொண்டு இத்துடன் முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

* M. A. MUHAMMAD IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, coming as I do from the Tanjore district, I want to put forward the point of view of the Tanjore mirasidar of the lower delta. The problem before us is not the long range problem of food. If that problem is to be solved, Government should take on hand a number of other cognate problems also like land development, tenancy legislation, labour problem and so on. The problem before this House now is only the formulation of a short-term policy, that is of producing three lakhs of tons of food more within the next three months. Coming from Tanjore, Sir, I am confident that the Tanjore district alone can solve this problem provided Government give sufficient inducement to the agriculturists. Year after year 250,000 tons are exported from the Tanjore district at controlled rates. The price offered to the producers is only 70 to 100 per cent more and is not sufficient considering that the prices of various consumer goods have gone up by 200 to 500 per cent. I am not advocating an increase in prices at the expense of the consumer. But I am only asking that the Tanjore mirasidar should in some way be compensated for the sacrifice they have made all along since the outbreak of the war. In my opinion a subsidy of Rs. 40 to 50 per ton of paddy procured from the ryot will be a sufficient inducement to him to bring more land under cultivation. Of course there are

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other difficulties such as absence of adequate cattle, insufficiency of manure available at reasonable prices. The department should take steps to distribute cattle, fodder and manure at reasonable prices to the ryots. God willing the problem will be solved to the extent of 50 per cent by the Tanjore district alone.

"With regard to procurement and distribution the Government have proposed certain changes in the existing machinery. At this critical juncture such a radical innovation is unnecessary and inadvisable. In my humble opinion it will create factions in the villages and friction in the organization. The Government have proposed the formation of village committees, taluk committees and so on. I request the Government to think twice before they substitute this new machinery for the existing machinery. Of course there may be defects in the existing system but they can all be remedied with proper checks over the supply and purchasing officers and the distribution agencies. We can make the existing system give the maximum benefit to the people at large.

"There is also another aspect. This popular Government must fight for increased quota from the Government of India. . ."

* SRI K. BRAHMANANDAM REDDI:—"Mr. Speaker, at the short time at my disposal I shall try to give some suggestions for the consideration of the Government. I do not wish to go into the past and try to tell you what has been done and how it has been done, for the simple reason that there is no use crying over spilt milk. The important thing at present is that active co-operation and confidence between the people and the Government is necessary to tide over the crisis. The previous Government woefully lacked in this respect and hence the bungling. The present popular Government aims at remedying the defect by constituting popular committees. These village committees, if they function properly, will certainly meet the requirements of the situation. The previous Government did not trust the villager and was not prepared to entrust the villager with responsibility. If you make the villager realise that he is a vital part of the administration, that he is a force to be counted, then the whole atmosphere will change and you will see good days.

"The proposals of the Hon. Premier have been criticised in a way by the Members of the Muslim League Party. Sir, any good system can be criticised. Even the much wanted democracy can be criticised. It all depends upon your angle of vision. If these village committees work properly, procurement and distribution can be effectively made.

"Then Sir, manure and seeds should be distributed to the ryots at concessional rates. It should not be a mere eye-wash as was the case with the previous Government. You might have read in the papers that only Rs. 100 was granted in the whole province for manure. I wonder which gentleman really made this big grant! My submission to the people's Government is that this grant should be real and effective. My second submission is that old irrigation tanks must immediately be repaired

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and new tanks must be dug at once. Red tape should not be allowed to come in the way. One more suggestion with regard to inducing the ryot to grow more food is that he should be told that all extra land brought under food cultivation in excess of that of the previous fasli will be free of land revenue. The present controlled price of rice sought to be procured should be increased, so as to induce the surplus producer to part with his surplus.

"I request the Hon. the Premier to see that no kind of zoolum is made by the officers of the Food Department. In the case of Police zoolum it affects you only to some extent because they break only your bones. But the zoolum of the food officers of the Government will starve people to death. I ask the Hon. the Premier to see that this zoolum is put a stop to."

SRI A. SATYANARAYANA RAJU:—"శారవ న్యాయ అధ్యక్ష! 3 p.m.

నేను ఆహారస్థితి ఎంత ఘోరముగా ఉన్నదో ప్రధాన ఆహార్యులు చెప్పి ఉన్నారు. ఆయన ఇచ్చిన కాగితములలో స్పష్టముగా తెలుస్తుంది. ఆ సలహాలవల్ల ఎంత ప్రయోజనము ఉంటుందో మనసుంతా తెలుసుకున్నాము. మనము ప్రాతినిధ్యము వహించే నియోజక వర్గములు చూస్తే అక్కడ ప్రజలు తిండి కోసము ఎన్ని బాధలు పడుతున్నారో మనము చెప్పగలము. కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వం ప్రజా ప్రభుత్వం వస్తుంది. అప్పుడు మన ఆహార సమస్యలు పరిష్కారము అగుతాయి అని ప్రతి రైతు, కూలి గూడా ఆశించేరు. మనము ఆ విధముగానే అందరితో చెప్పినాము. శాసనములను వెంటనే చెయ్యవలెనని వారు కోరిరు. అధిక ఉత్పత్తికి అవకాశములను కలిగించవలెనని వారు ఆడిగెరు. మన ప్రధానాహార్యుడు ఈ సమస్య పరిష్కారానికి పూనుకున్నందుకు నేను హృదయ పూర్వకముగా అభినందిస్తున్నాను. దానిలో సందేహము లేదు ఎందుకంటే మన రాష్ట్రానికి ప్రధానిగానుండి ఆయన ఈ సమస్యను పరిష్కారం చేస్తారని నాకు నమ్మకం ఉంది. ఈ కమిటీలలో లాభిదారులు ఉంటారుగాని ఇదివరకే ఉండే War committee ల మాదిరిగా చేస్తారేమో అనే భయము నాకు ఉంది. అడ్డవిజర్ల ప్రభుత్వం ఏ విధముగా ప్రజలను సానుభూతిని పొందలేక పోయిందో జిల్లా కలెక్టర్లు గ్రహించకపోలే మనముకూడా ఆ అసౌకృతికి గురి అవుతాము. ప్రభుత్వానికి మేముంతా సహాయం చేస్తాము. ఆయా నియోజక వర్గాలతో ఉన్న శాసనసభ్యుల సలహాలైన ఈ కమిటీ సభ్యులు ఎన్నుకోబడిన చాలా బాగుండును అని నేను ప్రభుత్వానికి సలహా ఇస్తున్నాను. పెద్ద పెద్ద భూస్వాములు కోటిశ్వరులు blackmarket లో లాభములు పొంది ఎంతెంత భోగములు ఆను భవిస్తున్నారో మనము చూస్తున్నాము. ఎక్కడ చూసినా విందులు జరుగుచున్నాయి. నాలుగు వేలు 5 వేలమందికి భోజనములు పెడుతున్నారని చాలా విచిత్ర ఆయన భోజనములు పెడుతున్నారు. చాలా అన్యాయమైన waste జరుగుతుంది. దానిని పూర్తిగా కట్టి పెట్టవలసిన అవసరము ఎంతో ఉంది. ఈ కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వం ప్రజా ప్రభుత్వం ప్రజాసానుభూతి పొందవలసిన అవసరం ఎంతో ఉంది. ప్రతి రైతు 10 oz. రేషనింగుతో ఎంతో కష్టపడుతున్నారు. బ్రతకడమే కష్టంగాయింది. Easy chair లో కూర్చోన్న ఉద్యోగస్తులు, పట్టువాసములలో ఉండి ప్రాద్దున సాయంత్రం tiffin లు తినేవారికి ఈ 10 oz. చాలా తుందిగాని కనీసము 16 oz. అయినా రేషను ఇవ్వాలని ప్రధానాహార్యుని నేను కోరుచున్నాను."

* MUHAMMAD RAFEEUDIN AHMAD ANSARI SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, when hon. Members not only on the Treasury Benches but even on some of the opposition benches are vieing with one another in showering compliments and congratulations on the Hon. the Premier, it is really not happy for myself

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and my Party to strike a discordant note. But, Sir, we have to do our duty. When we offer certain criticisms, some hon. Members immediately characterise them as negative criticisms. I do hope that the Government are not of the same opinion as so many hon. Members on their side. As the Leader of my Party said it is with the idea of wholehearted co-operation that we are making some suggestions. (Hear, hear). Co-operation does not mean blind obedience to Government or being their willing tools to carry out their proposals whether they be good, bad or indifferent. I assure you, Sir, that our criticisms were made in a spirit of sincere co-operation. The idea behind the proposals it is stated is to associate the public in the administration of the food problem. I ask, Sir, does the association of the public include the association of the section of the people whom I represent. But if you examine the constitution of the Committee there is no scope given to us to co-operate with the Government. With regard to the village committees it has been entirely left to the Tahsildar to make the selection in consultation with the villagers. The Tahsildars are not specifically asked to include members of the Muslim community in these committees. Can I now have an assurance from the Hon. the Premier that there is provision in these proposals for instructions to the Tahsildar to definitely include in the village committees one or two members of the Muslim community as well. Then I come to Taluk Committees. With regard to village committees at least there is some chance of Muslims coming in. But in the Taluk Committees which are formed under these proposals there is absolutely no chance of Muslims being put on them. These Taluk Committees consist of two representatives elected from each village committee. I ask, Sir, if it is left entirely to election, where is the chance for Members of the Muslim Community to give their co-operation to the Government by being on the Taluk Committees?

“The powers given to these committees are very wide and there are no safeguards. The village committees are given the entire discretion of taking away the surplus rice or other food-grains from the villages. Where is the guarantee that justice will be meted out to the members of my community? Of course, a right of appeal to the Taluk Committee is provided. But as I submitted, there is nobody on the Taluk Committee to safeguard the interests of the Muslims. Then, Sir, the District Committee again is saddled with some responsibilities. Here again with the exception of some Muslim M.L.As. there is no one from our community to represent it. Whenever we speak of our community, Sir, I incur the displeasure of most of the hon. Members of this House. I know, Sir, that it is considered by them to be in bad taste to speak of one's own community. But it is my duty to bring to the notice of the Government that if they want the co-operation of our community they should give adequate opportunity to that community to give that co-operation. Then co-operative societies were also mentioned. But it is a well-known fact at present Muslims are not represented on these societies. It is stated that where there are no co-operative societies in existence new societies may be started. I ask, Sir, why should that

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condition be attached. Even if there are co-operative societies already, if Muslims want new co-operative societies why should not they be started

MR. SPEAKER:—“The hon. Member's time is up. He may kindly resume his seat.”

* SRI P. VENKATANARAYANA:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have been listening to several valuable suggestions from hon. Members with regard to the steps to be taken to meet the food situation in the Province. It is clear to us, Sir, that there is no hope of getting any considerable imports from abroad and in the circumstances we have to rely solely upon our own resources. The whole problem has to be examined in all its aspects, namely, production, procurement and distribution. The statement made by the Hon. the Premier shows that there is really a deficit of 3 lakhs of tons of cereals up to the end of October in the current year. But the second crop will be available only at the end of December and therefore up to the end of December the deficit is bound to be more. Looking at the international situation, Sir, it is well known that Soviet Russia is considered to be the granary of Europe and the ideology of Soviet Russia is universal brotherhood. I suggest, Sir, that the hon. Members of the Communist Party here should do their best to get the good offices of the Communist Party of India and secure help from Soviet Russia. Due to the efforts of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru we hope to secure about half a million tons of rice from Indonesia. The Government should take vigorous steps for growing more food immediately. The bonus for raising short-term crops should be increased. Manure and seeds should be supplied to the agriculturists in time. Commercial crops should be discouraged. More waste lands must be brought under cultivation for growing food crops. The activities of the Agricultural Department should be intensified. Subsidiary and alternative foods must be popularised, so that the strain on the main staple food of rice may be reduced. Procurement seems to be the crux of the problem, and I am sure it can be successfully solved with the co-operation of every Member of this House and of the public.”

* SRI P. KAKKAN:—“தலைவரவர்களே, இந்த உணவுப் பிரச்சனை 3-15 p.m. மிகவும் முக்கியமானது. நான் சொல்லுகின்றேன் திட்டம் மிகவும் சரி. ஆகவே இந்த திட்டத்தை எந்தவிதமாய்ச் செலுத்தலாம். அதை அப்படியே நிறைவேற்றினால் நாம் நமது ஏழை மக்களுக்குப் பெரிய கைங்கரியம் செய்தவர்களாவோம். நான் சட்டசபைக்கு வரும்போது என் நண்பர்களைக் கலந்து ஆலோசித்தேன். அவர்கள் சொன்னார்கள், இந்தமாதிரி கிராமங்கள் தோறும் சபைகளை அமைத்து வேலை செய்தால் உண்மையில் உணவுப் பிரச்சனையை வெற்றிகரமாகத் தீர்க்கமுடியுமென்று சொன்னார்கள். அந்த திட்டம்தான் சரியான திட்டம். எங்கள் மேலூர் டவுனிலே ரைஸ்மில்லை முடிவிட்டார்கள். இந்தமாதிரி ஏன் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று தாசில்தாரை கேட்டேன். டவுனில் எடுத்த ‘சென்சல்’ அதிகமாய் இருப்பதாகவும் ஸ்டாக் சரிவர செல்லவில்லை என்றும் அவர் கூறினார். பிறகு நான் அங்குள்ள ஊழியர்களைக் கூப்பிட்டு கமிட்டி அமைத்து தகராரை வெற்றிகரமாகச் செய்து முடித்தோம். இன்னொரு கிராமத்திலே இன்ஸ்பெக்டர் போய் உங்கலிடத்தில் 20 கலம்குகிறது, 30 கலம் இருக்கிறது என்று சொன்னார்கள். ரெவினயூ இன்ஸ்பெக்டர் எங்கள் அனுமதியில்லாமல் எடுத்துக்கொண்டு

[Sri P. Kakkan]

[30th May 1946]

போய்விடுகிறார் என்று ஜனங்கள் சொன்னார்கள். நாங்கள் ஊழியர்கள் இருக்கின்றோம், அந்தப் பங்கை எங்களிடத்தில் கொடு என்று தாசில் தாரிடம் சொன்னேன். அவரும் சம்மதித்தார். அதன் பிறகு அந்த ஊழியர்களிடம் கமிட்டியை அமைத்து எந்தெந்த ஆட்களிடத்தில் எவ்வளவு வெவ்வளவு நெல்லு இருக்கிறதென்று தைரியமாகச் சொல்லுங்களென்று சொன்னேன். உடனே காரியம் வெற்றிகரமாக முடித்துக் கொடுத்தோம். ஆகவே இந்த திட்டம் மிகவும் சரியான திட்டம். இந்த திட்டத்தால் வெற்றிகரமாக நிறைவேற்ற முடியும். அசையால் இந்த திட்டத்தை மனப்பூர்வமாக ஆதரிக்கும்படி கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

SRI N. VENKATASUBBAYYA:—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to stand up and say a few words. I thought I would not get an opportunity. We are now living in an age of rations and I gladly accept the ration of 5 minutes allotted by the Speaker. I represent one of the poorest constituencies in the province; I come from the Kurnool district. I read the statement of the Hon. Premier to find out whether there is any hope or light for our district. But unfortunately the constituency which I have the honour to represent in this Assembly does not derive any hope; there is only disappointment. I am saying this not in a spirit of criticism. The people of Rayalaseema have been suffering untold miseries and privations for ages. I was connected with the economic survey of the district in the years 1934 and 1935, in connexion with resettlement operations. I was obliged to go from village to village to find out the economic conditions of the people; wherever I went, whatever hut I entered into, and whatever house I saw, I found starvation writ large on the brows of people. In Hanumathgundam, B. Uppalur, B. Tadpatri, T. Peta, to mention a few villages, which were once prosperous and with Rajas and Poligars ruling over them with all the glory that was Vijayanagar, instead of former prosperity we see now dilapidated houses, and ruins, with hardly any signs of human habitation.

“ I had occasion to examine the census statistics of these villages for 1871 and 1931; comparing these statistics I found that the population in some villages had decreased by about 50 to 70 per cent and that others had almost become extinct. It is a serious matter. I hope the Hon. Premier will examine the economic conditions of the Kurnool district and Rayalaseema more patiently and carefully, and see they get enough food. I know that the present crisis is not due to war alone or its war effects. It is due to the long and silent process of impoverishment that began since the whitemen set their foot on the soil of this country. They are about to quit voluntarily—if they don't quit they will be made to quit in the same way as they quitted their American colonies—when they quit, with the ignominy of having killed 30 lakhs in Bengal famine and having brought the present food crisis. But the earlier they quit, the better for us. This year there has been serious failure of crops in Otk sub-taluk and partial failure in Pattikonda, Dhona and Cumbum taluks in my district. In spite of this failure of crops, the Deputy Commissioner of Civil Supplies came on the scene and said that we had a surplus of about 10,000 tons; he wanted from us 5,000 tons and took 3,000 tons

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matter and the people of my district who are facing starvation are put to great hardships on account of this depletion of grain. I wish to draw the attention of the Hon. Premier to this matter and I ask him to stop exports forthwith. I have represented the matter to the Collector also; but so far, nothing has been done. I wish to have an assurance from the Government that such high-handed and irresponsible acts by officialdom will not be committed in future.”

SRI W. S. SRINIVASA RAO:—“ தலைவரவர்களே, இன்றைய தினம் நம்முடைய கவனம் பூராவும் நாம் இங்கே என்ன பேசிக்கொண்டிருக்கின்றோமென்பதை எதிர்பார்த்துக்கொண்டிருப்பதையும், இங்கே நேற்று முதல் இன்று வரையில் உணவுப் பொருள் பற்றி நீண்ட நேரம் பேசிக்கொண்டிருப்பதையும் யோசிக்கும்போது இது மிகவும் முக்கியமானது. முந்தி இருந்த கவர்ன்மெண்டு அநேகம் கோளாறுகளைச் செய்து நமது ஜனங்களை பாதித்திருப்பதினால்தான் இப்பேர்ப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பம் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறதென்பது நன்றாகத் தெரிகிறது. இங்கே யார் ஜவாப்தாரியென்று யோசனை பண்ணவேண்டிய அவசியம் கிடையாது. இதற்கு முன் இருந்தவர்களுடைய ஜவாப்தாரித்து வம்தான். அவர்கள் கீழ் இருக்கும் கலெக்டர்கள், டெபுடி கலெக்டர்கள் அநேக **blackmarket** காரர்களை அவர்கள் இஷ்டப்பிரகாரம் நடக்கும்படி விட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அதனால்தான் நாம் இன்றையதினம் கஷ்டப்படவேண்டியதாயிருக்கிறது. ஆகையால் அம்மாதிரியான இந்தக் கூட்டம் அடியோடு ஒழிக்கப்படுவிடவேண்டும். அவர்களுடைய ஆதிக்கத்தை ஒழித்துவிடவேண்டும். எங்கள் ஜில்லாவில் ஒரு கலெக்டர் உட்கார்ந்து கொண்டிருக்கிறார். ஏழு வருஷமாக இருக்கிறார். வயசு ஆய் விட்டது. பென்ஷன் நான் ஆய் விட்டது. **Extension** வாங்கிக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார். ஏன்? எங்களை இந்தக்கதியில் கொண்டு வந்து வைப்பதற்குத் தான் என்று நினைக்கின்றேன்! அவர் செய்யும்படியான ஒரு ஆர்டரினால் எங்கள் ஊரில் உணவுப்பொருள்கள் கோவாப்பேட்டில் சொஸைட்டிக்கு விலைக்கிக்கொடுப்பது கிடையாது. பிரைவேட் மர்ச்செண்ட், **wholesale dealers**, இவர்களுக்கு ஏராளமாகக் கொட்டிக்கொடுக்கிறது. **price fix** பண்ணுவது கிடையாது. அதனுடைய காரணமாய் **wholesale dealer**-கள் அநேகர் அவர்கள் ஆயிரக்கணக்கான மூட்டைகளை வைத்துக்கொண்டு இன்னும் **price fix** ஆகவில்லை என்று சொல்லிக் கொண்டு **blackmarket**-க்கு அவைகளை அனுப்பிக்கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். அது வருகிறவரையில் காத்துக்கொண்டிருந்தால் கோவாப்பேட்டில் சொஸைட்டியில் பருப்பு முதலானவை யெல்லாம் உருத்துப் போய் பிரயோசனமில்லாமல் போகும் வரையில் காத்திருந்து அதன் பிறகு தான் கொடுக்கப்படுகிறது. **Wholesale dealer**-களுக்கு வேண்டிய மூட்டை கிடைக்கிறது. இன்னும் சக்கரை **Control** கூட இதேமாதிரியாக **receipt** களை யெல்லாம் தயார்பண்ணி வைத்து வருவதற்கு முன்னேயே செலவாய் விட்டதென்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். **Co-operative society**-க்கு நாலு மூட்டை பத்து மூட்டை கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள். எங்கள் ஊரில் மாஜிஸ்ட்ரேட் சொல்லியனுப்புகிறார் யார் வந்து சக்கரை கேட்பாலும் **Co-operative society**-க்கு போ என்று சொல்லிவருகிறார். இரண்டு, மூன்று நாளைக்குமுன் வரும் வழியில் ஒரு **black-market** அரிசி லாரியும் மிலிட்டரி லாரியும் முட்டிக்கொண்டு துண்டு துண்டாய் போய் விட்டது. அதிலிருந்து நல்ல ஜீரகச் சம்பா அரிசி ரோடு பூராவும் விழுந்திருந்தது. அதற்கு ஒத்தாசையாக எல்லா ஆபீசர்களும் இருக்கிறார்கள். செய்யாரிலே ஒரு சப்-இன்ஸ்பெக்டர் உணவுப் பொருள் கோளாறு நடந்தபோது ஒருவனைப் பிடித்து தலையில் பட்டையடித்து அனுப்பிவிட்டான். ஒரு வக்கீல் இதைப்பற்றி பஸ்ஸில் பேசிக் கொண்டிருந்தபோது அந்த வக்கீலை இறக்கி விட்டான். அந்த வக்கீல் ரிப்போர்ட் பண்ணியும் கேட்பார் கிடையாது. இந்த மாதிரி **black-market** நிலைமை இருக்கிறது. அவர்களை அடியோடு ஒழித்துவிட வேண்டும். **Blackmarket** காரர்கள் எல்லாக் கஷ்டமில்லும் நுழைந்து கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். காங்கிரஸில் கூட இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களெல்லோ

[Sri W. S. Srinivasa Rao] [30th May 1946]

ரும் வீழ்த்தப்பட்டு, புது ஆபீசர்கள் போடவேண்டும். பென்ஷன் ஆபீசர்களை வீட்டுக்கு அனுப்பிவிடவேண்டும். மற்றவர்களை யெல்லாம் **transfer** பண்ணிவிடவேண்டும். பயிரிடுவதற்கு வேண்டிய இரும்பு சாமான்கள், எலக்டிரிக் சாமான்கள் இவைகளெல்லாம் கவர்ன்மெண்டு **contro**-ல் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். அரிசியையும் கவர்ன்மெண்டு **control**-ல் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். சில யோச்யமான ஸர்க்கார் அதிகாரிகள் இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களை இந்த டிபார்ட்மெண்டில் நுந்து **Judicial Department** மற்ற **Department**-க்கு அனுப்பியிருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களை யெல்லாம் இங்கு திருப்பி மாற்றி இந்த **blackmarket** கார்டனை மாற்ற வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்கிறேன்.”

3-30
p.m.

* **SRI R. RAGHAVA MENON**:—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, before entering into the main question of the food problem in the province, I wish to place before this House a small injustice that has been done, perhaps unknowingly, in the district of Malabar. Malabar, as is well-known, is a district which has been underfed for a number of years. Our district is one with plenty of water, not a drop of which is being conserved for any kind of crop or cultivation. Every drop of it safely goes and joins the sea. Notwithstanding the fact that we have plenty of water, our district has always been a poor district and everybody there has been underfed. It is true, Sir, that we are having plenty of rains but our second crop fails in nine out of every ten years. Unfortunately in such a district, while the ordinary ration of 14 oz. was allowed for an individual in the other districts, only 12 oz. were fixed for people of the district; and when ration in other districts was reduced to 12 oz., in Malabar it was brought down to 10 oz. I hope, Sir, when the ration is still further reduced in the other districts to 10 oz., the quantity prescribed for Malabar will not be still further reduced to 9.04 oz. as decided by the Ration authorities. If the reduction is due to the fact that sea-fish is available I submit that in Malabar the coming four months will be very rainy and sea stormy, and no fishing is possible and I submit, Sir, therefore there is no justification whatsoever for making a reduction in the ration in Malabar district. I am sorry, Sir, I have had to refer to this small matter when we are discussing a more important subject such as the food problem which faces the whole province.

“ Coming, Sir, to the main question now, some of the questions that suggest themselves are: how can we produce more food; how can we get at hoarded paddy; how can we distribute the paddy that is procured; and how can we best secure the co-operation of the people in the villages? It is only by tackling these questions that we can find a remedy for the present problem. As regards increased production, I would suggest that the Government should give facilities to the ryots, wherever there is waste land, to irrigate them and cultivate food-crops; or I would even say that the Government may take them over directly themselves and arrange for their cultivation. I think any amount spent over this is well worth spending. When we are faced with a famine, our main purpose should be to get over it somehow and money should be no consideration at all. I am sure if the people are directly approached by our popular Government, if our leaders can go and tell them “ look here, why not cultivate all these waste lands that are available and produce more food for our people.” I am sure that every

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piece of waste land will be cultivated. We want the co-operation of the people and the people alone. The Board suggested by the Opposition sitting in Madras, trying to call its members from the mufassal, and their coming here travelling all the way—all this is not practical work for getting over the food deficit. Before the Board begins the work famine will be over. You can have boards when once the famine is got over.

“ The next question, Sir, is, how to get the paddy which is now underground. It is true that a good quantity is now underground; and how far can the officials get at the hoarded stock? The honest villager should be consulted in this matter and he alone can help you and the best way to have his help is only by having these village committees proposed by the Premier.

“ Secondly, what about distribution? I would advise the Government to cancel the licences now issued. Take away the licences of the big fellows, these wholesale merchants. It is through these licences that corruption has come and is reigning supreme. You may control the removal of grain from district to district or from province to province by any method you please: but do not allow these licences to continue.

“ Thirdly, let us divert some land with one kind of crop to a food-crop. For instance, tobacco is not food; you can easily convert some of the lands on which tobacco is grown at present into land on which only paddy should be grown. If you do it even for one year, it will be sufficient; then we shall see if there is necessity to continue this policy. You may divert a portion of cotton growing lands also for food cultivation.

“ Now, Sir, bread is sought to be rationed and there is lot of trouble in the existing method of rationing it. I understand the Bakers' Association is approaching the Premier and the Minister concerned in regard to this matter.

“ Lastly, Sir, let us have prohibition introduced immediately because the toddy so released can very well be utilized for producing “ Gur ” (jaggery) which is a very vitalising food which Government can distribute to the people as food.”

SRI M. BAPINEEDU:—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, in a country like India where about 73 per cent. of the people are agriculturists, it is indeed tragic that we have to discuss a deficiency in food. Not even a Midas suffering for lack of gold can provide a greater paradox; India is a country with overflowing rivers and never-failing crops, and yet it is a paradox that we have to face to-day this food deficit in our country. India is a land of paradoxes, as one foreigner put it. We have sages living amidst us, but still we have only 12 per cent. literate in the country. We have the richest of men living in this country, but still we find millions of the poorest of the poor in our country. This food crisis seems to be one of the many benefits of British rule. Our Rayalaseema has now become Rallaseema. The man-made famine in Bengal we have heard much of. Let us all hope and trust that such a famine will not be allowed to be repeated in this land of ours once again.

[Sri M. Bapineedu]

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"Sir, we are bound to face this problem with the co-operation of the members of the Opposition. The question has often been asked whether there is real scarcity of food or whether it is merely a scare. Sir, the statement submitted by the Hon. the Premier shows that there is deficit in the province. The crux of the problem to-day may be summarised thus: more production, procurement and distribution. As regards production, many of my colleagues here have made numerous suggestions for having a long-range scientific planning, for giving subsidy to some crops, for providing manure free or at cheap rates to the ryots, for converting land now growing tobacco and groundnut into land for growing food-crops, and so on. Then comes procurement and that is a real problem. Members on the Opposition side have voted against the constitution of village committees. They forget that India was once famous for its village administration; I do not know why they are so much afraid of these committees; these committees, Sir, cannot be blind to the interests of the masses and the interests of the poor people or the minority communities; and we are sure that, given an opportunity, these committees will certainly help in solving this food problem. Then, Sir, after procurement, comes distribution. In fact, more than production and procurement, distribution is important. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I come from a district where we have a surplus (West Godavari). We export the surplus to other districts of the province; and yet, Sir, there is a fear that in some corners of the district there may not be food available to the people to eat. Whole villages were badly affected by the recent cyclone and about 50 per cent of the produce was lost in Narasapur taluk, in Bhimavaram about 25 per cent and a decent percentage in the Tanuku taluk. So, I say, the real problem is that of distribution. I have seen people in the streets of Ellore fighting for getting their rations and with the help of these village and taluk committees, ever-vigilant and never-failing, I am sure we will be able to face the problem, provided the members on the Opposition do offer their sincere, willing and intelligent co-operation. We hope and trust, Sir, that this food problem will be solved within a short period and that our poor people will be happy and cease to clamour for food. I am also sure that by the time we next meet here in session, we will be able to compare notes and show that we have actually succeeded in solving this problem."

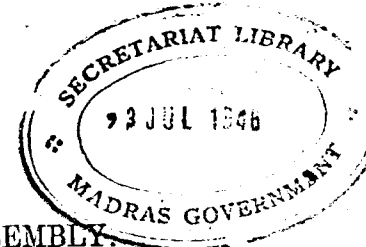
*SRI A. SUBRAHMANYAM:—"தலைவரவர்களே ஒரு இடத்தில் பஞ்சம் ஏற்பட்டால் அதை தடுக்க வேண்டுமென்று எல்லோரும் கூப்பாடு போடுகின்றார்கள். கிளர்ச்சியும் செய்கிறார்கள். அதற்குக் காரணம் என்ன வெனில் பஞ்சம் என்னும்படி யான வியாதி மகா கொடிய வியாதியாய் விளங்குகிறது. எனவே அந்தப் பெரும் பஞ்சத்தை எப்படி ஒழிப்பது. எப்படி தடுப்பது என்பது உடனடியாகக் கவனிக்கவேண்டியது, இங்கு வந்திருக்கும் அங்கத்தினர்களுடைய கடைமை என்பதை உணர்வேண்டும். அன்பர்களே, நம் தலைவர்கள் இந்த உணவு நெருக்கடியைச் சமாளிப்பதற்குச் சில நடவடிக்கைகளை எடுத்துக் கொண்டு இருக்கிறார். அதற்கு நானும் சில வார்த்தைகளை சொல்லலாமென்று நினைக்கின்றேன். அதற்குச் சரியான பேச்சுந்தரப்படும் நிலைமையும் இல்லாததுபற்றி வருத்தப்படவேண்டியதாயிருக்கிறது. இருந்தாலும்கூட இன்று இரண்டு விஷயங்களைமட்டும் இந்த சபை முன் பேசலாமென்றிருக்கின்றேன். முதலாவதாக எந்தெந்த இடத்தில் பயிர் விளைச்சல் செய்யமுடியாது தரிசலாகக் கிடக்கின்றதோ அந்த நிலங்களை அரசாங்கத்தார் உடனடியாகப் பயிர் செய்வதற்கான நடவடிக்கைகளை எடுக்கவேண்டும். இரண்டாவது ஜவ்வசதி இல்லாத பாழடைந்த ஏரிகளோ

30th May 1946]

[Sri A. Subrahmanyam]

அல்லது கிணறுகளோ இருந்தால் அவைகளை வெட்ட அரசாங்கத்தார் ஏற்பாடு செய்யவேண்டும், அதற்கு அதிகமான செலவு ஏற்படுவதாயிருந்தாலும்கூட பாதகமில்லை, மக்கள் மடிந்த பிறகு செலவு செய்ய அரசாங்கம் தயாராயிருக்கிறதென்பதைத் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்வதைவிட மக்கள் சாகாமலிருக்கும்போதே வேண்டிய வசதிகளைச் செய்துகொடுக்கவேண்டியது, ஜனங்களுடைய பெற்றுப்புவாய்ந்த அரசாங்கமாய் இருக்கக்கூடியவர்கள் செய்யவேண்டிய முதல் கடைமை யென்பதை உணர்ந்து இதை முதலிலே செய்யவேண்டும். அடுத்தபடியாக இந்த மாகாணத்திலே பூரண மது விலக்கை உடனே செய்துத் தீரவேண்டும். அதனால் உணவுப்பொருள் கிடைக்கின்றனா என்பதைச் சற்று ஆராய்ச்சி செய்து பார்ப்போமானால் கண்டிப்பாக உணவுப்பொருள்கள் அதிகமாக உண்டாகுமென்பதைத் தெரிந்து கொள்ளலாம். கோடிக்கணக்கில் தேங்காய்கள் உற்பத்தியாவது தடைப்படுத்தப்படுகிறது, அதனால் தேங்காயிலிருந்து அனேக உணவுப் பொருள்கள் ஏற்படுவதற்குச் சாத்யமில்லாமலிருக்கின்றது. அப்படியே பனைமரம். பனை மரத்திலே முதலிலே போய் பாளையைச் சீவிவிட்டால் அதில்வரும் பனங்காய் குருத்துக்கே ஆபத்து உண்டாகி உணவுப்பொருள்கள் உண்டாகாமல் செய்து விடுகிறோம். இதிலிருந்து நொங்கு, பழம் வெல்லம் பனம் பூ, டனங் கிழங்கு உண்டாகின்றன. உணவுப்பொருளை அவசியமாய் உற்பத்தி செய்ய வேண்டிய இந்தக்காலத்தில் காங்கிரஸ் அரசாங்கம் இருக்கும் இந்த காலத்திலே உடனடியாக மதுவிலக்கைச் செய்தால் நல்ல பலன் கிடைக்குமென்பது முக்கியமான விஷயம். என்னுடைய ஜில்லாவில் சேலத்திலே மிக ஏழை மக்கள் ஒரு கோடியே இருபது லக்ஷம் ரூபாய்களைக் கள்ளுக்குக் கொடுக்கிறார்கள். கனம் கவர்னர் அவர்கள் அங்கு சென்றிருந்தபோது கூட இதைப்பற்றி பிரஸ்தாபித்து வருத்தமடைந்தார். இதை நாம் உடனடியாகத் தடை செய்யவேண்டும். இந்த மாகாண உணவுப்பிரச்சனையை தீர்க்க சீக்கிரத்தில் அதிக கவனம் செலுத்த வேண்டும். மழை இல்லாததினால் சரியான விளைச்சல் இல்லையென்று சொல்லலாம். அதற்காக கிணறுகளை வெட்ட தற்போது அரசாங்கத்தார் காட்டும் சலுகை 310 ரூபாய். இந்த சலுகை, போதாது உடனடியாக கிணறு வெட்ட 1,200 ரூபாயாவது அவசியம் கொடுத்துத் தீரவேண்டுமென்ற எண்ணம் அரசாங்கத்திற்கு உதிக்க வேண்டும். அப்படிச் செய்தால்தான் குடியானவர்களுக்கு வேலை செய்ய முடியும். சேலம் ஜில்லாவில் 60 அடி ஆழம் தோண்டினால்தான் ஜலம் வரும். ஆகையால் 1,010 ரூபாயாவது கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்ற நிலைமை ஏற்பட வேண்டும். Blackmarket என்று சொல்லுகிறார்களே அது உடனடியாகப் போகவேண்டுமென்றால் ஆங்காங்கு இருக்கும்படியான உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களை அவசியம் வேறு ஜில்லாக்களுக்கு மாற்றியே தீரவேண்டும். அங்கிருக்கும் சில குறிப்பிட்ட உத்தியோகஸ்தர்கள் ஒவ்வொருவரும் ஒரு தரகரை வைத்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள், அந்தத் தரகரிடத்திலிருந்து அவர்களைப் பிரித்து வேறு ஜில்லாக்களுக்கு மாற்றி விடுவோமானால் ஒருவாறு அந்தக்கொள்ளை நிற்குமென்று சொல்லிக்கொண்டு நிறுத்திக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

*SRI K. T. KOSALARAMA NADAR:—"Mr. Speaker, நம் 3-45 முடைய பிரதம மந்திரி கொடுத்திருக்கும் கிராமக்கமிட்டி எவ்வளவு p.m. முக்கியமான தென்பது நாம் அனைவருக்கும் தெரிந்ததே. ஆனால் அந்த கோமக்கமிட்டி எவ்விதம் அமைக்கப்படவேண்டுமென்பது முக்கியமாக கவனிக்கப்படவேண்டிய விஷயம். தாசில்தார்கள் கமிட்டி அங்கு இருக்கும் ஜனங்களின் சம்மதத்தைக் கேட்டு அமைப்பது என்று மட்டும் இருக்கிறது. ஆனால் இன்று வைசிராய் எக்ஸ்சுடிவ் கவுன்சிலில் இருப்பவர்கள்கூட பெரும்பாலும் இந்தியர்கள் தான் இருக்கிறார்கள். நாம் அவர்களை நம் பிரதிநிதிகளென்று ஒப்புக்கொள்ளவில்லை. அம்மாதிரியாகவே தாசில்தார்கள் கூட செலக் பண்ணலாம். கமிட்டி மெம்பர்கள் எப்போர்ப்பட்டவர்களாயிருப்பார்களென்று நாம் ஆம்ந்து கவனிக்கவேண்டும். இந்த Textile Officer யார், Yarn Advisory Committee ஒன்று இருக்கிறது, அது பெரியவர்கள் கமிட்டியாக இருக்கிறது. அந்தக்கமிட்டி அங்கத்தினர்களை Control ஆபீசர் எந்த நிபந்தனை வேண்டுமானாலும் விலக்கிவிடுவதற்கு அவருக்கு அதிகாரமிருக்கிறது. அதனால் அந்த Advisory கமிட்டியில் இருப்பவர்கள் அங்கிருக்கும் ஆபீசருக்குக் கீழே அவர்கள் சொல்லுகிறதற்குத் தாளம் போட்டுக்கொண்டிருக்கவேண்டிய நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகையால் இந்த கிராமக்கமிட்டி அமைப்பு விஷயமாக கனம்



[Sri K. T. Kosalarama Nadar] [30th May 1946]

Village பஞ்சாயத்து கோர்ட்டு தேர்தல் முறையைக் கையாண்டு கிராம ஜனங்களைக் கூட்டி கிராம ஜனங்களை ஒட்டைப் பெற்று அந்தக் கமிட்டியை அமைக்கவேண்டும், அதிலே பெரும்பாலும் ஏழைகளுக்கு பிரதி நிதித் துவம் அதிகமாகக் கொடுக்கவேண்டும். அதில் குறைவான பிரதி நிதித் துவம் நிலச்சுவாந்தார்களுக்குக் கொடுக்கப்படவேண்டும். வியாபாரிகளுக்கும் ஒரு சில பிரதிநிதித்துவம் கொடுக்கப்படவேண்டும். இவ்வாறு அதில் நாம் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளோம். அப்பொழுதுதான் அந்தக் கமிட்டி சரியாக வேலை செய்ய முடியும். ஆகையால் கனம் பிரதம மந்திரியவர்கள் இதைத் தேர்தல் முறையென்று மாற்றினால் வெற்றிகரமாக நமது மாகாணத்தில் இந்த உணவுப் பிடிவையை வெகு அழகாகத் திருத்தமுடியுமென்று நான் சொல்லுகின்றேன். அடுத்தபடியாக இப்பொழுது பல நண்பர்கள் பேசினார்கள். இதற்குமுன் இருந்த அட்வைசர் அரசாங்கம் **Black-market** காரர்களை ஓரளவு ஆதரித்தார்களென்று நான் சொல்லுவேன். கவர்னர் வார் பண்ட் கலெக்ஷனுக்காக அவர்கள் பல வியாபாரிகளிடத்திலே பணம் வாங்கினார்கள். வியாபாரிகள் பணம் கொடுக்கிறார்களென்பதற்காக **Black-market** காரர்களை அவர்கள் மறைமுகமாக ஆதரித்தார்களென்று கூறத்தேவையில்லை. அதிகாரிகளை ஒன்று, இரண்டு வருஷமாக இருக்கும் அதிகாரிகளை அந்தந்த இடங்களை வட்டு அப்படி அப்படியே மாற்றிவிட்டுவனமென்று சொல்லுகிறேன். தாசில்தார் இஷ்டம் போல் இந்தக் கமிட்டி போடப்படுமானால் மீண்டும் முன் இருந்த **Black-market** கூட்டத்தைவிட மற்றொரு கூட்டம் வந்து அதிகமான அதிகாரத்துடன் மக்களை நசுக்கிவிடாமல் பாதுகாத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டியது நம்முடைய கடமை. ஆகையால் **extension** கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும் கலெக்டர்களை உடனடியாக லீட்டுக்கு அனுப்பிவிடவேண்டியது பிரதம மந்திரியுடைய கடமை. எங்கள் ஜில்லாவில்கூட அப்படி இருக்கிறார்கள் ரிட்டயராதி பலவருஷங்களுக்குப் பின்னால் மீண்டும் மீண்டும் எக்ஸ்டென்ஷன் கொடுக்கப்பட்டு அவர்கள் இருந்து கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் அந்த கிராமத்திற்கேபோவதில்லை. எந்தவிதமான பேப்பர்-னையும் தான் நோடியாக கவனிப்பதில்லை. ஆகையால் எக்ஸ்டென்ஷனில் இருக்கும் அதிகாரிகளை உடனே மாற்றிவிட வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

* **Mr. SPEAKER:**—“The Hon. the Premier wants to give some information to the House. At 4 o'clock the House will adjourn and meet again at 11 a.m. to-morrow. After question time to-morrow, the Premier will make his reply to the debate on the food problem.”

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—“Sir, on behalf of Malabar a demand has been made that the reduction of the ration should not be made from 2nd June. To-day is the 30th of May and Government will have to convey the instructions in this respect. I therefore wanted your permission to tell the hon. Members of this House the position in Malabar with regard to the ration. It was 10-17 oz. rice and 2-26 oz. wheat and this ration has been in vogue. It was declared previously that it will be reduced to 9-04 oz. rice and 3-39 oz. wheat and the hon. Members from Malabar both in this and in the other House have been urging the necessity for not enforcing this new reduction from the 1st or 2nd of June next. I am therefore making this announcement that this ration, viz., 9-04 oz. rice and 3-69 oz. wheat would not come into force from June 1946. That is what the hon. Members demanded and the Government have accepted it.” (Loud cheers.)

Mr. SPEAKER:—“Since the Government Members have to attend the Council meeting at 4 o'clock, I now adjourn the House to meet again at 11 a.m. to-morrow. As I have already stated, the Government Member will reply to the discussion on the food problem after question time to-morrow.”

The Assembly then adjourned to meet at 11 a.m. the next day.

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Friday, the 31st May 1946.

The House met in the Assembly Chamber, Fort St. George, at eleven of the clock, Mr. Speaker (THE HON. SRI J. SIVASHANMUKHAM PILLAI) in the Chair.

I.—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

STARRED QUESTION.

Contemplated strike of municipal scavengers.

* 3 (40). Q.—**SRI A. KAMESWARA RAO:** Will the Hon. the Minister for Public Health and Medicine be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Government are aware that the municipal workers (scavengers) in the municipal towns of this Province are contemplating to go on strike, if their grievances are not redressed immediately; and

(b) if so, what are the measures the Government propose to take to avert the strike and redress their grievances?

THE HON. MRS. RUKMINI LAKSHMIPATHI:—“(a) Representations have been received from certain municipal councils in regard to this affair.

“(b) The matter is engaging the immediate attention of the Government.”

MUHAMMAD ABDUL SALAM SAHIB BAHADUR:—“May I know whether representations have not been received from labour organizations?”

THE HON. MRS. RUKMINI LAKSHMIPATHI:—“No representation has been received from labour organizations.”

SRI A. KALESWARA RAO:—“May I know whether the Hon. Minister is aware that in many of these municipalities, it is the Communists' opinion that are making the scavengers to make impossible demands so that there may be no possible settlement, and labour unrest kept up perpetually?”

MUHAMMAD ABDUL SALAM SAHIB BAHADUR:—“Is that a question?”

THE HON. MRS. RUKMINI LAKSHMIPATHI:—“If the demands made by the scavengers are just, the Government will certainly go into them.”

SRI S. NAGAPPA:—“Is the Hon. Minister aware that the demands of the sweepers and scavengers are reasonable when compared to those of other menial services as they are not given any casual leave or other privileges?”

THE HON. MRS. RUKMINI LAKSHMIPATHI:—“I am afraid the question does not arise with regard to other privileges.”

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B. POCKER SAHIB BAHADUR :—" May I know what actual steps have the Government taken with reference to representations of the scavengers ? "

THE HON. MRS. RUKMINI LAKSHMIPATHI :—" Many representations have been made by the scavengers with regard to allowance, and the proposal is under the consideration of the Government."

SRI S. NAGAPPA :—" May I know how long the consideration will take place ? "

THE HON. MRS. RUKMINI LAKSHMIPATHI :—" Till the Government come to a decision."

AN HON. MEMBER :—" May I know from the Hon. Minister whether the Government had any occasion to examine the root cause for such strikes all over the Presidency ? "

THE HON. MRS. RUKMINI LAKSHMIPATHI :—" If there is any root cause, the Government will examine it."

AN HON. MEMBER :—" May I know, Sir, whether the Government have got any measures to combat such strikes all over the Presidency ? "

THE HON. MRS. RUKMINI LAKSHMIPATHI :—" May I request the hon. Member to address me as 'Madam' and not 'Sir' ? "

SRI KALA VENKATA RAO :—" May I inform the Minister that the question is addressed to the Speaker and not to the Minister? "

SRI K. ANANDA NAMBIYAR :—" May I know whether the promise that was given to the scavengers in Madras that there would be an increase in wages, would be made to the sweepers in the mufassal towns in which case much trouble could be avoided? Can the Hon. Minister give a guarantee like that? "

MR. SPEAKER :—" It is not one question. The hon. Member may split it up into different questions."

SRI K. ANANDA NAMBIYAR :—" Will a proportionate increase in wages promised to sweepers in the City of Madras be granted to sweepers in the mufassal towns also? "

THE HON. MRS. RUKMINI LAKSHMIPATHI :—" Notice."

SRI P. VENKATESWARLU :—" May I know whether the Hon. Minister makes a distinction between workers under Congress, League or Communist influences? "

THE HON. MRS. RUKMINI LAKSHMIPATHI :—" The answer, Sir . . ."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Government won't make such distinctions."

SRI S. NAGAPPA :—" May I know whether the Hon. Minister is in a position to say, from the petitions received by the Government, what the demands are? "

THE HON. MRS. RUKMINI LAKSHMIPATHI :—" This is a question relating to dearness allowance only."

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SRI A. KAMESWARA RAO :—" Will the Government be pleased to appoint a committee to go into the grievances immediately ? "

THE HON. MRS. RUKMINI LAKSHMIPATHI :—" Notice."

[Note.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

II.—MOTION RE FOOD AND CLOTH SITUATION IN THE PROVINCE—cont.

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—" Sir, a full debate has taken place over the food question. Except the members of the Muslim League that constitute the opposition, I understood that all others expressed their sympathy and support to the food question; and the draft proposals that were placed before them. They also made several suggestions that the Government should remove certain difficulties. Mr. Ferrelly also stated certain points for correction to a great extent. My reply therefore need not be very long. The League Opposition was to the formation of the committees, and they moved and supported an amendment to that effect. Mr. Ferrelly, though he is not an advocate, has argued like a lawyer, and he pointed out how the case stood. His own idea was the Government understated the case in regard to the food position, whereas it was really more serious. His first point was this: You say that there is stock, and yet you say the situation is grave. In other words, when there is stock in the country and in the Province, why do you say it is grave? That is the first point of Mr. Ferrelly.

" The next point is with regard to the grow more food proposition. The point raised was this. He said that the additional area under cultivation was 180,000 acres, whereas previously the cultivated area was 31 million acres. This 180,000 acres that has been actually brought under cultivation under the grow more food regulations is negligible. I may point out in reply these two technical points which he raised that the Government until now had tried its best by all methods that it could command to increase the area under cultivation and they found it difficult to continue the same methods, because it appeared that people were evading to help the Government. It is only natural, Sir, that when particular methods were not fair methods but oppressive methods, people tried to evade the rules because they were taking away everything without leaving anything for their own living and also for their cultivation purposes. What will human beings do? As human beings they felt there was no hope and there was no use in petitions and other methods and stocked something to eat without going to persons who took away so much from them. In that way, people felt oppressed and felt that they should not surrender everything to Government and that they should conceal it. That is the reason for hoarding.

" As regards the grow more food campaign, the point was that previously 31 million acres were under cultivation and that under the campaign a negligible acreage of 180,000 acres have

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been added. The point is that if really the Government had had a stronger drive in that connexion perhaps they would have been able to bring under cultivation more than one lakh and eighty thousand acres. The reason for their having been able to cultivate only 180,000 acres was that new land for cultivation was limited; new land that could be cultivated by individual ryots was limited. That was one of the reasons. If intensive cultivation had been attempted, it would have been possible to cultivate more. For that purpose, during these years of war, the required material could not be available. That was the reason. Now, Sir, I can assure the House that subject to the condition that we would be able to get the required material we would like to try and show hon. Members that by intensive methods, more land could be brought under cultivation. But that is for a long range purpose. That will not help us immediately in the present crisis. I say this so that all of us may have a clear idea of the situation with regard to the immediate crisis.

“ Mr. Ferrelly's next point was to equalise the ration for producers and non-producers. What he says is: for producers you have allowed one pound and for the consumer only 12 oz. Make it 14 oz. for both. That is his point. The answer to that is the producer, the tiller of the soil, the person who takes the whole trouble, must have a little more benefit for himself. We cannot put him in the present conditions on the same level with the consumer for the simple reason that unless he puts his hand to the plough and cultivates the soil and produces the grain, there will be nothing for the consumer. The whole thing will take a serious turn.

“ Another point raised by Mr. Ferrelly is this: you indicate the intention to revise the prices for the producer, making it higher. If you do it, the consumer suffers. The question of prices, the rise in prices and fall in prices is rather a very serious question. If only prices could be regulated by Governments in different countries properly, many troubles of the consumers generally could have been avoided. Under the present conditions in which we are living, to raise the price like this or to show the intention to raise the price for the sake of the producer would affect the consumer. We all know how it has affected the consumer. We all know how the consumer is compelled to pay. More than that, in every country that has got control over its own finance, over its own currency, and over its own products the Government are taking particular care to see that oppression is not caused to the subjects by the increase or decrease of prices. The increase and decrease of prices is connected with the inflation or deflation of currency in the country. It is the inflation and deflation policy that has been resorted to by Government during the last 150 years. I may be wrong by one or two years, I think, it will be 143 years since the first step was taken with regard to exchange. The accounts of the East India Company were maintained in pagodas, sovereigns and gold. In 1803 or so, it was that the account was changed from gold pagodas into

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rupees. The troubles of this country started from that date, and it is a big history of currency that has everything to do with prices. That is not the trouble regarding the raising of price to help the producer or decreasing it to help the consumer. That is not the question that should trouble Mr. Ferrelly. He need not have laid so much stress upon that point over this matter of prices. Our Government could do its best to do the right thing so that the purchaser or the consumer will not be put to serious loss on account of fluctuation.

“ Another suggestion that has been made is that the existing channels of trade should be utilized for the food and cloth distribution. It means that the controls should be removed and that private trade should be allowed. My own idea is that if, at a psychological moment, the private trade had been interrupted, the country would not be facing a situation like this now. Private trade will be allowed to continue if the Government find that it would not be possible to improve the position otherwise. Big traders are a problem. Hon. Members will remember what happened to the economic system of the entire world in the ten years after the close of the first World War in 1919. The only creditor country was America and she compelled every debtor country to pay down the debt in gold and silver and brought about all the economic ills of the world. At that time, what did Britain do? She stopped free trade promptly when she found that her markets had been flooded with the cheap articles produced by Russia. Britain found that British-made goods were not selling even in her own country and that cheap Russian goods were everywhere in English homes. Similarly, Japan too had flooded the markets of the world with her own goods and made it impossible for other nations to sell their goods. What did Britain do to meet the crisis? Britain hurriedly appointed a Committee consisting of her best men to go to Russia and study the conditions there and find out how Russia was able to manufacture and sell goods at rock-bottom prices in all the markets of the world. That Commission visited Russia, investigated the matter and submitted a report. They found that Russia was able to sell goods so cheaply because of the cheapness of labour there under the 5-year plan or, later, the 10-year plan of Moscow. England was thus faced with the necessity either of producing goods at low cost or of stopping free trade. She closed her shores for free trade and saved herself. We are a helpless country. We cannot do likewise. We have to look up to the Viceroy or the Secretary of State to come to our rescue in times of trouble. But how can a Viceroy sitting in Delhi know the needs of the people in the matter of cloth or food and issue the necessary regulations? His inability to do so is reflected in the fact that we have still big rivers in the province discharging their waters into the sea without being turned to use in the cultivation of the large areas of waste lands. How has this country been brought to this condition of dependence on others for food? Our dependence on others is alone responsible for this state of affairs. The concentration of all the power

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with regard to the regulation of food and cloth is in the Viceroy's hands. It is the Central Government that allots the quota for each province. The order comes from there giving Bombay a certain quota and Madras 50 per cent less. We have nothing to do with the production, distribution or regulation of food or cloth. I do not know why we have been made to depend on Burma rice, Saigon rice or Siam rice when there is so much land in our country available for cultivation. If we had power to order things in our country, we could have produced enough for ourselves and even something for other countries. Things have gone the wrong way and we have the present crisis. Therefore who is responsible for this stage of affairs. This question was debated in this House and in the other place. Hon. Members intuitively gave their own answers. In reply to their observations, I may say it is not quite correct to say that the Governor or his Advisers are responsible for this situation. They are responsible only for their failure to claim independence for this province to regulate the food question. There is no doubt they are responsible for that failure. But it is the Viceroy who frames the rules for the production, distribution and regulation of the available food-supply without knowing anything about the condition of the people, their requirements and so on. That is why we have come upon this crisis. We need not, however, specifically level the charge against any particular individual. I have studied this question even when the National Struggle was going on and that is why I am not able to agree with hon. Members who believe that the Governor or the Advisers are responsible for the present situation. The whole trouble is due to the fact that the authorities have gone about it the wrong way. But the Advisers, when they realized the mistake, took care to change the whole thing. It is for these reasons we are obliged to supersede the methods hitherto adopted and propose these village committees.

"Mr. Gregory considers that wheat must be made a compulsory item of food. Of course it will have to be done if people cannot live otherwise. We cannot ask them to go and collect from the roadside or from trees anything worth eating. If no food which they ordinarily eat is made available to them by the State whose duty it is at least to feed and clothe them, if everything else is exhausted, then the Government will be compelled to let the population under its charge live on wheat. But, before making the consumption of wheat compulsory, we are hoping that, under the scheme proposed by the Government, our people will realize the difficulties and helpfully act in such a manner that there will be no need for us to introduce wheat compulsorily.

"Then, Sir, complaints were made on the floor of the House that the wholesaler was making a profit of Rs. 2 per bag of rice, on account of overhead charges. Now that the whole thing is in our own hands, it is hoped that people will be saved from all these troubles and from blackmarketeers and also legalized bribe-takers.

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"Some of my friends opposite were very angry with me for having proposed this method. One hon. Member described it as a bullock-cart scheme. It is not a bullock-cart scheme that I have placed before hon. Members. The new scheme affects the whole population of India, 90 per cent of whom are living in villages. They are living with bullocks and carts. They have been living like that for ages and centuries. They had a civilization which was copied by other countries. It is such people that have been reduced to the present miserable state. Yet, you ridicule it; you call it bullock-cart scheme. Can you ever dispense with bullocks and carts in this country? Can we dispense with them even after establishing complete independence? They will be there. You cannot do away with bullocks and carts. It is not a mere bullock-cart scheme that I have placed before you. The ancestors of our villagers knew and practised the sciences that we see practised in other parts of the world. It is they who gave these sciences to the outsiders. We are inheritors of their intelligence, although the knowledge of these things has been taken away from us. Our ancestors were not uneducated people. If you look back to ancient history you will know that 85 or 90 per cent of the people were educated in the vernaculars of the country. But to-day we find that only 10 per cent of the population are educated. Those are the people whom you dub as unworthy and incapable of taking charge of their own lives. (Cries of 'No, no'.) I am glad to hear the contradiction. So far as those people are concerned, you do not know what proofs we have about the state of their civilization in those bygone days, although such proofs are there within a few miles from this place. There is a village called Uttiramerur, on the 20th mile from Conjeevaram. On the temple walls of that place a complete description of the Government which the people were enjoying about a thousand years ago exists. They had adult franchise. They had free elections. There was no distinction between men and women and between caste and caste. They had power to elect their representatives. The representatives in the villages were called panchayatdars and the representatives in the towns were called by different names. The villages were being governed in that manner. I was telling the Governor the other day about this inscription on the stone-walls of the Uttiramerur temple, conscious of the fact that an Englishman like Mr. Amery once said that India did not know anything of democracy, that Englishmen gave her democracy and that India was not fit to receive democratic ideas. It may seem strange even to hon. Members of the House that elections, according to that inscription, were also conducted in those days. There was no ballot-box in those days, but a pot was used instead, its mouth tied up and a slit made therein. Their ballot paper was cadjan leaf because paper had not come into existence then. In that way they held elections. Thus, I claim that they were the first people in the whole world who ran a democratic Government in a perfect manner. The whole country was in this way democratically governed. From the village upwards this was the system prevailing.

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"Now it is given to us to resuscitate that culture and help these unfortunate villagers who are starving for food and cloth, because these articles stop with the traders and other gentlemen who deal with them and make profits. It is in these circumstances that the constitution of village committees has been proposed. I request hon. Members to lend a helping hand in the successful working of this method. They have got intelligence on their side.

"The other day Dr. Rajan speaking in the other House talked in the same strain about the faults of the villagers. Even Macaulay and other historians have written about the elections, etc., in ancient India and the standard of culture of Indians. If our ancients had been uneducated men they would not have written about them. And yet we are told by British statesmen, 'How can you ask for freedom when your people are so ignorant, where there is no education among the masses?' I ask whose fault is it if there has been no education. It is the fault of the Government alone. If there had been no education, how could the Indians have conducted elections? The Indians have inherited the intelligence of their ancestors. The moment you tell your villagers as to how they should conduct themselves, they will understand and there will be no need for you to tell them a second time. If you make them responsible for their welfare, they will carry on excellently. If they have little squabbles, they will settle the matter themselves. The law courts are responsible for the present state of affairs to a great extent. (A voice: 'Hear, hear.') Yes, it is so. It is the duty of every one to examine the position. (A voice: 'Close them down.') If it were in my power to do so, I would close them down. (Cries of 'hear, hear.') I would do the things that are in my power. (A voice: 'Educate them.') Why do you oppose? (A voice: 'That is exactly what we want'.) That is why I want you to approve the proposal for appointing these committees so that we may give the villagers an opportunity to look after themselves. I will tell the Leader of the Opposition publicly. You will see within a short time how these Committees function and how the villagers take charge of the whole thing. (Cheers.) You will see how they conduct the village administration, paying your taxes and without allowing you to attach their properties and sell them. All these things will be done with the co-operation of the House. We are dealing with matters common to all classes of people, Hindus, Muhammadans and others. I have known in the countryside Muhammadans and Hindus, all struggling hard to earn their wages. No doubt conditions have been disturbed on account of political strife in recent times. But it is our duty now to stop those things and bring them to the right position. In one village where spinning was introduced by the Congress and a spinning institution was opened I was examining the accounts the other day. I found that out of the 500 spinners on the rolls, 400 were Muslims. (The Leader of the Opposition: 'In one village?') My friend implies that there will not be many such villages. May I, Sir, take him back to the days of the Muslim rule when the villagers were living

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in peace and plenty? It is only after the introduction of the ryotwari system that they have become diffused and separated. There is historical proof for what I say. In those days the villages were self-contained units and all the people had food to eat. That was the case under the Moslem rule even. That is why I want to convince my hon. Friends on the other side that this is not a bullock-cart scheme. This is a very big scheme concerning the affairs of crores of people of all castes and communities. If you ask me whether I am going to try with one cart and two bullocks only, I will give an emphatic 'No'. I may tell you now, with regard to these villagers they have to take to electricity. You have to give them electricity for which they are longing. In the other House it was pointed out, "There is water under the earth. We want a little power to draw it up. In the Mysore State there is the JOG power station to help the people." We have failed to do many things. We shall try to collect all these mistakes and do everything necessary to carry out the object we have in view. I have seen cities and villages. What are the villages like in this country? We must develop the villages to the same level as the villages in England are. They must have all the facilities provided for them. (Mr. H. S. Town: 'Still better than that.') I agree, there are places where the things are better. There are places where the present proposal is not a new thing which I have invented. There are places in other countries where colonization schemes are developed in the manner in which I have been trying to place before you with regard to our villages. Even here we have Christian friends who have settled in the villages endeavouring to make the villages happy and prosperous. Ours is a big continent and so with manpower alone we cannot do much. For the above reasons I say ours is not a bullock-cart scheme. It is an electric scheme. It is a scheme which with electricity would give life to the whole nation. We could give the villagers electricity for drawing up water for cultivation and then compare the yield with what obtained before.

"There is a lot of difference between villages to which electricity is supplied and villages to which electricity is not supplied. Electricity is spreading from village to village. But this is not the first time when electric supply is extended to villages. Already 4,500 pumps for irrigation and 600 electric motors for ginning and hulling have been supplied. (Abdul Hameed Khan Sahib Bahadur: 'On a rental of Rs. 30 per mensem?') I am told that there is a demand everywhere for supply of more pumps and if these could be supplied famine would disappear within three months without stretching our hands and crying hoarse to the Government of India and other countries. Luckily for us, Sir, we had news last night that some ships were coming. We are in that difficult predicament that any little thing that comes to us gives great relief. We were all hoping that rains would come and be of help. We have seen, Sir, that in Malabar the monsoon has broken out in right earnest and we may hope to get over our troubles if we are a little bit careful.

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"I have referred to the formidable objection of the Members of the Muslim League Party headed by the hon. Member Mr. Ismail Sahib. I have dealt with the objections raised by Mr. Ferrelly, that well-informed gentleman who wanted to show us how we did not understand the situation properly.

"It was pointed out that paddy coming from Coorg to Malabar was stopped and that on account of that Malabar was suffering. But Coorg is not within our Province. It is under the Government of India. This Government does not regulate the disposal of Coorg paddy."

B. POCKER SAHIB BAHADUR:—"You can appeal to the Government of India."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"That we are doing. We can do it certainly without any hesitancy.

"The various suggestions made by hon. Members in the course of the discussion have brought out forcibly the real situation in the country. Especially, some of the friends who spoke in the Indian languages expressed themselves in clear terms about the suffering of the people which they knew well. One hon. Member has been careful enough to put this sample of rice here on the table so that none of us could forget the matter. He showed it to the House yesterday and he has placed it again on our table. We may be issuing orders but the suffering of the people will not be relieved immediately. Our Government will have to function through the normal processes. I am now endeavouring to place before you what our Government intends to do with regard to the various suggestions made by hon. Members in the course of the discussion. This is a historic discussion. You, Sir, Mr. Speaker, took care to see that every hon. Member had an opportunity to speak on this question and that he was not left out, when he was anxious to speak. It was not for the sake of demonstration of speech that hon. Members wanted to speak but they wanted to show how the situation could be improved from their own standpoint. Various concessions were suggested. I am pointing out to you what the Government is trying to do with regard to those suggestions.

"Firstly, to all persons who deliver grain in the months of June and July it is proposed by the Government to grant a bonus. The exact rate and other details will be examined and orders issued shortly. But I may indicate that so far as I am concerned the rate will be about Re. 1 per maund. The total cost is being worked out. This is only for the two months.

"Secondly, after July, rewards will be offered to persons who give information of hoarded stocks. (Hear, hear.) Such stocks will be requisitioned at a price considerably lower than the present prices."

SRI K. ANANDA NAMBIYAR:—"Will the Police help?"

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"I would request Mr. Nambiyar and other communist members not to be always thinking and feeling that Police will not help, that the officers will not

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help. These officers will have to work with the people. You must all feel the courage that you will be able to do certain things. How can the Police refuse to help? How can the officers refuse to help when you all have come here as representatives of the people and when I am here as your representative? Who will refuse to help? What I would request you is to change your mind in the first place. You on your part must be polite and careful in dealing with these officers. The officers are no doubt requested to change their attitude and adjust themselves. It all depends upon the mutual conduct towards each other. It will not do to use a bad word or harsh word towards others. These often spoil the business. Harsh words alone have been responsible for some of the big wars in this land of ours.

"Thirdly, in rice surplus districts producers may deliver paddy to the mills through the Grain Purchase Officers who will see that the mills pay the prescribed village price to the producer.

"Fourthly, not more than a single polish will be allowed to the rice irrespective of the district to which it is supplied. Personally I would not allow even a single polish. You do not know, my Friends, who have raised some objections to hand-pounded rice that scientifically it has been proved that hand-pounded rice alone contains vitamins. Of course, civilization has brought us the rice mills. The rice mills have brought us to this condition. The first rice mill I knew, the second mill I knew and all the other mills I knew. I know to what state people have been reduced. I know that the people eating polished rice—polished once, twice—are eating mere chaff after the essence has been thrown away. (Hear, hear.) We have to educate our own people. We have to tell them as if they were children at elementary schools that if they are eating milled rice they are not eating food really as it does not contain vitamins.

"The other day the Industrial Adviser to the Government took me, my hon. Friend Mr. Giri and Mr. Subba Rao (the Food Secretary) and some other friends to the Corporation Workshop to see a huller which was made after the Japanese pattern, and which makes the whole rice come out of it. Nothing is wasted. The other day I read an Englishman's treatise on vitamins and it is stated there that whole rice contains more vitamins than wheat. I could not believe this when I read it. (Interruption by Mr. Town). I cannot be misled by Mr. Town or anyone of his way of thinking because I do not believe in mere theories. So I went there to the workshop, took a quantity of rice prepared by that huller and used it for four days. I am accustomed to eat wheat but compared side by side with that wheat, this rice when cooked was heavier than the wheat. I would propose on behalf of the Government that the whole rice should be hulled in these mills that are existing to-day and it should not be twice polished and thrice polished. (Interruption.) Not more than a single polish will be allowed to the rice irrespective of the district to which it is supplied.

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"Where boiled rice is prepared people should be asked to use fresh water for manufacturing boiled rice and follow other instructions issued to improve the quality of rice supplied by them.

"The next step is that the mills should give correct accounts of their purchase and sales. Mills violating these instructions or detected in black-marketing will be taken over by the Government and run by the Government. (Hear, hear.)

"A bonus would be paid for every ton of short-term crop raised and delivered in the months of September and October. The rates and other details are being examined and orders would be issued shortly.

"As the area under cotton has already gone down, no further restrictions will be placed on cotton, as it will result in shortage of cloth as well as food for cattle. Groundnut is good food and provides manure for the land as well as food for the cattle. No steps will be taken to discourage its cultivation. Steps restricting the area under tobacco and preventing its expansion are under consideration and orders will be issued shortly.

"Regarding temple and trust lands, the question of taking them over for state farming during the next cultivation season will be rigorously pursued. (Cries of 'Very good' and 'Hear, hear'.)

"Current fallows and lands left waste owing to neglect or litigation and not cultivated in the proper season will be taken over by the Government and cultivated.

"Cultivation of cultural waste other than current fallows will be attempted.

"With regard to iron implements, pumps and good seed steps will be taken to make them available in an equitable manner and at fair prices.

"The method and the agency for the distribution of cake manure will be devised so as to make it available to the cultivators in an equitable manner and at a fair price.

"Liberalization of the well subsidy scheme in the manner suggested by the hon. Members will be considered immediately. The Hon. Minister for Irrigation has already indicated that in the districts of Chingleput and North Arcot, repairs to supply channels will be undertaken by the Government. This will be extended to all spring channels in all districts and facilitate cultivation next season.

"These are the measures which Government contemplate for their short-range policy. Measures for the long-range policy will also be worked out and will be announced to the Members as soon as possible."

B. POCKER SAHIB BAHADUR:—"What about exemption of rice from the sales tax?"

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THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"The exemption of rice from sales tax has not been mentioned here. It will be considered and provided for."

AN HON. MEMBER:—"What about representation of Muslims on the village committees?"

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"I remember, Sir, some questions were put by some Muslim League Members whether there is any provision for selecting Muslim members for these committees. If I understand the matter aright—if I am wrong, may be corrected—we have taken particular care to see that there should be no politics here in this matter, no difference of party, nothing at all."

ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"What does it mean?"

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"Special instructions will be issued to see that no such distinctions are made and no room is given for such complaints or grievances.

"This is an opportunity for all of us to come together and work together. The hon. the Leader of the Opposition has proposed an amendment. I would earnestly appeal to him not to press that amendment but to withdraw it. Sir, we have all to come together. For some reasons we have now gone asunder and every effort is now being made to come together again and solve our differences. I have studied the economic question relating to the Muslim community and all other communities. Our troubles are mainly economic. They are not really so much about seats here or offices there. After all, what are these offices that you and I can get even though they carry bigger salaries? It is the millions outside that have to be looked after. If you think in one way and if others think in another way, no Government can be run. We have lost our moorings and have gone very far away. I have known the Hindu-Muslim trouble for a very long time, from the very first trouble at Multan in the South Punjab in 1920. One man's opinion will not be of any use. It is only the work done by whole communities and their representatives and organizations that will be effective. It is high time that the Muslim League should think about these matters and close up the ranks."

ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Only the Muslim League? Only one party to close up the ranks?"

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"Both parties. All parties. (Some hon. Members: 'Hear, hear'.) "That is why I say you would not have put that question if the mind had not been disturbed about it. When I say 'you' it does not mean you alone. It means others also, every one. Everybody is struggling hard to do something and to arrive at a decision. Our Muslim League friends should not think differently so far as the village committees are concerned. All the people living in the villages, all the Mussalmans, all the Hindus, all the Christians and the

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so-called Harijans—all the people are included. It is they that have been building up this country. Although you are trying to do it in a different manner, it is they that have built up the whole thing during the last 25 years. They are looking to us to-day not only to tide over the immediate crisis in cloth and food but also for many other things that are waiting for our attention. With these few words, I close my observation with regard to the food situation."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Before proceeding further, I wish to inform hon. Members that the practice in this House is to adjourn at 1 p.m. on Friday and re-assemble at 3 p.m. in order to give time to the Muslim Members to say their prayers. Accordingly we will be adjourning at 1 p.m. and re-assembling at 3 p.m. to-day."

"With regard to the Hon. the Premier's motion on Food, two amendments have been moved and I shall put them first to the vote of the House. Is the hon. the Leader of the Opposition pressing his amendment?"

MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Yes, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The amendment of the hon. Member Mr. Ismail, runs as follows:—

'Add the following at the end:—

"and on such consideration, the House is of opinion that the draft proposals presented by the Government to the House with regard to the food administration are impracticable and unworkable and ineffective to tackle the impending crisis in food; and

"giving effect to the said proposals is fraught with dangerous results and;

"such defects as are existing in the present system are remediable without the necessity of substituting the present system by a completely new system as adumbrated by the draft proposals, and;

"the present crisis in the food situation requires immediate and special attention. It is necessary that a Board consisting of not more than 15 members and not less than 11 be constituted for the Province consisting of representatives of the major political parties of the Provincial Legislature with plenary powers to deal with all questions relating to food in the Province, that the Board shall elect its chairman and that the Board shall constitute advisory committees in the districts and in taluks consisting of the representatives of major political parties."

The amendment was put and lost.

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MR. SPEAKER:—"I will now put the amendment^a of Kumararaja Sir Muthiah Chettiar to the vote of the House."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"To avoid taking a vote I accept the amendment of the Kumararaja."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I shall anyhow put it to the vote of the House."

The amendment was put and carried.

The motion that the Food situation in the province be taken into consideration as amended by Sir Muthiah Chettiar's amendment was put and carried.

"The motion now before the House is that cloth situation in the Province be taken into consideration."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"Sir, I wish to speak about the position of cloth in the Province. Just a few minutes back I made some remarks about the position of food; the same thing has to be said about cloth in our Province. The total quantity allocated for this Province is 31,951 bales; each bale consists of 1,500 yards. Out of these 31,951 bales, our quota of mill cloth is 12,428 bales. We have 19,523 bales of handloom cloth. Our local handloom production is 24,007 bales. Our exports of handloom cloth outside the Province in India are 3,816 bales. Our export of handloom cloth outside India is 668 bales. The monthly allocation of mill cloth due to this Province from Bombay is 8,307 bales. Before the war our sources of supply were from Britain, from Manchester and Lancashire. Those were the places which were supplying cloth to our country for a long time. In competition with those places, cloth was coming from Japan also and other places. Japan was the cleverest in the market; it produced cheapest cloth and sold it for the cheapest price; but it would not last half an hour. That was the trade that Japan was carrying on with us. Everything was made so cheap by them and put into the market for a few annas, for a few coppers. As soon as the cloth is taken and worn, it will be torn within half an hour; if one sits and gets up, the cloth will be torn. That was the position with regard to Japan cloth. We had supplies from different parts. That is the misfortune

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^a KUMARARAJA SIR MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD:—"Add the following at the end:—

'and on such consideration this House is of opinion—

- (1) that this House should appeal to the public to support all measures instituted by Government for procurement, and increased production and other measures to tide over the food crisis;
- (2) that in view of the clear and incontrovertible statement made by the Hon'ble the Prime Minister on the Food situation in this province, this House feels with great concern the grave Food situation that may prevail in the next five months and is strongly of opinion that without import from abroad it will not be possible to meet the deficit and would urge the Government of India to impress upon the Combined Food Board that Madras has strained all its resources to the utmost so far and is entitled to immediate help from abroad."

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of this country so far as cloth is concerned. Our country did not make any arrangement to produce cloth because Lancashire, and other places have been supplying cloth to this country for a long time past. The Bombay merchants being shrewd business men—that city is called the gateway of India—took up the trade and tried their best to copy Britain and established mills. Bombay is a city owning a large number of mills and producing a large quantity of cloth. Various other cities were establishing mills. When the sources of supply from Britain, Japan and other places were closed on account of war, what happened to India? India had to make its own cloth. Madras had to import cloth from Bombay and other places. Bombay is not able to supply all the cloth required by Madras. Madras mills including those in Mysore and other places within our zone, are not able to supply all the cloth we require; Madras is a deficit Province with regard to cloth. To make up for this deficit Madras had to look to Bombay. Bombay was supplying; but the supply was not very regular and sufficient. This is how the trouble started. So long as all of us were getting something to eat and some cloth to wear, we did not think about either food trouble or cloth trouble. We know how the trouble started and spread and how we are in the present predicament. All facts and figures regarding the cloth position have been placed before Hon. Members.^a Hon. Members will know what our sources of supply were, why enough cloth is not available for us and why we are in the present condition.

“From Bombay Province 8,300 bales of mill cloth were coming to our Province. We were able to get 12,428 bales from Bombay, Mysore, Cochin and other places. Supply from Bombay has been slow and tardy. There has been delay because of the complicated calculations which are made under the All-India Cloth Scheme and the controversies over the debits for yarn deliveries and credits for handloom exports made thereunder. I have put before the House very briefly the causes for delay. Hon. Members will have to imagine for themselves what is meant by the words ‘controversies over the debits for yarn deliveries and credits for handloom exports’. Mill cloth is the cheapest cloth available for the people. Even though the people of this country have been used to wear handloom cloth for ages and centuries, that habit gradually disappeared ever since yarn was coming from Lancashire and other places and the weavers lost the habit of weaving cloth with yarn made by hand; they got used to weaving with the mill yarn coming here. When I say ‘handloom cloth’ hon. Members should not be under the impression that it included khadder which is woven with yarn made by hand. It means cloth made with yarn received from mills on the handlooms already existing in India or newly established. All theories and regulations will not apply to

(a) Vide Appendix on pages 72-85 of Legislative Assembly Debates, dated 27th May 1946.

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ordinary human beings when they have to get on in this world. If a man is hungry, he will try to get anything to satisfy his hunger. Similarly, if a man wants cloth, he will go to the market and get the cheapest cloth for a few annas from the wages which he earns. So mill cloth has captured the market all along. People have therefore been running after mill cloth; mill cloth has become very scarce now. In these days after all these troubles have arisen, a single man can get only five yards of cloth per annum. That is the position to which people here have been reduced. Hereafter an adult will be able to get only five yards and a child two yards. Mill dhotis and sarees are called coveted varieties. Mill dhotis and sarees worn by our men and women have become coveted varieties in these days. These coveted varieties—sarees—are not made locally at all. Local-made sarees are nil. For sarees we have become dependent on Bombay. The production of these coveted varieties of dhotis in India is about 14,000 per mensem. The other coveted varieties are voils and printed chintz. We cannot guarantee to supply all the mill cloth which a family requires. That is the position to which this country, men and women of this country have been reduced.

“I do not propose to read the whole of my speech; it is in your hands. I have given you the essential points, our sources of supply, our production and how we are not able to get enough cloth. With the amount of mill-cloth we will be able to get, we will not be able to supply each family more than eight yards for a whole year. Along the road from Madras to Bezwada, from Madras to Tanjore or any other place, what are the complaints that the Government are receiving? The poorest of the poor is not able to get the cloth he requires; he has a right to call upon the Government to supply him the mill cloth he requires; he is complaining that he is not able to get cloth anywhere: cloth comes, goes and disappears. We have got a number of such written complaints.

“All over the country it is just the same. Now, what are we to do under these circumstances? As in the case of food, is it a case that there is no cloth at all, or is it a case that there is cloth but it is not made available, that it is not reaching the unfortunate man who is willing to purchase this mill cloth, who is a poor man? What is it that should be done in a case like this, under these circumstances? As regards yarn, everything about it is stated in the same note. In this country, what is it that should have happened having regard to all the conditions and circumstances—the war on the one side and both the League and the Congress on the other side, opposing the Government? At that time, protection had to be given to millions of people in the country. Of course, all the Congressmen were thrown into the jails; they were asked to live there for a comfortable period. But during this period, was it not the duty of the Viceroy, was it not the duty of the Madras Government, in view of the then existing conditions, to take stock of the situation and see that

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food and cloth at least were secured in some manner or other—leave alone other articles—and that those who had been carrying on black-market trade and those who were corrupt and taking bribes in a systematic manner, as if it was a recognized institution in this country, were put down. Was it not the duty of the Government to do all these things and take particular care to see that even the cloth available went, not to the black-market, but to the poor man and not the man who wanted to hoard it up? Was it not the duty of the Government to see that every bale of cloth went right down to the villagers, thus making it easy for them to purchase it? All this which could have been done was not done, and so the trouble has come to us. Luckily for us, as week after week passes, by some chance or other, Providence is helping us; and the Viceroy's Government—I cannot tell you the whole thing now, but I know—are trying to do something for us. But it is not a trial on the part of the Viceroy that is expected; it is the duty of the Viceroy and his Government to see that there is no scarcity of food and cloth in the country, never mind the other things. Even his appeal falls flat upon America and the other countries which have promised help. I do not wish to rub them on the wrong side just now; let us hope that what we have been promised, we would get. It is the duty of the Viceroy to see to it. Yarn was being exported from here; cloth was being exported from here—that was the charge made by some hon. Members. Why should not these exports have been stopped; why should not all of them have been preserved here? Other commodities also have been exported, including cloth. Instead of exporting them, why should not these things have been kept here—these were the arguments advanced by some hon. Members. Sir, this is a very big problem; exporting of foodgrains and exporting of yarn or cloth from one province to another is a very serious problem, a very big problem; and it should be the duty of the Government to regulate these things in such a way that our province did not suffer for want of food or cloth. That is why I say, primarily the responsibility is upon the Viceroy's Government, the Government of India. And that is why we have appealed to the Viceroy and we have asked him to try to secure something for us, of course not for nothing but for price only. It is because, as I said, the duty is cast on him to see that this province does not suffer in any manner. We have asked the Viceroy and his Government to leave no stone unturned now and to see that everything that is wanted here arrives in time and not after it becomes too late, not after all the bodies are in the streets on account of deaths from starvation. We make that appeal; and that appeal is made in the second amendment given notice of by Kumararaja Muthiah Chettiyar and you have all approved of it. The first amendment appeals to the people in the country and to the leaders to help in the solution of this problem.

“When I said five yards per head per annum. I meant according to the quantity allotted to us, allotted to the whole Province in virtue of the power taken by the Viceroy and his Government

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and the power exercised by him by way of redistribution and all those things. We were getting for our share ten yards up to 31st October 1945; on 1st November it was increased to twelve yards; and in spite of our protest, the Government of India have thrust upon us now a system of differential quota. Bombay province was given, for no reason, a per capita allotment 50 per cent higher than ours. This system takes effect from 1st June 1946 and the Government of India are reducing our per capita allotment by 10 per cent, i.e., from tomorrow. The increase therefore was only for a short time and that increase is to be reduced from tomorrow. What is the reason for this reduction? The reason is a fall in production since December last, owing to strikes, (A voice: ‘strikes?’) Yes, strikes, owing to difficulties in coal supplies and owing to a statutory reduction in the working hours of labour which has come into force in some degree already and which will come into effect shortly in a greater measure. Mr. Nambiyar asks ‘strikes?’; yes, strikes. (Mr. Nambiyar:—‘They may be lockouts.’) All right; may be lockouts. In this connexion, Sir, I would ask hon. Friends to help this country as far as possible by seeing that no strikes are promoted. After all, the country's cause is the same for us all. You do not know what telegrams we are receiving day after day about what is going on in the countryside. For nothing, for no reason, strikes, disturbances, violence used, lives lost—all these are being reported. It will be a shame to the country and to all of us if such a state of affairs should continue after the representatives of the people have come into office with a view to see that all that is necessary is being done to give relief to the people. Sometimes people make mistakes in imagining: ‘Why not we put a little pressure by way of promoting this strike and that strike? These fellows will collapse, that is, the Government and those in charge of the Government will collapse, and better facilities will be given.’ Do not make mistakes, my good friends, do not make any mistakes with regard to that. I expect every one of the members to be up to date in knowledge, knowledge not merely in book theory, but also in practical experience. We must be very guarded and very careful. I have been anxious, ever since we came into office, to see that no room is given to anybody to be unreasonable. Sometimes it looks as if we would be forced to take extreme steps, having regard to the material that is coming up before Government. Those who do not know what material is coming up to the Government may not know that there are rules under which decisions have to be taken. (A Member: ‘The material may be one-sided.’) My friend Mr. Salam says ‘one-sided material.’ My friend is an advocate, a lawyer: at one time I tried to convert him to my side; he was very quiet and he was very cool then; now he has become very ferocious, very furious; he gets angry. An Advocate, Sir, must have the balance to keep himself equanimous in dealing with his own case and the case of his opponent also. As an Advocate, he may know that sometimes material comes from one side and sometimes material comes from the other side; and it is for the Government to consider which is which and

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what to do under the circumstances. What is the use of one saying 'material from one side'? Such an idea must go away from us altogether—doing something, concocting false cases, putting the cases in the law courts and then sending telegrams to the Government saying 'This must be put a stop to by our own people who are now in the Government.' In some cases, if temper is out, things go out of one's hands. That is why every one should be very careful in giving help to the Government as it is constituted to-day. Government has no sides, has no special inclinations, has no desire to promote any one-sided interest or anybody's interest; you may take it from me. (Hear, hear.)

"May I request you, Sir, to stop at 1 o'clock?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"Yes, you may continue your speech after 3 p.m. The House will now rise and meet again at 3 p.m."

The House rose for lunch at this stage.

* (After lunch—3 p.m.)

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"Sir, I am sorry I had to keep you waiting for a few minutes. I have tried to state briefly the position of the mill cloth and handloom cloth before you. All these troubles regarding the production and distribution of cloth could have been avoided in this country if only the Government of India and the Provincial Governments applied their minds to the needs of the country. At a time like this the people should try to develop local industries—these local industries may be called antiquated industries by some friends, because they do not know what they are. In the old days the local industry of the people was hand-spinning and hand-weaving. This was the business of the people of India. History says that cloth made with handspun yarn and in handlooms in this country had clothed the people of the country—not only that; it also enabled the Government of the day to export yarn as well as cloth, including the finest variety to other countries in order to get money. But, unfortunately, that industry has gone out of existence practically; though it has not been completely extinguished. Hand-spinning has, however, survived in spite of all the changes that have happened till now. In the urban areas, in almost each district, you will now find hand-spinning going on in the old ancient manner. Twenty-five years ago after Mahatma Gandhi took up the Congress command into his hands he started hand-spinning and hand-weaving and made it as a Congress business and after working it for some time, this business of the Congress was separated and converted into what is called the All-India Spinners' Association. He did his best to promote khadder spinning and hand-weaving. It has been one of the most difficult tasks—and every one of the members present here will admit without any demur—that it has been an uphill game for the Congress to carry on with this industry on the one hand and also at the same time carry on the All-India Spinners'

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Association, though it was separated and made a separate institution from the Congress. It did not thrive well because of the opposition of the Government to the Congress movement at the time. Although it was made a separate organization, those who were running this business were also the people who took prominent part in the Congress. I do not wish to take you into the details of this institution and the troubles which it had to go through during the Satyagraha struggle during which people had to go to jail. I am only trying to mark out the outlines of it. This institution though it was a non-political organization, even though the leaders were carrying the khadder on their shoulders into the premises of Government offices in the various Provinces, this institution did not thrive as well as it was expected to.

"Having dealt with the position of handloom cloth and yarn the two subjects which we are discussing in this House here to-day, so far as cloth proper is concerned, I would like to submit to you a short history regarding khadder. If this khadder has become universal, however ancient it might look to some gentlemen one cannot think differently when the trouble had come all over the world. This last war which was much worse than the world war which preceded it, devastated every country in the world—not only the belligerent countries but even the neutral countries, and even countries having everything of their own, their own army, their own navy. Those countries suffered so much in this war and this country where this non-violent struggle had been carried on, whatever might have been the difficulties, was able to survive. What is the position of khadder to-day when compared with mill cloth? Mill cloth which was flourishing at one time has come to such a state to-day that you cannot get more than five yards per head for the whole year and one dhoti for one family. If khadi had been encouraged in a greater degree all these years, we would have been in a much better position to-day. It is no wonder therefore that the All-India Spinners' Association survived the struggle and now that things have taken a different turn altogether we hope the cloth position will be improved to a great extent. It is because of the existence of this institution and the useful work it has done so far, that we are now able to come here to-day and address you on the position of cloth.

"In the printed note, on the subject of yarn, last paragraph, 3-15 mention is made about the position of khadder and I shall read P.M. it for the information of the House:

'Khadi is outside the Provincial cloth quota to which I have already referred. But the quantity of khadi now produced in the Province is an insignificant fraction of our requirements of cloth. The three branches of the All-India Spinners' Association in this Province are producing now less than 200 bales of khadi per mensem. The production of khadi by private persons outside these organizations is also negligible. The Government have unde-

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consideration the steps to be taken to stimulate the production and consumption of khadi in the Province and a proposal made in this connexion to make one selected firka in each district self-sufficient in regard to its cloth requirements is being examined.' But since the note was prepared, further information has been received on the position of khadi and I shall give the information to the House because the statement given to the House in the original statement is somewhat incomplete by itself. I am giving this information to the House with a view to show how we have been struggling in this country for the past twenty-five years. The information is in respect of the year 1944-45 and pertains to the activities of the All-India Spinners' Association, both in the Tamilnad and Andhradesa. Capital invested in Tamilnad is Rs. 18½ lakhs and the capital invested in Andhradesa is Rs. 2½ lakhs only. Approximately the total equipment costs Rs. 21 lakhs. The number of villages served are 3,500 in the Tamilnad and 700 in Andhradesa and the total number of villages served is 4,200. The number of artisans employed is 78,000 in Tamilnad and 27,000 in Andhradesa and the total employed amounts to 105,000. The khadi produced in the Tamilnad area was 49 lakhs, while that produced in the Andhra area amounts to 10 lakhs, and the total is 60 lakhs. Khadi sold in Tamilnad is 55 lakhs, in Andhradesa it is 10½ lakhs and Kerala 5 lakhs and the total is 70 lakhs. Wages paid has been 32 lakhs of rupees in Tamilnad and 6½ lakhs of rupees in Andhradesa and the total comes to 38½ lakhs of rupees. Number of spinners in the Tamilnad is 75,000, while in Andhradesa 25,000 were employed; both put together one lakh of spinners were employed. Number of weavers in Tamilnad was 2,500 and in Andhradesa it was 1,500 and thus the total number of weavers has been 4,000. The number of production centres in Tamilnad is 90 and in Andhradesa the number is 40. The yardage of the respective areas are: Tamilnad 40 lakhs square yards and Andhradesa 6½ lakhs and weight is 9.17 lakhs pounds for Tamilnad and 2.04 lakhs for Andhradesa. Regarding other artisans Tamilnad employed 500, while Andhradesa employed 250 and the staff of the All-India Spinners' Association under the Tamilnad and Andhradesa branches were 450 and 200 or 650 in all. What I am concerned with is the statement made in the last page of the report that was laid on the table of the House stating that the output of khadi in the Province has been something like 200 bales a month. I will maintain in the face of the further information that is to hand that that estimate of production of khadi should not be taken as exhaustive.

"It can be very easily said that the private production by the merchants is three to four times the production of the All-India Spinners' Association and the self-sufficiency production in the villages especially in the five Rayalaseema districts is three to four times the production of the Andhra All-India Spinners' Association. Since the last one or two years no private producer has been given certificate in order to bring re-orientation in the field of khadi and as such a large quantity of cloth that was produced by the private merchants, could not be brought to account.

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"As the above figures show, that with a capital investment of Rs. 21 lakhs the All-India Spinners' Association has been working in 4,200 villages, serving the cause of lakh and five thousand artisans and thus producing 46½ lakhs square yards of cloth worth about Rs. 60 lakhs. The weight of this would be about 11½ lakhs pounds. We have seen that in spite of the very critical years, it has been possible for khadi to stand its ground and the same is the position with regard to the handloom cloth. I am sure the present Government can meet the cloth situation in this Presidency. In whatever we are going to do, it is not as if they are going to enter into a competition with mill cloth or handloom cloth. The present Government may meet the cloth situation in this Presidency to a certain extent if they immediately propose to take up a large-scale khadi scheme on a self-sufficiency basis, with a big investment and it may very easily solve the problem by giving a drive towards self-sufficiency in respect of cloth in villages. I assure you that this is only in addition to what the Government have been doing in the past with regard to the production of mill and handloom cloth. I am glad to tell you that khadi which has been at the bottom all these years can give some relief to the masses. I have placed the full facts before hon. Members because a good number of people in the country believe that if that industry is allowed to develop side by side with handloom industry and the mill cloth industry, it might be very much helpful especially in times of distress. It must not be thought that it is a 'bullock-cart business' going back to hand-spinning and handloom. People ridiculing this scheme do so for want of knowledge. We are all trying to learn and the whole scheme of life is trial and error and from day to day we are learning many things which we had not known in the past. This industry is not dead and it is living a vigorous life as you will see if you go upland and if you see in each district, you will find that there is the spinning wheel humming and it never stops in some areas. I was told by my mother in my young days that both young and old used to spin in the house and produce the yarn required for all the members of the family, men, women and children. The village weaver would convert the yarn into cloth for the family. That was the condition of the days of old and it may not be possible to restore that condition now. We have to adjust to present conditions. The aim of the Congress and the All-India Spinners' Association has been to develop khadi so that it might serve the needs of the whole country. We have had our own troubles and our difficulties in the past in managing the business. I may tell you that the All-India Spinners' Association has been built up as a parallel institution to the British mill industry. We have built up this institution in a wonderful manner; our workers have been very devoted and sincere men and their absorbing concern has been the clothing of the millions of this land with khadder. Be the mill owners Parsis or non-Parsis; be they the managing agents or not, it is a fact that they are the product of the British. If there are mistakes in the organization, they ought to be remedied. We not always be following the same methods. My idea is that

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you should decentralize the All-India Spinners' Association and take it back to the villages for whose benefit it is intended.

3-3 p.m. "Recently Mahatma Gandhi has said that the activities of the All-India Spinners' Association should be decentralized; and propaganda should be carried on in villages to encourage people to spin. That is why all villagers are now asked to spin by the local Congress organizations. Perhaps I might be ridiculed as an old man with old ideas. In fact this scheme was started at the time of the previous Congress Ministry. At that time I took up one village not far from Ellore, which was in a hopeless condition. With local labour and local money we succeeded in developing that village, so much so that about sixty per cent of the cloth requirements of that village was produced there itself. Now we do not wish to confine ourselves to our ancient methods and practices. We wish to take electricity and modern appliances to the village so that the village might become a real village.

"Now with regard to the cloth difficulty we have drawn up a scheme and with your co-operation we propose to tide over the crisis. Rationing of yarn has been going on for some time past; and there has been no serious objection to it. But about the success of cloth ration though official opinion is not unanimous, yet with the help of experts a scheme has been evolved and it is as follows:—

'1. (a) In consultation with the district committee, the district quota of mill cloth will be apportioned equitably among the taluks in the district.

(b) In consultation with the taluk committees, quotas will be fixed for each village.

Monthly quotas of mill cloth will thus be fixed for every village and taluk.

2. The Textile Control department will specify the dealers carrying on business in the village, and, if necessary, outside it and as near as possible to the village, who should supply mill cloth to the village under the instructions of the village committee.

3. (a) With reference to the monthly quota of the village, the village committee will draw up a basic scheme of distribution indicating the yardage of mill cloth which will be supplied to each family in the village during the year. It is recognized that there can be no guarantee of supplies in terms of varieties.

(b) Having due regard to this basic scheme, the village committee will settle as to how each consignment of cloth received by the dealers allotted to the village should be distributed, that is, it will issue in writing distribution instructions to the dealers concerned specifying the families to whom the consignment should be distributed and the quantity in each of the available varieties to be sold to each such family. All purchasers of cloth will be asked to produce their food ration cards at the time of the purchase, to enable the dealer to satisfy himself that the cloth is being given to the authorized persons'."

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ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"On a point of order, Sir, Members do not have a copy of the paper from which the Hon. Premier is reading. In the absence of the paper, we are not able to follow him."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"I am sorry, the complaint is a genuine one. It was not possible to get it printed in time."

MR. H. S. TOWN:—"Is it a last moment thought?"

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"Mr. Town is a great task-master. I would request his attention to page 3 of the pamphlet on 'Yarn Position' where he will see this:—

'There have been widespread complaints that mill cloth is not reaching the poorer classes of consumers. The Government have accordingly under their active consideration a scheme for the equitable distribution of the available supplies of mill cloth to all areas and sections of the consuming public. For the smooth and effective enforcement of the scheme the Government propose to utilize the services of the Village, Taluk and District Committees which are being set up in connection with the administration of food control measures. The details of the scheme are being worked out and the Government hope to publish a Press Note on the subject shortly.'

"So this scheme, you see, is not conceived for the first time. When it is placed before the Assembly, it is open to Mr. Town to tear it to pieces, if he likes. (Laughter.) He must excuse me, we have not been able to publish it earlier. It is not an after-thought that has come up.

'4. *Village Committees.*—Two local dealers in mill cloth will be co-opted as members.

Taluk Committees.—The Textile Control Officer in charge of cloth distribution in the district will be an *ex officio* member of the Committee and three selected dealers—one wholesaler and two retailers—carrying on business in mill cloth in the taluk will be co-opted as members.

District Committees.—The Inspecting Assistant Textile Commissioner having jurisdiction over the district will be made an *ex officio* member of the Committee. Three selected dealers—one wholesaler and two retailers—carrying on business in mill cloth in the district will be co-opted as members.

The full district committee may, whenever it considers it necessary, meet and discuss matters relating to cloth control in the district. But in order that the Collector may be free to concentrate on his work relating to food control, it is considered desirable that the District Committee should appoint a sub-committee, consisting of all the non-officials elected from the Taluk Committees, two members of the Legislatures selected from among the representatives of the Legislatures on the District Committee, the three dealer members referred to above and with the Inspecting Assistant Textile Commissioner as Chairman, and that the Sub-Committee should be made responsible for performing the District Committee's functions in regard to cloth.

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5. Each Village Committee will be asked to appoint a Sub-Committee from amongst its members consisting of the Chairman, one of the dealer members and one of the other members of the committee who is not engaged in any trade himself. The Sub-Committee so appointed will be entitled to visit any cloth shop in the village and ask for information regarding the distribution of cloth made by the dealer. It shall be entitled to look into the cash receipts or credit notes, as the case may be, evidencing the sales made by the dealer. These inquiries and the intimations, which will be given to the Committee in advance furnishing full particulars of every consignment of cloth received by every dealer who has been asked to supply mill cloth to the village, will enable the Sub-Committee to see how far the dealer's distribution has been in accordance with the Committee's distribution lists. The Sub-Committee will also be entitled to conduct inspections with a view to satisfy itself as to how far the instructions regarding price control of handloom cloth are being complied with by producers and dealers. If the Sub-Committee notices any irregularity or any violations of instructions, it should report the matter to the Textile Control Officer with a view to suitable disciplinary action being taken by the competent authority."

3-45 p.m. **ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR**:—"At this stage, may I request you to see that what has been read out by the Hon. the Premier is made available to the hon. Members, for he has made certain proposals on the cloth question. In the absence of any record of the proposals in the hands of the hon. Members, it is not possible for us to give notice of amendments if we differ from them, and it will not also be possible for us to discuss the proposals. In view of this, may I request you, Sir, to see that copies are either printed or roneoed, possibly within the time before us to-day, so that they may be made available to the hon. Members of this House?"

SRI P. NATESAN:—"May I respectfully point out that the Premier has taken us by surprise by these proposals? I fully endorse the view of Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan and request the Hon. Leader of the House to see that copies are supplied before this evening, so that the Members will have an opportunity of going through the proposals and discussing the subject to-morrow. After all we have got to consult our merchants. Unless we know what sort of procedure is going to be adopted by the Hon. Leader of the House, it may be absolutely impossible for hon. Members to participate in any useful discussion."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"The request will be complied with. We shall do our best to put copies of it in the hands of the hon. Members. That is what I would submit."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The motion before the House is that the cloth situation in the Province be taken into consideration. Four members have given notice of their intention to move amendments. I request them to move the amendments without speech and reserving their right to speak to a later stage. The original

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motion as well as the amendments will be before the House for discussion. Except the Leader of the House and the movers of the amendments, I have fixed a time limit of 15 minutes for the other Members."

M. S. ABDUL MAJEED SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I move the following amendment (given notice of by M. Muhammad Ismail Sahib Bahadur):—

'Add the following at the end:—

"and on such consideration, the House is of opinion that the draft proposals presented by the Government to the House with regard to the cloth administration are impracticable and unworkable and ineffective to tackle the impending crisis in cloth; and giving effect to the said proposals is fraught with dangerous results; and such defects as are existing in the present system are remediable without the necessity of substituting the present system by a completely new system as adumbrated by the draft proposals; and the present crisis in the cloth situation requires immediate and special attention. It is necessary that a Board consisting of not more than 15 members and not less than 11 be constituted for the province consisting of representatives of the major political parties of the Provincial Legislature with plenary powers to deal with all questions relating to cloth in the province, that the Board shall elect its chairman and that the Board shall constitute advisory committees in the districts and in taluks consisting of the representatives of major political parties"."

N. MUHAMMAD ANWAR SAHIB BAHADUR:—"I second the amendment."

KUMARARAJA SIR MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD:—"I move the amendment standing in my name:—

'Add the following at the end:—

"and on such consideration this House is of opinion—
I. *that the scheme of differential cloth quotas now enforced by the Government of India is not based on any just and equitable principle and that an uniform per capita allotment for all areas in India should be introduced with immediate effect for the following reasons:—*

- (1) *in a hot climate like that of Madras more cotton cloth is required than in Northern India by reason of more rapid wear;*
- (2) *in the areas in Northern India, a large proportion of the clothing of the people has necessarily to be in wool and such supplies of woollen clothing are available to them;*

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(3) *the proportion of mill cloth to the total cloth quota of the area is now the lowest in Madras among the Provinces and States in India and it is but reasonable that there should be, as far as possible, equality of treatment in this respect as between all areas in India;*

II. (1) *that the quota of yarn allocated to this Province under the All-India Yarn Scheme is grossly inadequate and has been causing serious hardship to the handloom industry as it gives the handloom weavers numbering nearly half a million, work for only ten days in the month and this is the main reason for the serious disparity in prices between handloom cloth and corresponding mill cloth, resulting in prohibitive prices for handloom cloth far beyond the means of the ordinary consumer;*

(2) *that this allocation based upon estimates given by the Fact Finding Committee which have been proved to be very bad under-estimates should be revised on an equitable basis forthwith."*

SRI P. NATESAN:—"I second the amendment."

SRI P. VENKATESWARLU:—"Sir, I move—

'Add the following at the end:—

"and on such consideration, the House is of opinion—

(1) *that the draft proposals are inadequate and ineffective to meet the situation;*

(2) *that to ensure proper distribution of cloth, handloom cloth be also brought under rationing scheme;*

(3) *that a thorough investigation be conducted into the working of the Madras Provincial Textile Department by a committee of eleven consisting of members of this House as well as that of outside public opinion."*

SRI K. ANANDA NAMBIYAR:—"I second the amendment."

MR. T. J. M. WILSON:—"Sir, I move—

'Add the following at the end:—

"and on such consideration the House is of opinion—

(1) *that the draft proposals are inadequate and ineffective to meet the situation;*

(2) *that in order to protect the handloom industry and to safeguard the interests of the handloom weaver the Government should fix the minimum living wage of the handloom weaver;*

(3) *that since the Handloom Weavers' Co-operative Societies at present are being discouraged the Government should by all possible means encourage the formation of a large number of co-operative societies of genuine handloom weavers;*

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(4) *that for the purposes of ensuring a regular and continuous supply of more yarn at controlled prices and eliminating widespread black-marketing in yarn the Government should take over the management of all textile mills during the present crisis allowing not more than a minimum profit to the mill owners, take steps to step up production and distribute yarn through yarn ration retail depots, thereby eliminating the chain of middlemen unnecessarily created between production and distribution ends; and*

(5) *that in order to ensure equitable distribution of adequate yardage of cloth per head among the public the Government should ration handloom cloth also."*

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI P. NATESAN:—"Now that the Premier has come forward with the proposals, I am afraid no useful purpose will be served by taking up the discussion now. We may have to revise our ideas after knowing his proposals. I suggest that the House be now adjourned, and I would very much like the Hon. Leader of the House to see that copies of these proposals are in the hands of the Members positively to-night."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"By 5 o'clock, copies will be ready and they will be circulated to the hon. Members."

MR. SPEAKER:—(Turning to the Hon. Premier) "You are not for adjournment?"

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"No, Sir, we should not lose time. Discussion might be going on, and those who are not prepared now can take part in the discussion to-morrow. Why should the whole House be adjourned and the discussion be stopped?"

SRI P. NATESAN:—"The entire discussion depends on the proposals put forth by the Leader of the House, and I think the House will certainly want to adjourn."

SRI K. ANANDA NAMBIYAR:—"Pending receipt of the copies, discussion can continue. Those who want to read the proposals can discuss them the next day. But we are here to discuss them to-day."

* MR. H. S. TOWN:—"Some new proposals appear to be suggested. It would be entirely wrong if the discussion proceeds without our knowing what the proposals are. I may agree with what the Prime Minister has read out. If I speak now, much of my speech might be wrong, as I have prepared my speech on a quite different basis to these fresh proposals."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"As has been pointed out by my hon. Friend Mr. Nambiyar, there are ever so many others."

MR. SPEAKER:—"We have only one hour before us."

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THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"One hour is a sufficiently useful time for a debate like this. You were anxious that nobody should go disappointed. If there are any members who are willing to talk about this, let them do so."

ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Sir, I think you have to judge so far as the debate in this House is concerned and see whether it is fair or just to the hon. Members, particularly on this side of the House that they are treated in the manner in which they are sought to be treated. Of course, the Leader of the House was very kind in saying that he will see that copies of the proposals will be put in the hands of the Members. In the absence of those copies, it is not possible for us to talk sense. Of course, there are hon. Members who may speak at random if they want. (An Hon. Member: 'I rise on a point of order, Sir.')

MR. SPEAKER:—"You cannot say that."

4 p.m. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"I want hon. Members to know what exactly I have said before they raise a point of order. I said they can talk at random *if they want*. It is open to them. I never said they are talking. It is not unparliamentary."

"In view of these conditions, as the custodian of the rights of the House and if you want to be fair particularly to this side of the House, I think you will have to see that the House is adjourned. If the copies are in our hands, we can come prepared to discuss the proposals which have now been made by the Hon. Leader of the House."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I think it is the sense of the House that we should continue till five. Those who want to take part in the debate to-day may do so. I do not want to stand in their way."

M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—"I hope the hon. Members will have the opportunity of moving further amendments to-morrow."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I will allow that."

"The hon. Member representing the Communist Group will speak now. I may remind that I have allotted 15 minutes for each member."

SRI K. ANANDA NAMBIYAR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I represent the Communist group."

"The Hon. the Leader of the House in his morning speech made reference that it is because of the strikes that the workers conducted here and there that the production of cloth has considerably gone down, and the Textile Controller's statement also is there. May I humbly submit that Mr. Venkateswaran perhaps might not have studied the labour position. He said there in his report that there was a reduction from 60 hours to 54 hours and it was due to that that the production had gone down. I would like to bring to his kind notice that this reduction from 60 to 54 hours was made in 1935. It has ever since continued, and there

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is no meaning in saying that the present reduction is due to the reduction of working hours. Further, he has said that another reduction to 48 hours is contemplated and that therefore there will be a permanent reduction of 10 per cent. This is absolutely wrong. He does not know. Why? I will tell you, Sir. The workers who are engaged in this trade have passed several resolutions in their conferences saying that they are prepared to work all the 24 hours in three shifts. Thereby production can be increased by several times. But Mr. Venkateswaran never tries to study them."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member should not make personal attacks."

SRI K. ANANDA NAMBIYAR:—"I mean, the Provincial Textile Controller never studied the situation, nor cared to see that the proposals made by the workers were accepted. Therefore, I submit, Sir, that the reference to strikes and workers is absolutely wrong, and I would request the Hon. the Leader of the House to see that that paragraph is deleted from his report. I can guarantee even to-day on behalf of the textile workers of Tamil Nad, Andhra and Kerala, that we are here to increase production as much as possible and we are prepared to work in three shifts, provided the Hon. Prime Minister and the Hon. Minister for Labour will bring in legislation to that effect or ask the management to do so. Hon. Mr. Town can help us in allowing us to work in three shifts and we are prepared to do that."

"Sir, there is the Textile Control Board which directs the production of yarn and cloth, especially yarn. This Board is in Delhi, and it has a panel of members. For Coimbatore, it is Mr. C. S. Ratnasabapathi Mudaliar, for Madras and other groups, it is Mr. Batchelor. These two members go and give directions to the mill-owners to produce what sort of yarn and of what counts are necessary. It is under their instructions that the yarn is produced, and they direct that the yarn be supplied to the weavers districtwar and talukwar. The Controller sitting in the district does not know how much yarn is available and sent. In Pudukkottah, when we corresponded with the Provincial Textile Controller, we got a reply that for five months not even a single yard of yarn was sent out of the mill, and you can say it is because of the workers that the production has gone down. These Pudukkottah men produce yarn and send it to blackmarket. It is not due to the workers."

"I will give another instance. The Meenakshi Mills in Madura are blackmarketing yarn in lorries, with the result that a lorry-load of yarn was caught by the Provincial Textile Controller himself. The Meenakshi Mills ask for a writ of mandamus in the High Court to sell it in the blackmarket, and is the Justice of the High Court going to allow it? So, blackmarketing is done at the very source of production by the mill-owners, and they and they alone are responsible. Before it reaches the weaver, it passes through a ring of trade channel. These trade channel people are

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the Textile Board, mill-owners, quota-holders, wholesalers, sub-wholesalers and retailers. The mill-owners get $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, quota-holders $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, wholesalers 7 per cent, and the sub-wholesalers and retailers get more. Before it comes to the weavers, it passes through several stages. Why should it be? At every stage it goes to the blackmarket. A bale of yarn goes to Conjeeveram, and the railway receipt goes to the quota-holder who is in Bezwada. Because the railway receipt goes to Bezwada, the Conjeeveram man cannot take it. If the quota-holder who is sitting in Bezwada is assured of getting his share, only then he sends the railway receipt. It is red-tapism. And trade channel they call it! Trade channel to make us naked? It is nothing more and nothing less. Moreover, distribution of handloom cloth also goes to whom? I can quote an instance. The Prince of charities in the Madras Presidency, Mr. Alagappa Chettiar, is a wholesale dealer to export clothes to Ceylon. He is a wholesale dealer and he has got a ring of persons, his relatives, and it goes even in the name of his daughter Umayal. (An hon. Member: 'Personal attacks.') I am mentioning names to show how individuals connected with one and the same person are dealing. I say not only at the centre of production of yarn, but also at the centre of production of cloth, these go to the blackmarkets, and the persons who get permits to sell handloom cloth sell the permit, not the cloth, at the rate of 4 annas per yard. Half a dozen Momins in Madras are taking over all these permits and they are selling it in the blackmarket. I want the Hon. the Prime Minister to see that all these people are eradicated. Unless this is done, there is no hope of getting cloth. The poor labourer, who works for the whole day and earns, is made the scapegoat by the Provincial Textile Controller. I request the Leader of the House may be pleased to instruct the Provincial Textile Controller that his reference was wrong, and again I submit, Sir, that the workers are prepared to help, the workers are prepared to co-operate.

"Some reference has been made to the strikes here and there. I may call the attention of this House that a mill in Malabar in Papinnasari controlled by Mr. Aaron is idling for the last one hundred days. It is locked out. One thousand and two hundred workers are out and there is none to see. Now only the Labour Minister has asked for conciliation, and this very slow process of conciliation is going on. But the production has gone down considerably. I submit to the Hon. the Premier that such wrongs are righted, and the workers on their side are prepared to co-operate and are prepared to suffer to any extent that the Hon. the Leader of the House wants us to, because we know we are suffering for the people of the country, and we will not allow ourselves to be called betrayers of the people. I say this on behalf of the so many trade unions that I represent.

"Another point I would like to draw your attention, Sir. If the blackmarketing of yarn and the blackmarketing of cloth are to be stopped, they must be taken possession of by the Government at the very source of production, at the very mill-gate. To-day we

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do not know how much quantity of yarn or cloth a particular mill is producing. They say so much, and there is no check. So we request that the Government must take possession of the available produce at the mill-gate, and I will go to the extent of supporting Mr. Wilson's amendment that the Government might commandeer the mills for the time being till the position improves, and let the bada sahibs—all these mill-owners—be given 5 per cent interest on their capital investment, because they have invested so much. All the money—more than ten times—they have already sucked and drunk. That they have done already. There is no justification to allow them to get more, but the Government can allow them 5 or 6 per cent. But the produce must be taken possession of at the very gate of the mills, and by taking this, we can certainly help the people to get more cloth, and moreover we can get the help of the population of the Tamilnad Handloom Weavers' Association and the Andhra Associations. There are several associations voluntarily working among the weavers, and the weavers can produce more quantity of handloom cloth. As suggested by the Hon. the Leader of the House, the weavers and they alone are going to save our people.

"Weavers must be given their share and the master-weaver also must be given his share. If this is guaranteed they will produce more cloth. But their production should not have to pass through the middlemen. The handloom product must come from the hands of the weavers direct to the market or the Government. 4-15 P.M.

"The suggestion made by the Hon. the Leader of the House that the village, taluk and district committees will begin to function early is very good. These committees can work well and they can help us to root out the blackmarketeer and the hoarder of cloth. In connection with the constitution of these committees I have only one request to make to the Hon. the Premier and that is that trade unions may be represented on them. The committee in Coimbatore arranging for the distribution of cloth will function excellently if there is a member of the local trade union on that body. I request the Hon. Premier to see that trade union representatives are included in the committee. Their representatives would have valuable suggestions to make in regard to the control of price. The price of handloom products is so high to-day that mill-cloth is not coming out. If the Hon. the Leader of the House will have a search made of the godowns of the big merchants in the City, he will find there large stocks of mill cloth in the process of their labels being removed and sold as handloom cloth in the streets of Madras. They remove the seal and the label and sell the mill cloth as handloom cloth at very high prices. I have no grudge against the City merchants, but this is what they do and this can be verified by instituting a prompt search of the godowns. I am only interested in seeing that our people have cloth to cover their bodies and do not have to go naked. Even according to the statement of the Leader of the House we are going to get only 10 yards per head. It cannot be sufficient for three months wear. If people here wear their cloth in the manner the Hon. the Leader

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is wearing to-day (laughter) the ten yards quota per head would not last for even two months. Therefore I suggest that the quota must be increased. I hope the suggestions I have made on this matter will not be considered as coming from a prejudiced mind and thrown out. I appeal to the Hon. the Leader of the House to give due consideration to my suggestions including the one regarding the procurement and commandeering of mill products. I give my cordial support to the amendment moved by Mr. Wilson."

* SRI P. KANDASWAMI PILLAI:—"Mr. Speaker, I heartily agree with what my hon. Friend the communist member said regarding the blackmarketeers. Even in my own place of Salem, neither the weavers nor the mill-owners keep accurate accounts of production. It is a long chain from the mill-owner down to the retailer, the whole set having a share in the black-market operations. I request Government to take steps to put down this evil.

"The yarn quota for this Province is very inadequate, no doubt. The Fact Finding Committee has recommended yarn quota for 3 lakhs of looms. It has been found now that there are 5 lakhs of active handlooms in this Province. I recognize that the weavers are therefore suffering. The Government should take steps to get the recommendations of the Fact Finding Committee altered and the yarn quota fixed in accordance with the requirements of the weavers in our Presidency.

"In this connexion I request the Minister for Industries to issue a statement showing how he is going to distribute the new machinery arriving here.

"Transport of articles from Bombay is causing a good deal of delay. I hope the authorities will take action to avoid such delays."

SRI N. GOVINDASWAMI NAYUDU :—"ஸ்பாநாயகர் அவர்களே, 1942-ம் ஆண்டில் இருந்து 1945-ம் ஆண்டு வரையில் நம்முடைய இந்தியாவிலே Strike கூடாது, அதனால் லாபமில்லை என்று சொல்லிக் கொண்டிருந்த பலர் இன்றைய தினம் பலவிதமான காரணங்களுக்காக Strike செய்யவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். இப்பொழுது அவர்கள் அதை அதிகப்படுத்துகிறார்களென்று தெரிகிறது. இன்று இதன் மூலமாக கவான்மெண்டு நம் தொழிலாளர்களுக்கு அனுகூலம் செய்வார்களென்று எதிர் பார்க்கிறார்கள். 1815-ம் வருஷத்திலே அந்தக்காலத்திலே மகமது தேசத்தை ஆண்டுவந்த தாலத்திலே நம் தேசத்திலிருந்து ஒரு கோடியே 30 லக்ஷம் பவுன் விலைகொண்ட துணிகளை ஏற்றுமதி செய்து வந்தோம். ஆனால் இந்தக்காலத்தில் என்ன செய்கிறோமென்றால் ஏறக்குறைய நமது தேசத்திலே விளைவிக்கும் பஞ்சை எல்லாம் எடுத்து அன்னிய நாட்டுக்கு அனுப்பி அந்த தேசத்திலிருந்து வரும் துணிகளை எதிர் பார்த்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறோம். நமக்கு வேண்டிய துணி இல்லையென்று தான் பார்க்கின்றீர்கள். இன்றைக்கு தொழிலாளர்கள் பலர் வேலை யில்லாமல் இருக்கின்றார்கள். ஆனால் முதலாளிகள் தொழிலாளிகளோடு சேர்ந்து உழைப்பார்களானால் வேண்டிய துணியை உற்பத்தி செய்து கொள்ளமுடியும். அது எப்படியென்றால் இப்பொழுது அவர்களுக்கு வேண்டிய வசதியைச் செய்யவேண்டும். நல்ல உணவு கொடுத்தால் அவர்கள் நன்றாக வேலைசெய்யமுடியும். ஷிப்டுகளை அதிகப்படுத்தலாம். 9-மணியிலிருந்து 8-மணிநேரம் ஆகுமானால் தேசத்தில் இன்னும் 10 பர்சென்ட் குறையுமென்று சொல்லியிருக்கிறார்கள். அது ஏற்கத்தக்க நியாயமல்ல. அதே நியாயங்கள் சொல்லுவது என்னவெனில் அதிக

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மணி நேரம் குறையக்குறைய அதிக உற்சாகத்தோடும் ஊக்கத்தோடும் அதிக வேலை செய்ய முடியுமென்று ஒத்துக்கொண்ட அத்தாக்கியாகும். மெஷின்கள் இல்லாத காலத்திலே அனுப்பப்பட்ட ஆட்களை இப்பொழுது வைத்தால் துணிகளைச் செய்துகொள்ளமுடியும். அதற்கு வேண்டிய மெஷின்கள் இல்லாத காலத்திலே லீவு வசதி சரியாக இருக்கவேண்டும், அப்பொழுது ஊக்கமாக வேலை செய்வார்கள். வேண்டிய துணிகளை உற்பத்தி செய்துகொள்ளமுடியும்."

* MUHAMMAD HUSSAIN SAHIB BAHADUR :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, the scarcity of cloth and the difficulties we are undergoing are due, as is well-known, to the inadequacy of production. If there is adequate production, then this problem would not have arisen at all. Now it is also a well-known fact that a number of people in India have got enough money to start spinning and weaving mills of their own and there are many firms who are taking steps to start mills, but that the authorities are not giving them sufficient encouragement. I know, for instance, the Melapalayam Mills, the Crescent Mills and certain others are attempting to start and are waiting for permission from the Provincial authorities. If the Government fully realize the seriousness of the situation, they should see that the permission is granted as early as possible to start work.

"Sir, in the note by the Provincial Textile Commissioner, in paragraph 2, it is stated that the Bombay Province has been given a per capita allotment which is higher than ours by 50 per cent. I think it was because the Province is a surplus Province so far as mill cloth is concerned. Likewise our Province is a surplus one, so far as yarn is concerned. But it is said in paragraph 2 on page 4 of the statement that 'under the scheme, our Province though a surplus yarn producing area, is allowed to retain only its share of the total amount of yarn available for handlooms all over India.' Now I ask if the Bombay Province is given 50 per cent more than the average, why not our Province be given 50 per cent more than its due share of yarn, as our Province is a surplus yarn producing Province? Is it because of the feeble fight that this Government is putting forth? Why should not our Government insist upon our Province also getting the self-same 50 per cent more of yarn? Can there be one rule for Bombay and another for Madras? If the additional 50 per cent of yarn is given to our Province, as it is given to Bombay, then the thousands of looms which are now having very little work, will have more work and they will produce handloom cloth and thus production will be considerably increased, and the weavers will get more work. If the Central Government is not amenable to reason, then why should we not assert that the yarn produced here will not be parted with, but will be consumed only within our Province, and given to the handlooms here.

"Again we find in paragraph 5 of the statement, it is stated 'As against our basic allocation of 12,000 bales per mensem up to 31st May 1946 from this area, the Textile Commissioner, Bombay, gave us an allocation of about 5,000 bales for March, a little over 6,000 bales for April 1946 and he proposes to give us less than 1,500 bales for May 1946.' When we are not getting our

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allotted quota of bales, why should we be an obedient Province and delivering our own surplus yarn? I know the sturdy independence of our Hon. Premier and his sacrifices. I hope that our Hon. Premier will rise to the occasion and assert our case and see that justice is done to our Province, even if it involves the incurring of the displeasure of the Central Government or of the neighbouring province. If all the yarn produced in this province is utilized by the handlooms, then the weavers will get work for all the 30 days in the month. Now they are only having 10 days' work in the month. If they get all the 30 days' work in the month, then, Sir, production will be trebled and there will be enough of handloom cloth and the prices will also come down. Now there is a complaint that because the price of the handloom cloth is double, that of mill cloth, they are not finding quick sales. Sir, even if the weavers' wages were reduced by half, and they are given full work for the whole month, then they will get 50 per cent more of what they get now, and production will be trebled and this will go a long way in satisfying the demands of the consumers.

"Then, Sir, I find in the statement that there has been some experiment made in utility cloth and that it has not proved a success. Why did not the Government stop the experiment, when it was found to be unsuccessful? If the Government had stopped it then and there, some 10,000 bales would have been saved and this would have gone a long way in helping the weavers to tide over their period of unemployment and would have enabled them to earn more wages.

"Again, Sir, it is stated that the Government are going to make a reduction of the 12 yards per capita allotment to 10 yards and that it is going to be a permanent feature. This is probably due to the strike and the restriction of hours of work in mills and other labour legislation. My hon. friend representing the Communist Party has already dealt with the question of strikes. Of course, we all know Sir, that strikes are usually resorted to by the labourers when they find that their wages are not adequate. If the mill-owners feel that the labourers are also their brethren and fellow beings, and that they too would require all the necessities and comforts of life, and make endeavours to satisfy their wants, then there will be no strikes at all. I ask, why should they not part with a portion of the huge profit which they have been enjoying for a long time? If they are a little bit more generous and magnanimous in their treatment of the labouring classes, then there will not be any strikes. It only requires a little bit of large-heartedness. Is the popular Government that is now in power going to encourage the mill-owners who have already become very rich and are leading luxurious lives on account of the boom which they have had all these years at the expense of the labourers? They must realize, that it is due to the efforts of these labourers that the mill-owners have prospered. I hope, Sir, that the present popular Ministry will take steps to persuade the mill-owners to pay the labourers more and thereby increase production which will go a long way to solve the problem of cloth.

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"In connexion with labour legislation, Sir, I would suggest that necessary amendments could be made to the existing legislation increasing the hours of shift. During the time of emergency, legislative enactments are made to suit the convenience of the public and now, as we are in an emergency, I do not think there can be any objection to introducing non-stop work in the mills by shifts.

"On the present proposals of the Government, our party's position will be made known only tomorrow but however I wish to point out one thing, namely, that now the purchase of mill cloth is made through the agents of the Government from Bombay and Ahmedabad. If representatives of the merchants of this Province are appointed as agents to make the purchases, then they will select such clothes as will find a ready sale in this Province. Now most of the mill cloth sent here is not at all liked by the people.

"Lastly, Sir, I wish to say a word to the Leader of the House. We were advised that we should not follow a negative policy, but should co-operate with the party in power. Surely, Sir, the Muslim League Party is prepared to co-operate with the party in power or with any party for the matter of that, but on only one condition that we should have equality of status and equality of opportunities. There can be co-operation only between equals and that is all what we want and if the Leader of the House agrees to this, then the co-operation of the Muslim League Party will always be there."

* SRI K. VARADACHARI:—"Mr. Speaker, I come from a district which has large numbers of the weaver community. These weavers have become lakhiers and millionaires during the period in which textile control has been in force in this Province. I wish to refer at the outset to the slackness or the weakness of the administrative arrangements started by the Provincial Government at a time when section 93 was in operation in this Province. Of course the Province which was not accustomed to either food control or textile control at any time in our history has done very well in organizing work for the preservation of food and cloth. But the arrangements were conceived in a very wrong way and many of the ills that we are now suffering from in this business have been illustrated and graphically described by my hon. Friend Mr. Nambiyar. These are due to a root cause which I shall presently point out.

"In regard to textile control, Sir, you find in every district, lower division or upper division clerks raised to posts of district textile officers with power to administer not only the production of handloom cloth but also the distribution of mill yarn and mill cloth. Sir, these clerks have been lifted up for these posts for reasons which are not imaginable by any public man or educated man. At the time I pointed out both by means of press statements and also by means of memorandum submitted to Government, that it was a dangerous thing for the Government to put in charge of these lowpaid clerks—suddenly lifted into high posts—the administration of the most lucrative business of the type of textile control.

"Sir, the two great lucrative professions in this war have been 4-45
the motor transport business on the one hand and the textile trade P.m.

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on the other. These textile officers who have been posted in several districts have been, several of them, prosecuted and convicted for corruption in half a dozen districts in the Province. Imagine, if half a dozen out of these textile officers have had to be prosecuted and sent to gaol for corruption, what number more remain undetected? In one of these cases in Chittoor the reason for the appointment of these clerks was made plain by the aftermath. These clerks were the only persons who were found capable of applying third degree methods for raising war funds and subscriptions from the textile traders. In that case the officer was charged with the offence that he misappropriated a large part of the war fund himself and then he was convicted and sent to gaol. (An hon. Member: 'No more convictions like that.') Probably the gazetted ranks were found incompetent for effectively raising war funds. That must have been the reason why these clerks were lifted up to these posts. Another reason for such corruption is that people hang on these petty officers for favours which would bring them very large profits in their trade. Even officers of the gazetted rank could not resist the temptation of falling victims to such hangers on. That being the case, I beseech the present Government to modify this policy and revert these petty men to their original posts of clerical jobs and put responsible men in their places. Then alone, the Government can secure some relief to the poor by way of avoidance of blackmarketing or profiteering or corruption.

"To-day, Sir, I find that even in the matter of the distribution of mill cloth and licensing of traders there is corruption. The instances given by Mr. Nambiyar may be illustrative. I am giving another instance. Even retired public servants have had the advantage of getting permits, though there was a rule that only men who were doing business in the so-called basic period of 1940-1942 were entitled to these licences. The rule has not been invariably applied. I do not say that the rule was a reasonable one, or a respectable one either. But, if there was a rule that rule must have been consistently followed. What was it that impelled our officers, that impelled our Government to choose these men, the cartmen and tailors who became licence-holders for distribution of mill cloth. A quota was allotted to them. In the Madras City itself, complaints have been received by me from several sources. A retired Commissioner of the Hindu Religious Endowments Board got a licence for this purpose. (Interruption 'Name'.) I do not wish to mention names. It is not decent to mention names. (Abdul Hameed Khan Sahib Bahadur: 'You have mentioned enough.') These things must go. Men may come and men may go. But once these men are pitchforked into places which they do not deserve they will not go out easily. That is our experience. I do not wish to say more about this mill cloth business.

"Next, Sir, it is true that mill cloth is being sold as handloom cloth. Mr. Nambiar did not know how the trick was done. Sir, I may tell him that the trick was done by dyeing or printing these cloths and making them appear as handloom cloths. That is the

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way in which the trick was effectively done. My hon. Friend Mr. Kala Venkata Rao here gives me this cloth (holding a piece of cloth in his hand) and wants to know whether it is handloom cloth or not. My friend has purchased it as handloom. I will simply pass it on to the hon. Leader and the hon. Speaker for inspection.

"Sir, for want of time, I will pass on quickly to a more important subject on which I wanted to speak on this occasion, for the purpose of making a constructive suggestion with regard to the handloom trade. The handloom weaving business is no doubt organized on some rational lines nowadays. The weavers themselves are given coupons and obtain their quotas of yarn from the depots to which they are attached. What is taking place is that in most of the villages these poor weavers are victimised by the so-called master weavers who perform the function of being middle men or go-betweens between the wholesalers and the weaver himself. These master weavers are the people who take advantage of the poverty of these actual weavers. They advance them loans and then they give them the yarn and ask them to produce the cloth. The cloth is woven and handed over to these master weavers. When taking the cloth these master weavers take them at prices which do not even give a living wage to the weaver; and these master weavers then pass on these goods either in bona fide channels or by way of profiteering in blackmarket. This is what is taking place. I suggest, Sir, that the Government should intervene in this matter and replace the master weaver in so far at least as the procurement side of this business is concerned. All the cloth woven by a weaver to whom yarn has been given at a prescribed, definite and known quantity must be passed on to an agency appointed by the Government who shall receive the cloth with Government stamp and then transmit it for distribution either to the master weaver if he has to be necessarily retained or any other agency the Government may appoint. I request one more minute for me to complete my suggestion, Sir, so that I may put it in a little understandable way.

"What I am submitting is that by so doing the Government will know how much yarn has been distributed, how much cloth has been prepared and if a greater quantity of cloth is obtained they will know that the excess of cloth must have only come from the blackmarket sources. I may tell you, Sir, that weavers are going to Bombay to get yarn in the blackmarket. I therefore suggest, Sir, that the Government should appoint in all weaving centres agencies to procure all the cloth woven by the weavers and not allow it to go into the hands of the master weaver."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The Hon. the Premier has to attend the meeting of the other House at 5 p.m. So he has requested me to adjourn this House now. Before doing so, I want to inform hon. members that the statement just now made by the Hon. the Premier is being typed and it will be ready for distribution at 5 o'clock. I request hon. Members to wait here for 5 minutes and obtain copies of the statement.

"I now adjourn the House to meet again at 11 a.m. to-morrow, 1st June 1946."

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APPENDIX.

YARN POSITION.

The position as regards mill-spun cotton yarn is as follows:—

Madras is a surplus Province for yarn. If we had been allowed to retain all that we produced there would have been no complaints of yarn scarcity in this Province. In April 1945, the Textile Commissioner, Bombay, introduced a scheme known as the All-India Yarn Distribution Scheme, under which this Province was allowed to retain 21,305 bales. This allocation has been made on the following basis. According to the Fact Finding Committee Madras consumed in the year immediately preceding the outbreak of the war 26.05 per cent of the yarn available for handlooms in India and this proportion has been adopted in fixing the yarn quota for this Province. This proportion is not likely to be raised.

Since August 1944, the Provincial Textile Commissioner has been rationing the available supplies of yarn equitably among the handlooms all over the Province. Yarn quotas have been fixed for each district, and what is sent to each district is distributed to the weavers through a chain of distributors consisting of quota-holders, sub-wholesalers and retailers who between them charge a profit margin ranging from 10 to 15 per cent over the ex-mill price. Yarn sent to each centre is distributed through the dealers in proportion to their turnover in the past. The supply of yarn to each handloom is made against ration cards which specify the quantities and counts of yarn which the loom is entitled to receive every month and the retail dealer who should make the supply.

Non-official Committees have been constituted at all yarn distribution centres and district committees are being set up in each district. These committees assist the officers of the Textile Control Department in enforcing the yarn control measures. Rationing has been found practicable in the case of yarn because the number of counts is limited and the requirements of each loom in terms of counts and quantities can be determined precisely.

It is true that there are complaints of inadequate supplies of yarn from all over the Province but the utmost that we can do is to distribute equitably what we receive under the All-India Yarn Distribution Scheme. Owing to the increase in the number of looms and the rigid enforcement of the All-India Yarn Scheme we had reluctantly to cut down the ration for each loom with the result that the present ration is just sufficient to give employment to each weaver for about ten days in a month. The recent census has shown that there are now 496,000 active looms—and hardly any idle looms—in the Province, as against 296,101 active looms and 46,350 idle looms estimated by the Fact Finding Committee.

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The Fact Finding Committee's figures were undoubtedly an underestimate but there is reason to believe that nearly 75,000 new looms have come into existence during the war period taking advantage of the scarcity of mill-made cloth and the absence of price control over handloom cloth. The position has been further aggravated by the mills consuming a larger quantity of yarn as a result of the introduction of the Utility Cloth Scheme, which has had the effect of reducing the quantity of yarn available for handlooms in India by about 10,000 bales per mensem. As the fabrics produced under the Utility Cloth Scheme are of loose texture and are not popular with the public the Madras Government have suggested to the Government of India that the scheme may be abandoned in order that more yarn may be made available to the handloom industry.

COTTON CLOTH.

Under the All-India Cloth Distribution Scheme, India has been divided into surplus and deficit zones according as the cloth produced in the zone is more or less than the cloth requirements of the population of each zone. The Madras Province is included in the South Deficit Zone comprising the Madras Province, Coorg and the States of Mysore, Travancore, Cochin, Pudukottah, Banganapalle and Sandur. The *per capita* allotment until 31st October 1945 for the South Deficit Zone was 10 yards per annum. It was raised to 12 yards with effect from 1st November 1945. We have since been told that the Central Government has decided to reduce the *per capita* allotment for all the areas by 10 per cent with effect from 1st June 1946 in view of the fall in production since December last. The imposition of the 10 per cent cut on the *per capita* allotment has reduced our total monthly allocation, which was meagre enough, from 35,501 bales to 31,951 bales. Our quota now consists of not more than 12,428 bales of mill cloth and 19,523 bales of handloom cloth. As only 4,121 bales are produced in the mills in the South Deficit Zone, we have to depend on the Bombay Province for the balance of 8,307 bales. Partly because of the ineffective distribution arrangements in Bombay and Ahmedabad, the two main buying centres in the Bombay Province and partly because of the complicated calculations which take into account yarn deliveries and handloom exports before the actual quota due to us is arrived at, the arrivals are irregular and even the monthly allocations are uncertain.

As in the case of yarn, mill cloth is distributed through a chain of dealers consisting of quota holders, sub-wholesalers and retailers who between them appropriate a profit margin of 20 per cent over the ex-mill price.

Out of 10.8 yards per annum per head of population now allotted to this Province, a little less than 4.2 yards is mill-made cloth while the balance of 6.6 yards will have to be handloom cloth. The population of this Province is now a little over 53 millions out of which about 16 millions are children, i.e., persons below 12 years of age. The quantity of mill cloth available does not permit the allotment of more than 5 yards to an adult and

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2 yards to a child per annum. The production of sarees in South Indian mills is negligible while the production of dhoties is about 14,000 per mensem. We are thus for all practical purposes entirely dependent on the mills in the Bombay Province for our supplies of mill sarees, dhoties, voiles and printed chintz, to name only the more popular varieties. As for mulls the small mill at Mettur gives us about 11 million yards of mull per annum, and for further quantities of mull we have to depend on supplies from Bombay. It may be practicable to arrange for the supply of mill-made cloth at the rate of 5 yards per adult and 2 yards per child if it were only a question of supplying some mill cloth or other. There will probably be no great difficulty in supplying reasonable quantities in terms of shirtings and coatings, but the scramble is for the coveted varieties already mentioned. The production of mill sarees, dhoties and other popular varieties is limited and our share of these varieties is not sufficient to enable us to guarantee the supply of even one mill saree per annum for every ten families and even one dhotie per family per annum.

With an efficient handloom industry such as we have here there can be no cloth famine in the literal sense of the term so far as this Province is concerned. We have adequate quantities of handloom cloth which can be supplied to our consumers month after month in the varieties to which they have been accustomed. As far as the masses of our people are concerned they have been accustomed to handloom cloth, but they have been joining in the scramble for the very limited quantities of mill-made cloth because the prices of handloom cloth are more than double the prices of corresponding varieties of mill-made cloth.

There have been widespread complaints that mill cloth is not reaching the poorer classes of consumers. The Government have accordingly under their active consideration a scheme for the equitable distribution of the available supplies of mill cloth to all areas and sections of the consuming public. For the smooth and effective enforcement of the scheme the Government propose to utilize the services of the Village, Taluk and District Committees which are being set up in connexion with the administration of food control measures. The details of the scheme are being worked out and the Government hope to publish a Press Note on the subject shortly.

As however, the bulk of the cloth allotment to this Province consists of handloom cloth, no substantial relief is possible in the absence of control of the prices of such cloth. The Government propose to introduce a simple scheme for the purpose, the details of which will be announced shortly. Under this scheme, there will be no interference with the wages paid to the actual weavers and the real object of the control is to check profiteering by middlemen. In pursuance of their policy of eliminating unnecessary middlemen, the Government have decided that there should be no sales of handloom cloth from one wholesaler to another and that every wholesaler should sell direct to a retailer. Prodi

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handloom cloth will be allowed a handsome margin of 15 per cent over the actual cost of production, while the margins for the dealers will be limited to 4 per cent for the wholesaler and 10 per cent to the retailer on the producer's price. To help the consumers and to facilitate the administration of the control, the marking of prices by means of price labels will be insisted on. It is expected that, as a result of the introduction of the scheme, the prices of handloom cloth will be reduced by about 15 per cent on the average. The reduction in the case of 'fine' sarees will be appreciably more. As the hon. Members are aware, the handloom weavers have to buy their yarn at a price which includes not only the profit margin allowed to mills but also the yarn dealers' profit ranging from 10 to 15 per cent of the ex-mill price. A spectacular reduction in the prices of handloom cloth to anything like the level of the prices of mill cloth cannot therefore be achieved.

Khadi is outside the Provincial Cloth Quota to which I have already referred. But the quantity of Khadi now produced in this Province is an insignificant fraction of our requirements of cloth. The three branches of the A.I.S.A. in this Province are producing now less than 200 bales of Khadi per mensem. The production of Khadi by private persons outside these organizations is also negligible. The Government have under consideration the steps to be taken to stimulate the production and consumption of Khadi in the Province and a proposal made in this connexion to make one selected firka in each district self-sufficient in regard to its cloth requirements is being examined.

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Saturday, the 1st June 1946.

The House met in the Assembly Chamber, Fort St. George, at eleven of the clock, Mr. Speaker (THE HON. SRI J. SIVASHANMUKHAM PILLAI) in the Chair.

I.—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

STARRED QUESTIONS.

Spencer workers' dispute.

* 4 (39) Q.—SRI K. ANANDA NAMBIYAR: Will the Hon. the Minister for Industries, Labour, Electricity, Co-operation, Planning, Forests and Cinchona be pleased to state—

(a) what action has been taken to bring to an end the Spencer workers' dispute which was referred to conciliation; and

(b) whether the European management has refused to participate in the conciliation proceedings?

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI:—“(a) The Report of the Board of conciliation has recently been received and it is under the active consideration of Government.

“(b) The European management of Messrs. Spencer & Co. have not refused to participate in the conciliation proceedings.”

SRI S. NAGAPPA:—“ May I know whether . . . ”

MR. SPEAKER:—“ If the hon. Member wants to put a supplementary question, he should rise in his place and he might put his question on his name being called by the Speaker.”

SRI S. NAGAPPA:—“ May I know, Sir, when the Board was composed; who is the President of the Board; on what days the Board sat and what is the business they have done so far? ”

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI:—“ The hon. Member is trying to make a speech.”

SRI S. NAGAPPA:—“ I have put the question only to elicit information.”

SRI P. VENKATESWARULU:—“ May I know, Sir, whether the assistance of the Police Inspector was used to put in black legs; whether women picketers were abused and foul language was used against them? ”

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI:—“ I am not aware of the facts.”

SRI P. VENKATESWARULU:—“ Will the Hon. Minister enlighten the House whether the workers were prevented from taking out a procession during the course of the dispute? ”

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI:—“ No.”

SRI V. I. MUNISWAMI PILLAI:—“ May I know, Sir, what the number of men involved in the strike is? ”

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI:—“ About a thousand workers.”

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SRI S. NAGAPPA:—"Will the Hon. the Minister tell the House as to who formed the Board?"

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI:—"There is only one who forms the Board and that is Mr. M. Venkataramiah."

SRI V. I. MUNISWAMI PILLAI:—"May I know whether the men involved in the strike are domestic workers or other workers?"

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI:—"They are workers working in the various departments of the company."

SRI P. VENKATESWARULU:—"May I know whether there has been any case of victimization of the workers?"

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI:—"It is only a question of discharge of workers."

SRI S. NAGAPPA:—"May I know who constituted the Board of Conciliation, whether it is the Adviser Government or the present Government?"

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI:—"The present Government."

SRI B. S. MURTHI:—"May I know, Sir, whether there were any cases of victimization?"

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI:—"I have already answered that question. It is only a question of discharge."

SRI V. I. MUNISWAMI PILLAI:—"May I ask for information if the arbitrator has been arbitrating in two or three other cases?"

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI:—"Many more."

SRI D. V. RAMASWAMI:—"May I know to what decision Government have come regarding the dispute?"

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI:—"So far as the report is concerned, the Government are giving their active consideration and they will express their views by means of a Government communiqué."

SRI B. VENKATACHALAM PILLAI:—"Is it a fact that the Conciliation Officer expressed his inability to undertake the work?"

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI:—"It is not so; the reverse is the position."

N. MUHAMMAD ANWAR SAHIB BAHADUR:—"May I know whether it is a fact whether a few workers were arrested during the course of the strike?"

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI:—"I am not aware of it."

SRI V. I. MUNISWAMI PILLAI:—"Has the Hon. Minister called for any report?"

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI:—"The report has been received and is under consideration."

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ABDUL SALAM SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Is the Hon. Minister aware of the strong feeling among the public of the partiality shown by the Police to the firm as it is a European firm?"

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI:—"Not at all."

II—GOVERNMENT MOTION *RE*: FOOD AND CLOTH SITUATION IN THE PROVINCE—*cont.*

[*Note*.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

B. POCKER SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, I beg to move the amendment standing in my name, viz.—

'Add the following at the end:—

"that and on further consideration, this House is of the opinion that rationing of cloth be introduced in the Province and that rations be fixed according to the requirements of the various classes of consumers in regard to quantity, quality and variety."

M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—"I second the amendment."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The main motion and the amendments are for the discussion of the House."

* MR. H. S. TOWN:—"Mr. Speaker, I have given considerable attention to the note of the Textile Commissioner and I listened closely to the remarks of the Hon. the Premier throwing further light on the proposed solution of the cloth problem. I suggest that in a matter such as this we ought all to forget our party affiliations and work together, as one team, without trying to make any political capital out of a difficult situation. It is time that people within and outside this House, Government, employer, workers and distributors, got together to win the battle against the shortage of cloth. This does not mean we should not criticize the proposals of Government and this is the time for criticism and I hope my criticisms will not be brushed aside without being considered, but when once this House has finished with its arguments and criticism, it is up to every one of us to do everything in our power to see that the scheme as laid down by the Government is made to work successfully, if it is humanly possible so to do.

"The Textile Commissioner has stated in paragraph 2 of his Note that the *per capita* allotment of our Province has been reduced by 10 per cent owing, among other things, to the reduction in the number of working hours per week to 48. I think this is incorrect and I would request that the Hon. Premier will kindly cause a check up to be made. So far as I am aware, the 10 per cent cut has nothing to do with the reduction in working hours, which does not come into force until the first of August, and as time goes on, there will be a further reduction of 11 per cent. It must not be forgotten that the 48-hours week will result in a reduced supply of yarn and thus affect the handloom weavers. Therefore,

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there will be a reduction in handloom cloth to the extent of one-ninth. The reduction in handloom cloth will increase pressure on mill cloth and people accustomed to hand-woven cloth will use mill cloth to the permanent damage of the handloom industry. I doubt if hon. Members of this House, or the public at large, are aware what this cut in the working hours will mean. It will mean that there will be a further shortage of 700 million yards of cloth per annum. The brunt of this will fall on the mill-made cloth, though people will find that there is also a shortage in handloom cloth, and the tendency will be for prices of that commodity to rise. Effective control of prices will become next to impossible in these circumstances. Reference is made in sub-paragraph (4) to the ineffective control in Bombay and Ahmedabad resulting in releases to our authorized buyers being slow and delayed. There is much in this and I suggest consideration be given to the possibility of short-circuiting the quota holder in Bombay and Ahmedabad, and that arrangements be made for deliveries direct from the mills, giving the quota holder his statutory maximum percentage. I think this was done in some three or four mills during the war and the scheme was a success. This procedure has, however, been given up now as the mills have returned to their normal control. Direct delivery will be more economical and efficient and will save delay in getting the cloth to Madras.

"The suggestions given in sub-paragraph 7 of the Memorandum should be read in conjunction with Sections II and III of the Provincial Textile Commissioner's Note. I speak, Sir, as you know, with some knowledge of my subject and I have had the advantage of talks with certain gentlemen who have been intimately connected with cloth distribution for many years. My considered opinion is that rationing of cloth is completely impracticable.

11-15 a.m. "I am glad to note the Premier has listened to criticisms of his rationing proposals. I gather he would still like some scheme of cloth rationing. From time to time I have had, on occasions, to change my ideas and drop schemes dear to me on the advice of my juniors and I suggest to the Premier to accept the view of his officers and drop all thought of a rationing scheme.

"I now come to an important point. I know this scheme is going to be pushed through in spite of our criticism. When the time for criticism is past, we have to try to make the scheme a success. Village committees are to be entrusted with the handling of cloth and yarn. I am afraid I must strongly oppose this proposal. The genuine trader has, on the whole, behaved very well under difficult circumstances. He is easily controlled; he knows his job and I can see no reason why he should have his business taken away from him and given to village committees who have no experience or knowledge of the trade. These village committees will have a most powerful weapon for extortion put into their hands and it would be most difficult to control them. It is my firm conviction that the scheme, if adopted so far as cloth and yarn are concerned, and I think it would be safe to add

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the other commodities as well, will be a failure from the start. We all know that in almost all villages factions prevail. We know of several cases of district boards and municipalities which had to be superseded because of inefficiency. (Sri Kala Venkata Rao: 'They are exceptions.') They may be exceptions, but there are a lot of them. Such being the case, how can you expect the village committees to function well? The Prime Minister yesterday said—I suppose he has been correctly reported in the *Hindu*—'We are placing the whole thing in your own hands. Run the show yourself. You will thereby be saved from the trouble of black markets, also from official compulsion.' If this report is correct, then these committees will be outside any control and may be expected to take advantage of it. The report goes on: 'Special instructions will be issued that no complaints arise.' If the report is right, I must mention one thing—there were no complaints in Nazi Germany; for everything was muzzled and nobody dared complain. I trust the same thing will not happen here.

"I am convinced, Sir, that huge sums of money will have to be supplied to finance these village committees, and I am confident that as a result of the huge army of petty officials that will spring up, the vast volume of records which will have to be kept, and the enormous mass of correspondence that will take place, the cost to Government will assume enormous and alarming proportions. Now we have a popular Government; it has come in by election as a result of their propaganda; I suggest that Government use the agency of propaganda to put down blackmarketing. Everyone in this House is fully aware that blackmarketing has assumed alarming proportions. We all know that huge fortunes are being made, but I have never been able to get into direct touch with an operator in that market. Government have sufficient powers now to deal with it and should use those powers. Government's greatest trouble is the complete lack of a civic conscience in the people of India and it is their duty to instil it into their lives. I would show no mercy to a blackmarketeer, be he the highest and wealthiest in the land; I would root him out and cast him in the dust. He is the target for Government officials who to-day spend their time harrying little men on some technical but unimportant point.

"I fully realize the importance of gaining the co-operation of the masses in this matter; and now that we have a Government elected by the people, they should be able to show that they can, by propaganda, gain this. I would suggest that village and district committees should have their duties confined to forwarding information as to what cloth the district really needs and on what dates throughout the coming year the demand is likely to be large. I have been on the Provincial Food Council since its inception. I do not think we did much work. We did a lot of talking; but the chairman did the work. With regard to food, it is essential we should have a regular supply. With cloth it is not so. People could afford to wait for a little before they

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purchase cloth. On the information furnished by the village and district committees, the Provincial Textile Commissioner could allocate certain cloths to districts to be sold at certain stated times. Shops in that district would then be well stocked at a time when people particularly want to buy a new piece of cloth.

“Let me explain my suggestion more fully. With food, it is essential to have a regular daily supply; with cloth this is not so. There are few among the meanest of the people that cannot go a few days, a few weeks, or even in many cases a few months, if necessary, before purchasing cloth. I feel that the Provincial Textile Commissioner's suggestion that mill cloth should be bought by the consumer as uniformly as possible throughout the year is a wrong one. It means that there will never be anywhere in the Presidency substantial stocks and it aggravates the situation before every important festival. Why then should we not attempt to build up stocks to meet the demand at our important festivals by creating an artificial temporary shortage for a short while and then, just before a festival let us see that all the retail shops are well stocked so as to meet the demand they will then receive? It could be made an offence punishable with heavy penalties for cloth dealers to sell cloth during a ‘cloth holiday.’ This is easily enforceable and will result in every one being able to get cloth just before a festival. The system could be applied if you like, to mill cloth only, but there is no reason why handloom cloth should not be included. This system could be applied districtwise according to the different customs and the different festivals. By such an application we can ensure that increased supplies are available just where they are wanted and when they are wanted. Successfully enforced abstinence in cloth purchasing on the lines I have indicated will, I am sure, be more effective than any ordinary system of coupon rationing or registration.

“Turning now to sub-paragraph (8) which deals with the handloom industry, I am in entire agreement that some effort must be made to control the prices of handloom cloth, but the first stage must be the strict enforcement of the control of prices of yarn. There is a flourishing black market in nearly all of the medium and fine counts. As a matter of interest, I am informed that it is now a recognized practice in the black market for the price of a bundle of 40s to be the day's rate for a sovereign, now about Rs. 57, against the controlled price of Rs. 22-3-6 for yarn spun from imported cotton. If the Provincial Textile administration are unable to control this, how can they hope to introduce an effective system of rationing or registration? It would be employed to the far better purpose of rigorously enforcing yarn control and introducing control of handloom cloth. The prices of mill cloth, both in the wholesale and retail trades, are strictly controlled and generally speaking are fair and reasonable to both seller and buyer. In the case of handloom cloth, however, there is at present no price control and very high prices are charged. I think the consumer in Madras has a very genuine complaint

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on this score. Handloom weavers buy their yarn, or should be able to buy it, at controlled and very reasonable prices and I fail to find any valid reason why the prices of the cloth they produce should not be controlled. Anyway, I can find no reason why those prices should be allowed to soar to levels bearing no relation to the controlled prices of the basic yarns. I believe, with many others who have studied this subject, that the control of handloom cloth prices by Government is perfectly feasible and that such action would be supported by the purchasing public.

“Sub-paragraph (9) presents a sorry picture: only 200 bales of bandspun yarn. This is not sufficient and anything that Government can do to increase hand-spinning at this critical juncture should be done and should be supported by everyone.

“All the power of the All-India Spinners' Association has been used and this is the result.

“There is a pencil note I have made on my copy of the memorandum which reads ‘Draw a veil over this.’ I will say no more: the sub-paragraph itself is enough.

“I now refer to paragraph II which deals with cotton yarn. Madras is a large surplus area and has to send to other zones a certain proportion of its production. What remains is insufficient to keep all our active looms fully employed and I see, in sub-paragraph (17) that some 75,000 new looms have come into existence, but no increase in yarn is available for these looms. I am fully aware that we have to look upon this from an all-India point of view and against the picture of the needs of the whole country. Just as Madras is permitted to import mill cloth from Bombay and Ahmedabad, which those two centres would dearly like to consume or send elsewhere, so we in Madras have to send some of our yarn to other centres. I do, however, suggest that an examination be made to see whether Madras cannot make out a case for the retention of a greater proportion of its yarn.

“It has been suggested that we might keep all our yarn and weave it here. This suggestion comes from a complete misunderstanding of the position. If we refuse to part with yarn to other provinces, why should they part with anything we need but have not got. We need more cloth than we can weave even with all our yarn, but we might not get it. We need coal and if we refuse to export our surpluses of yarn or other commodity, we can hardly claim a share of coal that could be consumed elsewhere.

“If we refuse to treat this as an all-India matter, we might be isolated and find ourselves running short of everything we do not produce in this province. I would, however, suggest that the Textile Commissioner does what he can to get a little bit more of our yarn. The figure was fixed on the finding of what I now prefer to call the Non-Fact Finding Committee. It was not a very brilliant committee and its findings are now generally considered unreliable.

“In the statement it is stated that the position has been further aggravated by the mills consuming a larger quantity of

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yarn as a result of the introduction of the Utility Cloth Scheme, which has had the effect of reducing the quantity of yarn available for handlooms in India by about 10,000 bales per mensem. Sir, it is very difficult for me to question an official statement. But that part of the scheme of utility cloth production which caused yarn to be consumed at such a terrible rate was given up in January 1946. I do not think it has any effect on the present position.

"I want to go back now to sub-paragraph (3), for very little is said in this report about exports of cloth from this Presidency. The export of cloth is very necessary. It has an important place in the economy of this province and this is not always understood. It is all too easy for a person in need of cloth to be annoyed when he hears that cloth has gone out of the Presidency. But there are vital reasons why we in Madras must not neglect the export trade of cloth. So long as the Government of India, on grounds of general policy, permit exports of cloth from India, then this province will lose nothing by doing everything possible to regain its old export markets, both internal and external, and to create new ones. In saying this, I am ignoring the temporary suspension of overseas exports. As I have said, a certain amount of cloth is going to be exported anyway, and if it does not go from Madras, it will go from some other province. Any province which sends out cloth in place of Madras will have less cloth available to send to Madras; so we shall gain no more cloth, but we will have lost a valuable future trade, much of it in handloom cloth.

"In conclusion, Sir, I feel safe in saying that despite criticism, the general position in Madras, viewed against the all-India background, is not unsatisfactory. Cloth dealers, and to a lesser extent yarn dealers, on the whole have behaved well and have realized that they have too much at stake to flout the control orders. There certainly have been some black sheep but the regulations are fairly well observed and what mill-made cloth there is, is sold for the most part at controlled prices. The complaints of high prices for handloom cloth are genuine and well-founded. If the Government of Madras can devise ways and means of ensuring handloom cloth reaching the consumer at reasonable prices, the most serious complaint of all will be removed.

"I do not believe that rationing will be successful. I am against any attempt to encourage purchase of cloth in small quantities throughout the year. I believe that the proposals made will cause a great deal of work and will in the end attain very little improvement in the position. The imminent introduction of the 48-hour week is a very serious matter; for, apart from creating an additional shortage in mill cloth, it will throw thousands of handloom weavers out of work. I think that this side of the question should receive the immediate and serious consideration of the ministers concerned.

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"I am not against the 48-hour week. I am in favour of it and strongly in favour of it. But it is a pity that the enthusiasm of one gentleman should cause this to come in at a critical time when it should have been withheld. So important is this loss of an hour's work a day that I will again give the stupendous loss in production figure for the benefit of the House, viz., seven hundred million yards of cloth a year.

"Now, Sir, certain amendments have been put in. I am afraid my small voice will go up against every one of them. I am against any attempt by this House to get into the habit of asking for committees to investigate the working of any schemes they do not like. It is the duty of the Government to carry out the schemes. Let them do it. Mr. Wilson says that to protect the handloom weaver the Government should fix the minimum wage. I suggest, Sir, that at the present moment the handloom weaver must be helped in other ways. He is probably now getting more than any minimum that dare be fixed. He also suggested the taking over by the Government of the Textile mills. He does not expect me to stand up and support him. I do not think that Government can run a textile mill as it is a highly technical question. (Voice: Question.) In spite of the interruption, I still believe, after 30 years' experience, that running a textile mill is a technical job. He has also said that in order to ensure equitable distribution of yarn, Government should ration the handloom cloth also. I am against any rationing.

"I now come to the amendment of the Leader of the Independent Opposition. I question his suggestion about more cloth being wanted in a hot climate than in a cold one. Few of the poor people in the north use any appreciable amount of woollen cloth. They use a very heavy cotton cloth which has considerable warmth.

"I have no comment on 3.

"In regard to 2, he says that the quota of yarn allocated to this province under the all-India Yarn Scheme is grossly inadequate. My remark on that is: an enquiry may lead to demand for more yarn from this province as we do not know how inaccurate the figures of the Fact Finding Committee were. I agree with sub-section (2), but I cannot agree with just a little part. I have, therefore, to oppose everything.

"It is seldom, Sir, that one in opposition to Government feels compelled to give praise to any Department of Government, but having been in close touch with cloth distribution throughout its somewhat chequered career, I would be lacking in my duty if I did not mention that to my certain knowledge the administration of the cloth and yarn control in this Presidency has been considered by the central controlling body to be a pattern for the rest of India. That efficiency has of course, caused a number of people to be annoyed especially where control has not suited them, but the control has gone on, right through, and with a certain

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amount of success. I consider, Sir, that we in Madras have managed well and have been very fortunate in the handling of the cloth and yarn control in this province."

"MR. SPEAKER:—"Yesterday I have not allowed those who have given notice of their amendments^a to speak. To-day I propose to call them one by one."

^aM. S. ABDUL MAJEED SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Add the following at the end:—

- 'and on such consideration, the House is of opinion that the draft proposals presented by the Government to the House with regard to the cloth administration are impracticable and unworkable and ineffective to tackle the impending crisis in cloth; and
- 'giving effect to the said proposals is fraught with dangerous results; and
- 'such defects as are existing in the present system are remediable without the necessity of substituting the present system by a completely new system as adumbrated by the draft proposals; and
- 'the present crisis in the cloth situation requires immediate and special attention. It is necessary that a Board consisting of not more than 15 members and not less than 11 be constituted for the province consisting of representatives of the major political parties of the Provincial Legislature with plenary powers to deal with all questions relating to cloth in the province, that the Board shall elect its chairman and that the Board shall constitute advisory committees in the Districts and in Taluks consisting of the representatives of major political parties.'"

KUMARARAJA SIR MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD:—"Add the following at the end:—

- 'and on such consideration this House is of opinion—
- I. that the scheme of differential cloth quotas now enforced by the Government of India is not based on any just and equitable principle and that a uniform per capita allotment for all areas in India should be introduced with immediate effect for the following reasons:—
- (1) in a hot climate like that of Madras more cotton cloth is required than in Northern India by reason of more rapid wear;
- (2) in the areas in Northern India, a large proportion of the clothing of the people has necessarily to be in wool and such supplies of woollen clothing are available to them;
- (3) the proportion of mill cloth to the total cloth quota of the area is now the lowest in Madras among the Provinces and States in India and it is but reasonable that there should be, as far as possible, equality of treatment in this respect as between all areas in India.
- II. (1) that the quota of yarn allocated to this Province under the All-India Yarn Scheme is grossly inadequate and has been causing serious hardship to the handloom industry as it gives the handloom weavers numbering nearly half a million, work for only ten days in the month and this is the main reason for the serious disparity in prices between handloom cloth and corresponding mill cloth, resulting in prohibitive prices for handloom cloth, for beyond the means of the ordinary consumer.
- (2) that this allocation based upon estimates given by the Fact Finding Committee which have been proved to be very bad underestimates should be revised on an equitable basis forthwith."

SRI P. VENKATESWARLU:—"Add the following at the end:—

- 'and on such consideration, the House is of opinion—
- (1) that the draft proposals are inadequate and ineffective to meet the situation;
- (2) that to ensure proper distribution of cloth, handloom cloth be

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* M. S. ABDUL MAJEED SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, the amendment of my party is already before this honourable House for consideration. Before speaking on the two amendments moved by my party, I would join my leader, the Leader of the Opposition, in giving our assurance of wholehearted co-operation and support in all measures that the Government may formulate with a view to resolve the present food and cloth calamity in our province. When I am on this, I would like to say that some of the hon. Members of the party in power have said that the Muslim League Party in the Assembly is adopting a negative attitude. Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I ask the hon. Members whether it is a negative attitude that we are adopting when we as a party, as honourable men, come forward to give our assurance of support and co-operation? Is it a negative attitude when we, with a view to save the common man from nakedness and possible death, point out the flaws in the schemes adumbrated in the draft proposals of the Government? Is it, Sir, a negative attitude when we place before this honourable House our own proposals to resolve the deadlock? I have got to say this, Sir, that we are not adopting a negative attitude. On the other hand, ours is a positive attitude. We are out to help, whatever the party affiliations of the Government in power, we are here to assist, we are here to co-operate to the fullest extent.

"Mr. Speaker, the Hon. the Premier has placed for the consideration of the House not only the draft proposals, but also statements with regard to food and cloth in this province. Taking the question of cloth, I would like you to follow the ideas that are contained in the statement which he has issued with regard to yarn and cloth in this province. Firstly, in the opening remarks of the statement, the Hon. the Premier has referred to the All-India Yarn Distribution Scheme. All-India Yarn Distribution Scheme, Sir, is based upon the figures found in the Fact

- (3) that a thorough investigation be conducted into the working of the Madras Provincial Textile Department by a committee of eleven consisting of members of this House as well as that of outside public opinion."

MR. T. J. M. WILSON:—"Add the following at the end:—

- 'and on such consideration the House is of opinion—
- (1) that the draft proposals are inadequate and ineffective to meet the situation;
- (2) that in order to protect the handloom industry and to safeguard the interests of the handloom weaver the Government should fix the minimum living wage of the handloom weaver;
- (3) that since the Handloom Weavers' Co-operative Societies at present are being discouraged the Government should by all possible means encourage the formation of a large number of co-operative societies of genuine handloom weavers;
- (4) that for the purposes of ensuring a regular and continuous supply of more yarn at controlled prices and eliminating widespread blackmarketing in yarn the Government should take over the management of all textile mills during the present crisis allowing not more than a minimum profit to the mill owners, take steps to step up production and distribute yarn through yarn ration retail depots, thereby eliminating the chain of middlemen unnecessarily created between production and distribution ends; and
- (5) that in order to ensure equitable distribution of adequate yardage of cloth per head among the public the Government should ration handloom cloth also."

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Finding Committee's report of Dr. Thomas' Committee of 1941. At the outset, I would like to bring to the notice of the hon. Members that the figures contained in the Fact Finding Committee's Report are entirely wrong. There is a common saying that there are three kinds of lies: one is a lie, the other is a white lie, and the third is statistics. This is true of all the statistics contained in the All-India Fact Finding Committee's Report. Take for instance the City of Madras. If you turn over the pages of the Committee's Report, you will find that they have said that there are only 1,700 looms in the City of Madras. When recently the Provincial Textile Commissioner took in an informal manner census of the looms in the City, it was brought to his notice that there were nearly 3,000 looms working in the City. This holds good not only with regard to the looms in the City of Madras. It is true of all the places in this province. Therefore, working a scheme on the basis of inaccurate statistics will only result in a scheme which will not be helpful not only to the handloom weavers of this province, but also to the consumers of yarn or cloth. Therefore, the Government must insist that the scheme should be modified with reference to the correct figures that are now available. If this is done in the first instance, we can get not only increased supply of yarn to our weavers, but also increased supply of cloth.

"I come to the question of production of yarn in this province or the production of yarn in this country. It is the practice of Government at present to work out the availability of yarn on the basis of statements submitted by the mills. There is no enquiry as to whether the statements submitted by the mills are correct. Therefore on this occasion, I would urge upon the Hon. the Premier to empower the textile authorities to go into the correct figures of production, to undertake verification of the production statements of all the mills. At present, this will be a tremendous task. Therefore, Sir, I would urge upon the Hon. the Premier to take one or two mills in the first instance with proper experts. It is no use sending people who have no knowledge of the mechanism of the mill industry. Experts must be sent to investigate into the actual yarn production of the mills. Before the yarn gets out of the gates of the mills, I must say that it goes, at least a good portion of it goes underground, and this is being distributed through underground channels.

"Secondly, Sir, not only the past Government of this province, but also the Government of India have not exactly found out the correct margin of profit that exists between the cost of production of yarn and ex-mill rates that are put on the bundles of yarn. That is almost a mystery. The mill owners are not prepared to show to the authorities concerned the exact margin of profit that these great Moguls are earning in the production of yarn. Therefore, in order that you may give cheaper yarn to the handloom weavers of this province, in order that you may bring cheap yarn to the doors of the starving millions, I would urge upon the Government immediately to make an investigation as

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to the exact margin of profit which the millowners are earning at present. Therefore I have got grave doubts as to the statement made with regard to the availability of yarn in this province.

"Thirdly, Sir, the quality of yarn produced by these mills is very low. Go to any handloom weaver and he will say that the yarn that is supplied to him at present is not of the quality that he used to get during the pre-war days. On a bundle of yarn, it may be indicated as 40 counts, or 60 counts or 80 counts, but when you actually test the yarn, it may not be exactly of the same count. Therefore, assistance to the Textile department must be given with a view to test the correctness of the counts indicated, because this is a loophole by which the millowners are earning great profits. This is one of the loopholes which I wish to bring to the notice of the Government.

"Fourthly, Sir, at present the available yarn is taken through the normal channels of trade to the handloom weaver through what is called the Weavers' Associations. These are non-official bodies manned by the weavers of the locality. I would say in this connexion that these non-official associations or committees have been doing very useful work and therefore I would request the Government to continue these non-official committees with certain added powers. At present although the non-officials man these organizations, sufficient powers are not given to the office-bearers of these associations to help the weavers in times of need. For instance, suppose a weaver falls sick, or that he has got to be out of the City of Madras for some work, or that he goes to his native place, then the coupons in the name of the weaver who takes the yarn must be changed. For this, the permission should come from the Textile Control officers. After all, these non-officials who are controlling these weavers' organizations are responsible people and therefore the Textile authorities should entrust these non-officials with powers so that they can help the weavers in their hour of need.

"Then, Sir, with regard to the distribution of yarn and informal rationing, I would go to the extent of introducing statutory rationing. That, I think, to a great extent I would solve the problem of proper distribution of yarn to the handloom weavers of this province.

"Again, Sir, the Government must consider the communities that are involved in the handloom industry. In this province, the weaver communities are called the Devangas in the Andhra districts, Salias in the Tamil Nad and Pandarams, Sengunthars, etc., in certain other parts. These communities are hereditary weavers and have been in the profession from time immemorial. They are the people who have the experience and a heritage of weaving. In their community, they have certain grades called the weavers and master-weavers. Unfortunately to-day there is also the coolie or the labour problem among the weavers. But hon. Members should remember that the problem of labour in the handloom industry is entirely different from the problem of labour

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in other industries. The captains of industry or the entrepreneur of the industry like the mill-owners of Bombay are entirely different from those that put their shoulders to the wheels of that industry. A Parsi or a Marwari capitalist is the master of a mill in Bombay, but the labourers in their mills belong to an entirely different community. My object in bringing this before the House is this. There is no community of interest between the captains of industry and those who are actually engaged in the industry. Therefore, when you take the question of the weaving industry, and when you call one as a master-weaver and another as an ordinary weaver, you should not be carried away by mere slogans. For, a weaver of to-day may become a master-weaver to-morrow and *vice versa*. There is this cycle going in the weaving community. Therefore, if you apply all those principles which are being applied to bring a haven of happiness to those engaged in other industries, I say that you will be doing a grave injustice to the handloom industry. Recently there was an agitation in the province that yarn coupons given to master-weavers must be taken away from their hands and should be given to independent weavers. I for my part would suggest that the system of master-weavers should be continued, because the latter do a very great service to the industry. It is they who preserved the industry and it is they who renovated it from its lethargic state and brought it to its present condition. It is they who have invested capital in the industry and established a reputation for the handloom cloth. Recently there was an agitation against the master-weavers, that they were blood-sucking parasites, that they should be removed and that the coupons should be handed to independent weavers. The Textile department is now looking into the matter.

"Now a new kind of organization is coming into existence. They put on Gandhi caps and cry Congress slogans and go on in their new adventures to exploit the weaving community and attempt to take away their coupons. Is it because the Congress Government has come into power that these new adventurers should set out in this manner? Let not the Government be carried away by their agitation. If to-day the coupons are taken away from the hands of the independent weavers or master-weavers, as they are technically called, it will be doing the greatest injury to the handloom industry. These coolie weavers do not in very many cases belong to the weaving communities which I have enumerated and they are a sort of nomadic race. To-day they will be in Pondicherry, to-morrow in Madras and the next day in Guntur and will be going on from place to place changing masters at every place. If we hand over the yarn coupons to them, they will actually sell it in the black market, and the yarn that is badly needed by the handloom industry will be denied to the weavers of this province. The Government must therefore deeply consider the question of coolie weavers. Before toe-tocing in the line of these new adventurers, they must consider the problem in all its aspects. Let them constitute a small committee of enquiry or let them ask the Textile authorities to constitute a committee consisting of the representatives of coolie weavers, the

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representatives of the independent weavers and other interests involved. Let them evolve a plan by which they can equitably distribute the yarn available in this province. These are the points that I have got to bring to the consideration of the Government.

"Now let me come to the question of cloth. In the first place, the quantity of cloth allotted to this province is very meagre. The Hon. the Premier in his statement has said that we are getting somewhere near 10.8 yards per head per year, while Bombay is getting double the quantity. Sir, this sort of disparity between the quantity allotted to Madras and that allotted to Bombay or any other province in Northern India is a question which we have got to consider deeply. There is a lurking suspicion in the minds of Northern Indians that Madras is a province of 'Half-naked Fakirs' and that the people might be given half the quantity of cloth that is given to other provinces. That is a very bad impression about the people of this province and the popular Government that is now in power should take immediate steps to see that this idea is rooted out of the minds of North Indians. I remember a small story that I heard when I was in Northern India. Somebody said 'If you see a South Indian and a snake, kill the South Indian first.' That is the attitude of the Northern Indians towards us. (A voice: 'North Indian leaders of all party affiliations are having the same opinion of South Indian leaders.') Therefore, Sir, the Government in power must wage a regular war and see that the cloth quota is increased for this province. If we get 20 yards per head, that will go a long way towards solving our cloth problem.

"Sir, the credit given to the handloom cloth in this cloth quota should be reduced. I do not know why the Central Government should have increased the assignment of handloom cloth within this quota. Out of the 10 yards assigned to us, we would be getting six yards of handloom cloth and four yards of mill cloth.

"Another reason for the scarcity of cloth in this province is the difficulty of transport, or 'transport hurdles' as mentioned in the statement. I will just mention a small matter for the information of the House. There are two mills in Bombay that should supply to this province about 500 bales of yarn. The railway authorities in Bombay refuse to transport these bales by goods train to Madras and so they are sent by steamer to Cochin and from Cochin they have got to come to Madras by rail. The delay, the inconvenience and hardships that are caused by this process to the cloth dealers and the consumers are enormous. Now when monsoons are setting down, what will happen to these transports, we cannot foresee. As I said, there will be delay and inconvenience. Perhaps the bales may get damaged. Therefore the Government should take immediate steps to see that all the bales that come from Bombay or Ahmedabad are transported only by rail and as speedily as possible. Otherwise, we cannot get even the 10 yards allotted to us due to these transport hurdles.

"Again, Sir, with a view to solve the cloth scarcity in this province, rationing is proposed. Personally I have no belief in

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it. Hon. Members of my party, however, feel differently and hence I waive my opposition to cloth rationing. My hon. Friend Mr. Town told us this morning that he is not for cloth rationing, but, for the sake of his party which holds a different view, he has given up his cherished ideal. I am also in the same position. But I want to tell the Hon. the Premier that cloth rationing should not be effected on the lines of rice rationing. Cloth rationing should be done on rational lines. Because, as has been pointed out in the statement, if you are going to ration cloth, it means in effect that every one, man, woman and child, whether they have been using mill cloth or not, will be asked to wear mill cloth only. That habit will create a new taste among the consumers. Though they have been using handloom cloth all these years, they will have to give up their taste for it and take to mill cloth. That means it will ultimately undermine the handloom industry of this province.

"Then, Sir, reference has been made to the Utility Cloth scheme. I have no faith in it or in the standard cloth scheme. Hon. Members are aware how, under instructions from the Government of India, the Provincial Governments took delivery of large quantities of standard cloth and what was done ultimately with that cloth in the different places. Even the handloom industry was made to produce that cloth. Stocks accumulated, as people were unwilling to buy them. In the end the Government of India had to come to the rescue of the handloom industry by giving export permits to liquidate the accumulated stocks of standard cloth. Let us not therefore agree to this Utility Cloth scheme. Let those provinces that want it, have it. We should ask the Government of India to allot to us our quota of yarn that may go into scheme so that we may hand over that yarn to our handloom weavers.

"Next, I wish to offer a few remarks about price control. I am one of those who have been insisting on price control from the beginning. As a member of the All-India Handloom Board, I have told the representatives from the other provinces that price control of handloom cloth must be established. Unfortunately they did not agree as also the Hon. the Commerce Member of the Government of India. He told me this was the only time when the handloom weavers could make some money and that they might be allowed to do so. But did this *laissez faire* policy benefit the handloom weavers? No. It has helped nobody. Therefore I brought to the notice of the All-India Handloom Board and the officers of the Government of India that handloom cloth price control must be introduced. When the Government of India refused to agree and when the Ceylon Government introduced price control on handloom cloth imported from India, particularly from the Province of Madras, we brought to the notice of the Government of India that they must request the Ceylon Government to give up price control, because it is derogatory to the self-respect and dignity of this country that a foreign Government should control the price of a commodity produced in this country. If to-day we are going to introduce

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price control on cars or other goods produced in foreign countries, will not those countries make vehement protests? Unfortunately the Government of India do not think on those lines and that is why they rejected my advice to write to the Ceylon Government to cancel their order imposing price control on handloom cloth imported from India. Unfortunately price control was imposed by this Government but it had a very bad effect on our exports to Ceylon. Out of the 40 million yards of cloth produced in this province every month, how are we going to give about 2 million yards to Ceylon to be sold at controlled prices? You can readily imagine what will happen to the exporters of handloom cloth to Ceylon. There was a huge demand for handloom cloth from Bombay, the Punjab and Bengal and exporters came into the market offering higher prices. Though there was the Provincial Textile Commissioner's price list, actually cloth was selling at prices higher than those given in the price schedule. Therefore the exporters of handloom cloth to Ceylon have not been able to export the cloth indicated in their licences for nearly one year or more. In that situation, I suggested to the Provincial Textile Commissioner that there was no use having price control of goods exported to Ceylon alone. The control must be on all goods produced in this province, whether or not the Government of India, or the All-India Handloom Board or the Textile Control Board agrees with us. We have got to introduce price control, on handloom products in this province so that we may not only carry on export trade, but give the consumers of this province handloom cloth at reasonable prices.

"The Hon. the Premier has defined how the profit margin should be distributed. He says: 'Producers of handloom cloth will be allowed a handsome margin of 15 per cent over the actual cost of production, while the margins for the dealers will be limited to 4 per cent for the wholesaler and 10 per cent to the retailer on the producer's price.' The idea contained in this definition is very vague. I hope the Hon. the Premier will clarify it. Six per cent will be a meagre allowance to the retailer. As regards the profit margin, all I would say is that the Government should not arbitrarily fix it. There are trade organizations in this province attending to the needs of the traders all these years. They have got experience and ability and they know the difficulties and hardships of the traders and dealers. Therefore, before assigning the profit margin arbitrarily, the Government would do well to consult the trade organizations.

"Another thing I notice in the statement of the Hon. the Premier is that one wholesaler must sell only to a retailer. This condition will, I am sure, create much hardship and almost paralyse the wheels of trade in this country. For instance, take two wholesalers, one in Vetapalayam and one in the City of Madras. The former has been all these years selling handloom goods to the wholesaler at Madras. If to-day this condition is enforced, the Madras man would have to go. That will introduce very great friction in the free trade machinery. Therefore, if you

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are having the margin of profit for each individual, you can safely leave the rest to the merchants themselves. The trade will adapt itself to the prevailing conditions. Your interest is to give to the consumer handloom cloth at a reasonable price. If this is so, why should you intervene and lay down a condition as to which wholesaler should sell to which retailer and so on? This will create considerable hardship.

"I shall now say a few words about the usefulness of the co-operative societies in this connexion. The co-operative societies are the pet children of the Government and they are giving any amount of encouragement to the co-operative movement to develop. Attempts have been made in the past, in the years prior to 1935, to revive the handloom industry. Co-operative societies were started. They did not survive and, when the handloom industry was seen to suffer, agitation was started asking the Government of Madras and the Government of India to do something. They came to the rescue of the industry in the year 1935 with what is called the Subvention scheme. Under this scheme subsidies were given to the weavers. At present these subsidies are given only to weavers' co-operative societies. Somehow or other that idea has been tried for the last ten years. And what is the percentage of handloom weavers that are within the fold of this co-operative movement? It is only 4 per cent. Why are weavers' co-operative societies not popular among the weavers? Why should not Government institute an enquiry into the reasons for the unpopularity of the co-operative movement in their midst and by remedying the defects, make the societies popular among the weavers?

"While on this question, I wish to refer to what was said in the Legislative Council by an hon. Member yesterday. It appears he said that the export of handloom cloth must be immediately stopped. Sir, what is the position of our handloom industry? If you take the handloom industry of this province into consideration, you will find that here in this province it has prospered while in other provinces it has languished. The reason for this is traceable to the fact that we have been exporting our handloom products to Burma, Federated Malay States, East Indies and other far-eastern countries. If to-day this is stopped, the hardship of the weavers will be very great. When Japan occupied those countries, those markets were lost to our weavers and exporters and our weavers starved. The Government had at that time to grant them famine allowances. Are the Government going to bring about such a state of affairs again by stopping the export of handloom cloth? I hope not. The export must not be stopped. It should, on the other hand, be encouraged and increased.

12-30 p.m. "It would be the height of political unwisdom on the part of the Government to allow distribution of cloth in the hands of village committees. I must say that it would be in the interests of the province to allow the existing system to continue with certain modifications in order to help the handloom industry and consumers instead of adopting Utopian methods. Therefore:

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Sir, in the interests of the thousands of handloom weavers of this province and in the interests of the trade in general, I appeal to the Government not to undertake these experiments. It is not guinea pigs on whom you are experimenting, but human beings."

KUMARARAJA SIR MUTHIAH CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD:—
"Mr. Speaker, Sir, this House and indeed the whole public are grateful to the Government for giving us an opportunity to discuss not only the food problem but also the cloth problem. We also appreciate very much the nice arrangements made to separate the discussion on the two questions; for otherwise, it would not have been possible in a joint discussion to give that amount of importance that is necessary to the cloth situation. If the situation in regard to cloth is not as desperate as the food situation, it is, at any rate, equally important. The discussions so far have justified the decision to separate the question into two parts.

"First of all, the Provincial Textile Commissioner has given a very clear statement of the cloth position in this province. The present Government have had very little time to tackle it but they are fortunate in this: that as in the case of food, they have already an elaborate organization functioning with regard to cloth also, so that it will be easy for them to build upon the work that has already been done during the last three years by the officials, the non-officials and those engaged in the trade particularly. I understand from Hon. the Prime Minister's statement that the Government are suggesting certain changes in the existing arrangement. I suggest at this stage that it would be in the fitness of things if we give our general support to the Government proposal. It would be difficult to envisage clearly the effect of these proposals, and we can only hope that they will be effective and if there are any defects in actual working, I hope that the officials of the department concerned would suggest the necessary changes and the Hon. the Prime Minister would give effect to them; if necessary, legislation can be undertaken.

"The cloth industry is not a new industry. We have all, particularly prominent non-officials, deplored the fact that the village industries have gone down, that the urban population is growing and the villages have been neglected, for one reason or other. To clothe the people in the urban areas, spinning and weaving mills must necessarily exist. The cloth problem will always be with us. Legislators and administrators will have to solve the problem from time to time.

"The cloth industry, like other industries, will have to be specialized in particular areas. They cannot be completely left to the villages. I am not merely referring to the mills. Even handlooms have been concentrated in certain areas and among certain communities. This matter of production and distribution should be the concern of the Government and not be left to the villagers. As I see things, the problem with regard to the cloth

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situation is the same as that with regard to the food situation, namely, shortage of raw material from which you have to make the cloth. In the last few months it has been stated in several Assemblies in the world that there should be equality of sacrifice with regard to food and cloth. It is always easy to say that. It remains to be seen how far our own brethren in other parts of India will rise to the occasion when they talk of equality of sacrifice. It is very well known that the south deficit zone has been treated in a step-motherly fashion. Let us only hope that in the near future when a powerful Central Government comes into being, it would be possible to tell the more ambitious provinces that the words 'equality of sacrifice' must really go round the whole of India and must not be merely words.

"I do not want to go into the methods by which our cloth requirements have been calculated. It is very dangerous to enter very much into statistical calculations; for, even the statistics collected by the Fact-Finding Committee have been questioned by departments of Government, but it is clear that what we are now getting by way of cloth and yarn is not sufficient and once this problem is tackled we can rely upon the officials of the Government headed by a popular Ministry to see that distribution is properly made.

"With regard to per capita requirements of cloth, when a person in Bombay is said to require 18 yards we cannot say that a person in Madras should be content with 10 to 12 yards. I am very glad that I am now speaking after my hon. Friend Mr. Town who, more than any other hon. Member of this House, is an authority on the textile industry. We are fortunate in having his opinion on this important question. He has rightly brought to our notice the imminent danger of further curtailment of production in this country by the adoption of the 48-hour week. However well-intentioned the proposal may be—we all want to help the workers as much as possible—I must say, Sir, that the time chosen for the introduction of this 48-hour week is very inopportune. The workers in this Province and elsewhere have made very great efforts, worked very hard and sacrificed many things in a complete spirit of co-operation during the six long years of war. We are grateful to them for all this. Now, after the war there is famine. Therefore, will it be too much if this House should appeal to the working classes to continue their co-operation and wait for some time more for the introduction of this change? The employers cannot properly ask the Government to postpone the introduction of the 48-hour week. But it will be graceful on the part of the workers and their trade unions to come forward and say that they will not take advantage of the 48-hour week but work 56 hours a week for the good of India and to save the country from famine in cloth. It will be appreciated throughout the country. (Sri B. Gopala Reddi: 'What about increase of wages?') I do not think the employers would want to get extra eight hours work for nothing. Anyhow I am not an expert in this business and I do not know whether there

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will be any reduction of wages when the hours are reduced to 48 hours a week. But, Sir, this will mean not only a shortage of cloth for persons like us but it will be something more also; it will mean shortage of work for the handloom weavers. (An hon. Member: 'What about the shift system?') If more than 24 hours can be found in the day more shifts can be arranged. Anyway, it is very good that this question has come up when popular Governments are functioning in all the Provinces and when there is a possibility of a national Government coming into existence at the Centre within a few weeks. We may expect them to take a bold step and make an appeal to the working classes not to insist on the 48-hour week for some time more. I agree with the principle of the 48-hour week, but this is not the time to introduce it in view of the national emergency. The fight for more cloth for this Province is not a new one. The Textile Department of this Province have been fighting for it for the last three years and I am only sorry that the fruits that they got about October 1945, they are losing so soon. At first it was 12 yards, then it became 10.8 yards and according to Mr. Town, it will be 11 per cent less after two months. Let us not think about what the situation then will be, but let us hope that the situation will be remedied before that day comes. We find from the Textile Commissioner's report that even the quota allotted to us has not been supplied in full. I do hope that the lapses of the last few months will also be made up in addition to the regular monthly supplies in future. The lapses should not be cancelled.

"The hon. Member Mr. Majeed referred to the handloom industry which is providing livelihood to half a million workers and their families. (An hon. Member: 'There are half a million looms.') I know, Sir, that in some families there are two or three looms and in some others, seven or eight people work on one or two looms. Whatever it is, it does not matter. Half a million workers and their families are a sufficiently large number and if this House is not going to concern itself with their welfare, I do not know what it is going to do. We should take serious notice of the fact that they have now got work for only ten days in a month. I am now speaking more on behalf of the consumers than on behalf of the weavers. If the weavers have only work for ten days and they should be given thirty days' wages, the cost of the handloom cloth will increase. It is a very clear thing. Therefore, if it is the intention of the House to reduce the price of the handloom cloth to a level at which the ordinary consumer can buy it easily, it is absolutely necessary to provide more days' work for the weavers so that the rates of wages may become less. This will be possible only when we get more yarn. Our demand for allocation of more yarn for this Province is irrespective of the demand for cloth. The basis for the allocation of yarn should be the number of looms at present working in this Province. We should not worry about statistics regarding the number of looms working four years ago. The Government of the day is

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concerned with the workers at present engaged in handloom weaving. They cannot say that they will give work only to those who were engaged in handloom weaving four years ago and not to others. At present the Government have to provide work for half a million handloom weavers. A strong demand must go forth from this House for allocation of more yarn to this Province. If more yarn is allocated and also if more cloth is received, the price problem will be automatically solved. Otherwise, whatever price control you introduce will not be successful. I have, therefore, confined my attention to this point in the amendment.

"I will only join in the fervent appeal made by the Hon. Premier to hon. Members to co-operate fully with the Government in all measures they have taken to relieve the cloth situation, and as representatives of the public to take steps to get the whole-hearted co-operation of the people with the Government. It may be that there will be no such famine in cloth as there is in food, but the question of cloth famine has to be viewed not only from the point of view of shortage of cloth but also from the point of view of high prices. If there will be no such shortage, I have no doubt that with the departmental officials who have had considerable experience of this work for the last three years working under a popular Government it will be possible to have yarn and cloth distributed on an equitable basis and the prices brought down, to help the consumer.

"A reference was also made to exports. At a time when we are short of cloth, no doubt we should not export. That is a simple proposition to look at, but that is not really so simple as it appears. If that principle is accepted it would mean great distress to many families. If we are asking for export of more bales than we are allowed to export now, it is not out of our allotment: it is from any addition to our allotment. If we can make out a case for more exports to the near-Eastern and Eastern countries which are now open and where we are entitled to regain our markets, we will certainly be able to give more employment to the handloom weavers and this will bring down the rates of wages paid to the handloom weaver and consequently the prices of the handloom products which we are wearing. We should not only keep up our present export level but we should try to get back to the old export level in a graduated manner. We should demand from the Central Government an allocation of cloth yardage and yarn sufficient for our own demand and also for our old exportable quantity. This will be the best method of solving the problem. I do not want to enter into further details, Sir, for it is the sincere hope of everybody that the debate will be over today."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Not possible."

KUMARARAJA SIR MUTHIAH CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD:—"All the same I have not got much to say, particularly after the speeches of Mr. Town and Mr. Majeed, the one an expert on mills and the other on handlooms and shall conclude by saying that this House should give unqualified support to

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the Government in the proposals they have adumbrated. The Government are now trying to improve upon the elaborate administration that is already functioning. If in actual working anything more is necessary they will be the first to take it on hand. I may say once more, Sir, that the Cloth Department of this Province which has done so well during the last three years deserves a word of encouragement from this august Assembly. If they feel that they have the confidence of the representatives of the people in this Assembly headed by a popular Ministry with an eminent gentleman who has got the good of the people of the Province in his heart as Premier, it will go a great way to make them do better work in the future."

* SRI P. VENKATESWARLU:—"Mr. Speaker, we have discussed the position of cloth in our Province in the light of the statement made by the Hon. the Prime Minister. I am sorry to note that the Hon. the Prime Minister's statement in no way helps to solve the problem of cloth. He did not go into the details of the scheme, but he merely enunciated what the Textile Commissioner has proposed and it is evident from the statement of the Hon. the Prime Minister that he is carrying out the same policy that was adopted by the previous Government. The previous Government relied more upon the mill-owners, wholesale dealers and the big merchants. I have been searching in vain in the statement for anything ahead of the policy pursued by the previous Government. Unfortunately there is nothing that can be commended in it. The committees proposed by him will not be sufficient to solve the problem. In the other House, the hon. Member Mr. Theobald suggested that the normal trade channels should be maintained. The Muslim League Members also made the same kind of proposals. Even in the Hon. Prime Minister's proposals, particularly with regard to cloth, the wholesalers, the retailers, their profits and all these things are there. I do not find much difference between the arrangements made by the previous Government and the proposals of the Hon. the Prime Minister. Yesterday most of the speakers from the Congress benches as well as Mr. Ananda Nambiar of my party have clearly pointed out that these normal trade channels have become so dark, that they must be condemned and abolished immediately. Otherwise there is no possibility of solving the cloth problem.

"In this connexion I want to bring to the notice of the House one particular case of how these dark normal trade channels function. Most of the Members of the House may have known, one Mr. Sadasivan, well-known as the manager of the musical concert of Mrs. Subbalakshmi . . ."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Why does the hon. Member bring in names here?"

* SRI P. VENKATESWARLU:—"Just to enlighten the House, Mr. Speaker."

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"This gentleman was given a permit to export 14,000 yards of cloth to Ceylon. Is he in the normal trade channel? Has he done any textile business before? Why should the permit be given to him? What is the motive in giving it? I want a clear statement of all the facts. This is not a normal trade channel; this is going ahead of the normal trade channel. This is helping blackmarket directly. Is this gentleman going to do business from now onwards? Most of the members know that he does not do this business nor will he himself send cloth to Ceylon. He will simply earn a profit of 4 annas per yard—see what a huge profit he makes on 14,000 yards a month—and some of the merchant blackmarketeers will carry on the business for him. I do not propose to give any more examples. I request the Hon. the Prime Minister to definitely enquire into the working of the whole Textile Department, which has become inefficient and corrupt from top to bottom. There is now an alliance, an unholy alliance I call it. The Textile officers in most of the towns not only allow the merchants to do the blackmarketing but the merchants also take the help of the police to see that their blackmarketing is carried on.

"In Narasaraopeta during the month of May when peaceful people assembled to get cloth not only were they not helped to get the cloth but the police went there and lathi-charged the people. It is under the Congress regime, when our Prime Minister is there that these lathi charges are made on peaceful crowds who go to their shops to take their quota of cloth.

1 p.m. "Lathi charges are being made on peaceful crowds who want to take their quota of cloth. Narasaraopet is not the only town that suffered in this way. . . ."

* SRI KALA VENKATA RAO:—"May I know if representations were made to the Government?"

* SRI P. VENKATESWARLU:—"Telegrams were sent to the effect that scuffles were taking place. In Nandyal, the village munsif and Congress workers were arrested. I am bringing this to the notice of this House, so that the Hon. the Prime Minister may take proper action and see that a repetition of these things does not occur under his regime.

"As regards blackmarketing in yarn, members of the Muslim League Party wanted that the interests of the master weavers should be safeguarded. There is difference between master weavers and ordinary weavers; the former do not actually weave; they take the quota of yarn; a master weaver is something like a small merchant; he is an exploiter. The weaver must have his ration card and not the master weaver. I do not know why the master weaver should have the ration cards in his hands and go away to whatever places he likes and take whatever profit he can. The yarn that is given to the weaver is taken away by the master weaver. Without yarn, what can the ordinary weaver do? The members of the Muslim League should understand this point before they come to a final conclusion.

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"Our Province was supplied with about 21,000 bales of yarn. How much of it was distributed to the weavers? In the statement it is stated that the Textile Commissioner supplied yarn sufficient for ten days; in the Andhra districts it was sufficient for only seven days. There is no proper distribution. For lack of time I am not going into all the details. What has become of the remaining yarn? It is being sold in the blackmarket. The remaining 14,000 bales were sold in the blackmarket. I suggest that the normal trade channels should be done away with, if you want to stop cloth from our province going to the blackmarket.

"Another point I wish to bring to the notice of this House is the production of mill-cloth. It is stated clearly by the Textile Commissioner that, as the fabrics produced under the Utility Cloth Scheme are of loose texture and are not popular with the public the Madras Government have suggested to the Government of India that the scheme may be abandoned in order that more yarn may be made available to the handloom industry. The utility and standard cloths are the only cloths that can be purchased by the poor. Because both these varieties are stopped, the poor could get no cloth at all. So many people are going naked in the streets. What I propose is that the production of those cloths should be revived. I would go further and say that cloth of higher counts should not be manufactured; cloth that can be used both by the poor and rich should be produced. Preference must be given in the interest of the poor to the production of cloth that can be used by the poor, middle and upper classes also, instead of the finer varieties that can be purchased only by the rich. It does not matter if the rich people are not able normally to get cloth; they will be able to get it in the blackmarket. What about the poor? Even to-day—since the beginning of the war—there are poor people who did not get even a single yard of cloth. Are we to leave people to their fate and encourage blackmarkets even under the Congress regime?

"Another most important matter I wish to mention is the rationing of handloom cloth. Nothing has been mentioned about it. Unless the rationing of handloom cloth also is introduced, the rationing of mill-made cloth will not be a success, because everybody will do his best to get five yards of mill-made cloth when the quotas are received. Unless handloom cloth is controlled and rationed, there will be scarcity of cloth in this Province. People are not able to get mill-cloth; the poor cannot buy handloom cloth, because it is too costly. I do not know what fate will overtake them. The Textile Commissioner says: 'As the bulk of the cloth allotment to this Province consists of handloom cloth, no substantial relief is possible in the absence of control of the prices of such cloth.' There can be successful rationing provided handloom cloth is also brought under rationing.

"The Provincial Textile Commissioner says that producers of handloom cloth will be allowed a handsome margin of 15 per cent

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over the actual cost of production. It is not correct. The wholesale dealers are able to make more profit. What I propose is this; handloom cloth of 20 to 40 counts should be made available to the poor; the production of cloth of 80 counts should be stopped. At best cloth of 60 counts will be sufficient; cloth of 20 counts should be produced and distributed to the poor, so that cloth may be available both to the poor and the rich."

available both to the poor and the rich. (A voice): 'Is there no time-limit for speeches, Sir?'

* SRI P. VENKATESWARLU:—"Everybody agrees that co-operative societies carry on business in a democratic fashion and all our transactions should be through co-operative societies. Not a single word has been said about this in the statement of the Provincial Textile Commissioner. Co-operative societies are not given yarn. People were discouraged from forming co-operative societies as there was lack of yarn. Co-operative societies can help a good deal in the matter of distribution of cloth and yarn. The Government must encourage the formation and development of co-operative societies, to the largest extent possible.

"To-day there is no guarantee that the weaver will get yarn at a particular rate. The advisory committees are there only in name. Some people are appointed by Textile officers. There are no meetings for chalking out programmes. To-day the position is this; neither the Provincial Textile Commissioner nor the District Textile Officer knows how much yarn is sent to the districts. They cannot have any idea about the distribution of yarn also. They are distributing yarn according to their discretion. Even the yarn that has to be supplied for seven days has to be bought in the black-market. Weavers have to live mainly on the supply of yarn to them for 10 days. The total earning of the weaver has to depend on the quantity of yarn he gets for 10 days. If yarn is supplied to the weaver for all the 30 days in the month, he will not be so selfish as to charge higher rates. If yarn is properly supplied, we need not think that the weaver will not be patriotic. I can guarantee for his patriotism; he will co-operate with the Government or with the committees which the Minister proposes to have. But it must be made clear that the weaver's wages would be fair. The weaver's charges should be fixed and the price of yarn should be fixed; then only weavers will come forward and help the Government to solve the crisis in regard to cloth. If the Provincial Textile Officer or the District Textile Officer is going to appoint members to the local committees, the committees will not be able to solve the problem. The villages themselves must be given power to deal with the yarn and cloth problem. As some hon. Member suggested yesterday, the yarn produced in the mills must be taken control of by the Government and the Government themselves must send it direct to District Committees. The District Committee must fix up the agency to receive the yarn; it must distribute it in proper proportions to the weavers. With

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the yarn distributed, cloth will be produced and then the ration scheme will be successful. The weaver will get the entire profit if wholesalers and black-marketers are eliminated.

"Lastly, yesterday the Hon. the Prime Minister made a charge against us that we are here to take advantage of the difficult situation and to bring about strikes. Not at all. We are the last persons to do that. The Communist Party will wholeheartedly co-operate with the Government in solving the problem of food and cloth. We will never try to fish in troubled waters.

"I can guarantee that the Communist Party will not take advantage of the present difficult situation. Strikes do come whenever the workers' wages or conditions are bad. Nobody can prevent them. The Hon. the Labour Minister, Sri V. V. Giri may be aware of this fact. Strikes do come only due to the operation of the economic condition of the workers. If the Hon. Prime Minister took courage and solved the question of wages, there will be no strikes at all. If living wages are ensured, there will be no strikes and the situation can be easily solved."

* B. POCKER SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, though 1-15 p.m. we are now on the question of cloth, you will please allow me first of all to thank the Hon. the Premier for the justice he has done to the people of Malabar in treating them on the same footing as people of other parts of the Presidency. Though it is bare justice, I am glad that he has recognized that the people of Malabar require as much food as the people of other parts of this Presidency. It is on that account, Sir, I am thanking the Premier. I purposely refer to this question to begin with, just with a view to prove that the Hon. the Premier has a fair sense of justice. I refer to this fact in order to appeal to him that he may do the same justice with reference to other things also.

"Now, Sir, it is very regrettable to find that the Government have not realized the seriousness of the present situation. I say this because, even though in the course of the discussion on the food situation, very many facts were brought to the notice of the Government and they were told that the measures they were proposing were not fair and just, nothing seems to have been taken into account, as is apparent from the reply that we have received. Sir, when people are faced with a very serious situation in the country both in regard to food and cloth, what is the attitude that the Government have adopted? They are not so much concerned with averting the starvation or covering the nudity of the people, as with strengthening their party organization, and carrying out their ideologies or fads—by whatever name they may be called—instead of dealing with a critical situation like this. They are trying to do everything to further strengthen their already strong party by bringing into existence new committees and organizations and buttressing them with concrete. Sir, the Hon. the Premier says 'no.' What are the draft proposals which he has placed before this House? I want him to consider what he has done: has he suggested any kind of practical solution in regard to either food

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or cloth? As however the question of food has been disposed of, I do not think I need refer to it; but as regards the question of cloth, what is it we have before us? The other day, we were given some printed statement by the Textile Commissioner. Later on, we were also given some extract from the same. And afterwards we were surprised to receive another statement which we thought would at least contain some concrete proposals. I however found nothing in it except the formation of the committees and other bodies to strengthen the Ministerial party organization and their own power. There is nothing else in it. Is there any constructive proposal in it, I ask? The Textile Commissioner's statement gives so many suggestions in which the Commissioner himself does not believe. Has the Hon. the Premier or has any of his colleagues bestowed any serious thought on the subject? Was it not up to them to have thought out a scheme, made some constructive proposals and placed them before this House, instead of simply stating some more questions of fact and making some doubtful suggestions. What does yesterday's statement come to, except the formation of some committees? What is the nature of those committees? They are nothing but branches of Congress committees; nothing more. It might be said, Sir, that the village committee, the original and the basic committee, is a committee nominated by the Tahsildar; but at the same time, the Hon. the Premier in his first speech and in his reply indicated, or rather has warned the Government officials, to realise that they are no more servants of the bureaucracy but that they are the servants of the present Congress Government. And what is the effect of the warning?"

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"I said 'servants of the people'."

* B. POCKER SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Certainly; whether they are the servants of the people or the servants of one section of the people is a question of fact which you have to realise. If you represent the whole of the people in the country, I have nothing to say; but you have to admit that you do not represent all sections of the people; you represent only one section of the people. And if you set up this machinery, which you are proposing, will you please realise that you will be using this engine of tyranny to cow down people who do not agree with you? (Interruptions.) Well, that will be the result. I am asking you whether it is right, whether it is just, whether it is proper on your part, you who have taken up the reins of Government which concerns all the people, just to create a machinery which certainly will be interested in seeing that only people of your party and people of your political persuasion are benefited. . . . (Voices:—"No, no")."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The Committees will contain all people. Why do you anticipate it?"

* B. POCKER SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have already mentioned how the committees are likely to be formed. It is true the Premier has stated that in nominating persons to this

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committee, political considerations will not be taken into account. I wish the Government had been more honest and more straightforward and said that the committees would consist of all political parties, instead of merely saying there will not be any political colour and at the same time giving a warning to the Government officials that they must consider themselves to be the servants of the Congress Government and not of the previous bureaucracy. Anyway, what is the effect of a combination of all these things, I ask? Am I wrong in making an inference that there is every change? (Hon. Members:—"You are wrong.") (The Hon. Sri T. Prakasam:—"You are wrong.") Both of us are lawyers, we stick to our guns once we take up an attitude. Only in that spirit you can now say 'no'.

"Now, Sir, let not the Hon. Premier think I have come to fight him. I have come to appeal to his sense of justice. Why I am saying this is this: in the first instance, I knew full well he has a sense of justice; as one who know him for decades as a colleague in the Bar, I know he is a fair-minded gentleman and his desire is to do justice. That is why I began by referring to what he has done for Malabar. It is not on account of parochial patriotism that I referred to this point, but only with a view to appealing to his sense of justice and in order to make him realise that the proposals he has put forward before this House are not fair and just. I am not pleading, Sir, for any particular method of election; the method of election may have its own implications, but I am not referring to them. I want to know from him whether he considers the committee that he proposes to form will not be a political party."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"No, it will not be a political party."

* B. POCKER SAHIB BAHADUR:—"He has said 'no'; all-right, Sir. But what will be the mentality of the Tahsildar whom he has already warned to the effect that he must realise and that all his subordinates must realise that they are the servants of this Government, i.e., the Congress Government? Will any subordinate official dare to nominate persons to the committee who are not of the Congress persuasion? That is so far as this matter is concerned. Mr. Speaker; I shall leave it at that. I have already told the Premier that I wanted to appeal to his sense of justice: and I shall leave it at that.

"My contention is that the existing channels of trade should be utilized, but at the same time every step may be taken to prevent black-marketing. The hon. Member Mr. Town said, Sir, that there is no sufficient sense of citizenship among Indians. I must say, Sir, that sense of citizenship may be lacking in many people; but I must tell my hon. Friend that this black-marketing has not been the monopoly of Indians; it has also been practised by other communities including the race to which Mr. Town himself belongs, but probably in a more scientific manner. (An hon. Member: 'Well said.') There is not a single party or

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member in this House or outside it, Sir, any responsible person, who will support black-marketing. But the question is: have you made any effective suggestion for rooting out this evil of black-marketing? I am unable to find one word in the whole of the statement, one constructive suggestion, except the formation of these committees. Have you bestowed any thought on this question since you took up the reins of office? Many of the Hon. Ministers are running about the country, remaining in one place for one hour and going to another place for another hour and so on; but have they bestowed any thought on this subject? Why should they not suggest some constructive method to root out black-marketing? (Interruptions.) I know what I say is distasteful to members of this House. But that cannot prevent me from stating facts. There is no good preventing me from giving expression to my ideas, and they will miserably fail, Sir, if they interrupt me. (An hon. Member: 'What is your suggestion?') I have already said that the existing channels, the trade channels should be employed as far as possible. In extraordinary circumstances, no doubt, the freedom of trade may be interfered with and the freedom of individuals may be interfered with; but at the same time, if there is black-marketing going on, if there is an abuse of the privileges, that has to be prevented at all costs; whether the black-marketeer is a Hindu or a Muslim or a Congressman or a Leaguer or a European—it has to be put down with a very severe hand. But I say it must be prevented through the proper means. While I maintain that the whole thing should be left to the existing trade channels, I know full well that whatever I or my party may say, will be a cry in the wilderness. You will be having your way in any case. But I would submit, if you are going to form committees for this purpose, please exercise the sense of justice which I have credited you with throughout all these decades, so that these committees may include persons of all creeds and views."

MR. SPEAKER:—"You may continue your speech after lunch."

The Assembly at this stage adjourned for lunch.

(After lunch 2-30 p.m.)

MR. SPEAKER:—"I wish to inform the House that since many members wanted to take part in the debate, I thought I could have the meeting on Monday also, but many hon. Members have also expressed their desire to go back to their places. So, I would suggest that we sit till 8 o'clock to-night and finish the subject."

* B. POCKER SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not wish to take up much of the time of the House. Though I am not for the constitution of these committees, as I have already mentioned, if these committees are to be constituted, they should be constituted on the basis of representation of the major political parties. There is no good ignoring this fact and if you go

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about trying to get such men for those committees it may be satisfactory to some extent. Therefore what I would suggest is, you should honestly approach the subject and ask your Tahsildars—I am sure you are going to consult your Tahsildars for carrying on with this work—to pick up men from all political parties. I say 'political parties' advisedly, because there is no use adopting communal representation in these matters, but these committees should consist of members of political parties. Therefore, I would ask the Government that if they are going to push through this scheme—according to me this fantastic scheme—and want to give effect to it, let them attack the problem in the right royal fashion"

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"You need not labour the point any further; it has already been discussed at length."

* B. POCKER SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Sir, the Hon. the Premier tells me that I need not labour the point further and therefore I do not wish to take up any more time of the House on this point."

"Now, Sir, I wish to refer to another aspect of the question and that is the amendment of which I have given notice, viz., the necessity of introducing rationing as far as cloth is concerned. The note of the Commissioner does not favour rationing and my hon. Friend Mr. Town has also expressed the idea that it is impracticable. I am really at a loss to know whether the Hon. the Premier has committed himself to it. Even though he has referred to a certain kind of rationing in paragraph 5 of his proposals, I do not think he has committed himself to it. He should think about it very seriously and come to some definite conclusion, but I believe he has not bestowed any thought over the matter. My party, Sir, discussed this matter and, after considering all aspects of the question, have come to the conclusion that it is advisable and necessary that rationing should be introduced as regards cloth. It is not after all impracticable. I am myself fully aware that there are ever so many difficulties in the way, but I wish to point out that there is nothing that is impossible under the sun. Therefore, Sir, I do say such of the difficulties as are existing to-day must be got over by giving sufficient thought to the subject. It is not necessary for me to enter into further details and it is not also practicable for me to dwell upon these details, just at present but the only thing I would impress upon the House is the necessity of paying attention to certain aspects of the matter, namely, that the rationing of cloth cannot be on the same scale as the rationing of rice, because the customs and manners of communities and classes differ from place to place and class to class. It may perhaps be asked whether it is possible to find out the necessities of various individuals of the various classes in regard to their requirements of cloth for purposes of rationing. I do not think it is such a difficult task. What have the Government done in the matter of rationing fuel? Fuel is rationed according to the standard of living

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of the families concerned. So, Sir, Government have themselves introduced fuel rationing according to the requirements of the families. So far as we people in Malabar are concerned, I refer to the Moplahs in particular, they need only a particular kind of cloth for their use and as a matter of fact a member of the Moplah community cannot ask for any kind of cloth which he does not use. Therefore when issuing cards, this may be borne in mind and people concerned must be asked to say what kind of cloth is required for their use. Whether it is the officials or committees, they know what is actually wanted, the difficulty is not as regards their wants, but as regards the quantity that may be available. I say, Sir, to the extent to which cloth is available let the Government do the best that is practicable. I remember, Sir, when Malabar was suffering for want of rice, I along with other Malabar friends waited in deputation on the then Commissioner of Civil Supplies, Mr. Brown, and when we suggested to him that rationing of rice should be introduced, he said 'Oh, it is an impossible thing, my head will be cut off if I introduce rationing.' I asked, 'why?' He replied, 'there must be enough stock to support rationing and, how am I to get it.' Thereafter sufficient stock was made available and rationing was introduced in Malabar and it was a success. After it was found to be successful there, rationing of rice was introduced in all other parts of the Presidency. So, Sir, in regard to this matter of cloth also, if only the Hon. the Premier approaches the problem with a determination to solve it, he is sure to succeed.

"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to refer to only one or two small points more before I sit down. I do not want to stand in the way of many other hon. Members wishing to speak on the subject. As regards the kind of cloth required by the Moplahs, I may say, Sir, they require only mill cloth and not handloom cloth, excepting perhaps for the headwear of Moplah ladies and they also require some kind of mill cloth (long cloth) dyed in particular colours called 'kachies.' Licensing is required for that dyeing also. They may require some quantity of mill cloth (mull) for jackets. I do not say that mill cloth can be made available everywhere. What I say is, it should be distributed equitably to people in places wherever it is actually required. There are, of course, many places in which mill cloth is not required and people there want only handloom cloth and you may give handloom cloth to them. After all half a yard or one yard of mill cloth (mull) is sufficient for a jacket for a Moplah woman and this may last for about 6 months. Therefore, I say, Sir, to the extent to which mill cloth is available, it will be of immense use to the people concerned if the same is guaranteed as a result of rationing. As a matter of fact, there are certain areas in which people do not wear mill cloth, but only handloom cloth and you can easily ration handloom cloth there without any difficulty. I only wish to point out that if only Government apply their mind to it in a proper manner I am sure Government can achieve the purpose.

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"Sir, another matter I would like to make special reference is in regard to the particular kind of cloth used, as shrouds for covering the dead bodies of Muslims before burial. You know there is a custom with the Muslims that they should use only a particular kind of cloth while burying the dead. They find it extremely difficult to get this when required. You know, Sir, that people usually die without any previous notice. Of course, it is not possible to give previous notice about the death of persons so that this particular kind of cloth can be obtained for the purpose beforehand. Therefore, what I would request the Hon. Prime Minister is to see that this mill cloth for shrouds is made available at all places, since everyone has to die.

"There is one other matter to which I wish to make a reference in this connexion. There is one variety of mill cloth, viz., (long cloth), MS. 55 and there is also another variety MS. 58. Particularly MS. 58 is required by the people in Malabar. As I represent Malabar, I know what their requirements are and it is my duty to mention it and that is the reason why I am referring to that here. When I enquired at the shops in Madras for MS. 58, I was told that MS. 58 long cloth is sent wholly to Malabar. But not one strip of this variety is available in Malabar. As a matter of fact when I went to Malabar I went to many of the shops there and not one yard was available anywhere. I am, therefore, asking you, Sir, where these things are going and request the Government that in this matter also they should apply their minds to find out where such articles go and if they succeed in their efforts they should trace the offenders and bring them to book. The main thing is that they should set their heart on it. We have already offered our full co-operation and I assure the Hon. the Prime Minister that we extend our co-operation in these matters.

"Now, Sir, I do not want to take any more time of the House but I wish only to request the Hon. the Prime Minister to take into consideration particularly the last portion of our first amendment, namely, to introduce advisory committees in the districts and taluks so as to include people of all political persuasions."

MUHAMMAD ABDUL SALAM SAHIB BAHADUR:—"On a point of order, Sir, I see only the Hon. the Prime Minister and no other Minister. Is there any quorum among the Ministers also?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"It is not necessary.

"I wish to suggest to the House that as previous speakers have discussed threadbare the question of blackmarketing, rationing, transport difficulties and scarcity of yarn, hon. Members who are desirous of participating in the debate now will not touch on those points. The Chair cannot allow repetition."

* SRI A. KAMESWARA RAO:—"Jai Hind. Mr. Speaker, Sir, my hon. Friend Mr. Salam is doubtful if this Ministry will stand or fall. I would like to answer him and emphatically say

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that this Congress Ministry will stand and assure him that the Leader of the House will continue as the Premier for he has got the tact and the energy and heart to deal with this urgent problem of food and cloth. Not only that, he is loved and respected by the people and he is the people's leader and by that right is the Leader of this House.

“Reference has been made to strikes. I say that it is the so-called Communists that try to bring about strikes in order to coerce the Government to do things that they want.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“The subject of the activities of Communists has nothing to do with the question under discussion.”

* SRI A. KAMESWARA RAO:—“I was referring to this, Mr. Speaker, as the Communists have been trying to foment strikes and these strikes may affect, as the Hon. the Leader of the House stated, the cloth situation. Regarding the 48-hour week for the labourers, there seems to be some objection from the European group.”

MR. H. S. TOWN:—“Mr. Speaker, we did not object; on the contrary, we want it.”

* SRI A. KAMESWARA RAO:—“The introduction of the 48-hour week is a healthy measure as otherwise labourers will have to work the whole day and night and shed their blood for the sake of mill-owners. If you want to increase production, by all means do it. Have three shifts and step up production.

“I know as a matter of fact that handloom cloth and even mill cloth are being sent out of India. People purchase sarees here for Rs. 5 each and sell them in Singapore for Rs. 35 or Rs. 30. Not only that, such sarees are also being taken to Calcutta and sold there for Rs. 25.

“Licences in the past were given liberally, and very liberally at that, to relatives and friends of Textile Officers. I hear yarn of 40 counts costing Rs. 15-6-0 when it simply changes hands—the licensee is not a weaver and it is in a particular man's name—it gets into the blackmarket at Rs. 54. I believe the Hon. the Premier will take note of such things and devise measures to see that such things do not recur.

“The scheme of hand-spinning and weaving has been objected to as being a ‘bullock-cart scheme.’ I wish hon. Members had known how in Russia, China and other countries, they have been experimenting in hand-spinning and cottage industries and adapting them to their needs. All the mechanical appliances in the country were being used for the front; petrol was being used for war; oil was being put to a like use. Therefore, in the nook and corner of every village, they have been improving their industry and it is only because they were improving their economy on the basis of co-operative societies and village industries that they have been able to fight the war and win it. Regarding khadi, we have got the charka in the village and the weaver is there to weave the yarn into

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cloth and the cotton is there. All these factors being present, I believe our villages can become self-sufficient in the matter of cloth. I am also of the opinion and my experience of travel in three continents in my life tells me that the crises can be got over only by adopting drastic measures. If I were to be the Premier (Laughter) (An hon. Member: ‘God forbid the calamity’) corrupt and irresponsible officials—my hon. Friend Mr. Salam mentioned the case of such an officer—will be directly dealt with by me by handing them over to the Penitentiary for being locked up. Being guilty of sabotage, they deserve that treatment and I will justify it because a single act of theirs affects millions of poor and hungry people. I know the Hon. the Premier is kind-hearted and I hope they will not try hereafter to take advantage of his kindness. When the U.P. Scheme was published I read it and when the scheme of the present Government came into our hands, I compared them and I find our scheme to be better. I know that of all the Provinces in India we are having the ablest Government and it is our Premier alone that has given a better programme. I know, he is going to push through the scheme and I know the people are behind him and are going to help him because he feels for the poor and down-trodden people. I wish him all success and assure him that we youngsters of this Assembly will do all that we can to see that his scheme is put into force, so that no one will go without food or cloth in this Province.”

* MR. P. K. MOIDEEN KUTTY:—“Mr. Speaker, the anxiety of the Government for associating the people with the problem of cloth is, I am sorry to say, not visible at the top here also. It would have been better had there been a committee representing all parties in the Legislature at the top also to direct and control the department of cloth. That is a very serious gap in the scheme brought forward by the Government.

“Of all the Departments of Government in this Province, I am sorry to say that the Textile Department is the worst managed as far as the distribution side is concerned. I do not want to apportion the blame as between any set of officials; but this much I can say and that is, however well-intentioned the people at the top may be, I do not know much about them, those at the bottom are very bad. I here again wish to request the Hon. the Prime Minister, that these subordinate officials should not be allowed to have any more of the days that they had under the unforgettable regime of the Adviser bureaucracy. I wish to ask him to see if he cannot take immediate steps to replace some of those officers who had been responsible in the past for directing the policy of the Textile Department.

“So far as we the people of Malabar are concerned, we entirely depend for our supply of mill cloth on Cochin State. Personally I do not want mill cloth; but all the same our family needs have been met—I am ashamed to confess—by smuggling from Cochin State. I thought that was much better than currying favour with the officials and trying to influence them to get some cloth. After

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all a little of smuggling—not for one's own—is forgivable and 'necessity knows no law.' I request, therefore, that some strong measures be taken to ensure a fair distribution of the cloth whatever may be the quantity available. Whatever the Textile Commissioner may say with regard to the feasibility of rationing, I feel that we have sufficient stock of cloth to meet the needs of the people who want it. I invite the Hon. the Leader of the House or even the Textile Commissioner to come along with me in the evening and see if there is no cloth in the City of Madras. I will take him to shop after shop and show him that there is a large amount of cloth inside and underground. If only he has eyes to see and the will to do and act, he can book these people and set an example to the others against their unsocial conduct. Another feature of the blackmarketing which I found since I came to the City is . . ."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I have already requested hon. Members not to touch on blackmarketing as it has been discussed in full earlier."

* MR. P. K. MOIDEEN KUTTY:—"As I said, Sir, it is a new kind of blackmarketing which none of the previous speakers have referred to and I came to know of it only since coming to the City."

3 p.m.

"If you go to buy some quantity of mill cloth from some shop where you know they are having mill cloth, the shop-keeper insists upon your buying some 8 yards of some unwanted rotton hand-loom cloth for a very high price. That is the peculiar sort of blackmarketing that is going on and if the Textile Commissioner wants to see things for himself he can take an evening round and see. I would request him to do it."

"With regard to shrouds, as far as Muslims are concerned, I would request him to place the quota in the hands of the authorities of the mosque so that they may distribute them whenever the need arises. The method I suggest can easily be adopted."

"In the matter of corruption, Mr. Town referred to the lack of civic consciousness among the people. I am sorry to say, if there is any community that has been responsible for this degradation, it is the community which has been ruling us for the last two hundred years. They are more responsible for our deplorable condition, and there is no use blaming us for the lack of civic sense."

"Another matter to which I want to refer is the supply of cloth to Muslim womenfolk; and in doing so I should not be misunderstood as speaking with a communal bias. As far as Malabar is concerned it is a well-known fact that for Muslim women no mill cloth is available. In this matter, their requirements are not very large. Even three-fourths of a yard or half a yard is sufficient for the particular type of jacket or blouse they wear. And as far as their cloth is concerned it is a peculiar variety to which they have been accustomed all along, and I would very strongly urge upon the Premier to see that that

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particular variety of cloth is sent to Malabar. In this connexion I want to tell him that we are not in need of those costly sarees which, I am told, are worn by the Muslim women in Andhradesa, so that he can send those sarees to Andhradesa and mill cloth to Malabar."

"Another thing to which I want to draw his attention is yarn. Here again, distribution of yarn is thoroughly hopeless and corrupt. The plight of a very large number of poor family of weavers who depend upon weaving for their living is simply deplorable. Several such instances can be quoted from Palghat taluk."

"Another thing I want to draw attention to is with regard to the appointment of additional staff for Textile department. When I complained of corruption in the department I was told the staff was completely inadequate to cope with the situation. In fact to some extent it is true. I will request the Premier to strengthen the staff in the district. Not only is the strength of the staff meagre, but its quality is rotten. Sub-Magistrates, who are none but glorified clerks, are put in charge of the district. Young boys with no experience are picked up from the streets, as it were, and appointed as clerks; and it is such people who run the whole show, so much so, we in Malabar get no mill cloth at all. With these remarks I resume my seat."

* SRI B. GOPALA REDDI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, as I read the Textile Commissioner's report on cloth I felt he was drawing a more gloomy picture than that on food. I thought the food situation would be worse from September to December next. But I see we begin the new year under happier auspices. I am afraid the cloth scarcity is going to be a prolonged one. It may continue to be the same in 1947, 1948 and even 1949. When the war was nearing its end we were given a rosy picture of the post-war period. Great expectations were aroused in people's mind; and great promises were made; and we were all looking forward for a glorious post-war period. War is over; Hitlers and Tojos were beaten; and to-day in this Presidency we are faced with a very bad situation both with regard to food and cloth. Perhaps if we do not take prompt measures, thousands of our people may die of hunger, and thousands may not get even a piece of cloth to cover their shame. Somehow post-war promises have failed and to-day we are given 10 ounces of rice per head and 10.8 yards of cloth per head. Thus we are confronted with a serious situation."

"As I read the report of the Textile Commissioner, I saw him repeatedly complaining of the bad treatment meted out to Madras by the Government of India and the Government of Bombay. In three places, he says, the Bombay Government have not co-operated with this Government. We were promised twelve thousand bales of mill cloth a month. But what happened. None of the consignments were up to the quota promised. The Textile Commissioner does not say how the Bombay Government ought to be made to feel to help the sister province suffering from cloth famine. Mr. Town complained about the Fact Finding Committee; and he

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said it was not a Fact Finding Committee, but a non-Fact Finding Committee. Somehow by a curious process the Fact Finding Committee says there are only three lakhs of looms in our Province; whereas actually there are half a million active looms. It is a serious mistake and it must be rectified. In Madras the quota of cloth per head is only 10.8 yards; while in Bombay it is 15 or more than that. All these things show the need for a central authority to direct the movement of goods from province to province. I feel, Sir, the lack of a National Government at the centre is responsible for this state. That alone can make provinces help one another. I want a fully representative national government to be in charge of the affairs of India at the present movement. (Hear, hear.) Previously the attainment of a national government was a political aspiration. To-day it has become an economic need, as Government alone are now supplying people with food, sugar, matches, salt, petrol, etc. Therefore, Sir, a national government at the centre and a truly representative government in the provinces are necessary. (Hear, hear.)

"Sir, I do not want to say anything about blackmarketing except one point. I do not know why Government should not come forward to fight blackmarketing. In Sind and the Punjab, I see, Government have appointed a senior civilian officer as anti-blackmarketing officer aided by a special branch of police. Why not do it here also? A senior Deputy Superintendent of Police with a large number of police people may be posted to see that there is no hoarding, blackmarketing and corruption. (Sri R. Raghava Menon: 'Thousands of officers are needed.') If that is so, Government should do it.

"Again, Sir, I want Government to take full advantage of the present situation and give a fillip to co-operative societies. I am sure the Government are already doing it. I want them to make a greater drive. Our Muslim friends dub the village scheme now put forward as communal. Let our Muslim friends have no misgivings about them. In the distribution of cloth, co-operative societies should play a great part. At present there are a chain of intermediaries between the time the cloth or yarn leaves the mill and reaches the consumer or the handloom weaver as the case may be. There are so many intermediaries that some of their names I can't remember. I do not know how the mechanism is operated. I doubt whether so many intermediaries are necessary. Even if they are necessary, they should be replaced by co-operative societies.

3-15 p.m. "Sir, I am told that for prosecuting a person who disobeys the control order, the previous sanction of the Textile Commissioner is needed. I think I am right. When a man is defying a control order, he must be dealt with by the local District Superintendent of Police or the local Inspector of Police instead of referring the matter to the Textile Commissioner. I think it is a very curious process. The police also must be invested with all those powers that they are having in respect of other crimes. I am

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sure the Textile Commissioner will have all these powers delegated to the District Superintendents of Police.

"With regard to dyeing, Sir, I have a very serious complaint to make. I think Mr. Town also spoke about it. In my own district of Nellore, there are three centres—Sulurpet, Nayudupeta and Venkatagiri. When cloth is being sent to our district, it is debited to our district. A lot of it goes to the dyers. They dye it and, of course, they sell it at an exorbitant rate, and they send it on to the neighbouring districts of Cuddapah and Chittoor and even to distant places like Bezwada. A lot of dyed cloth is being sent from Nellore to other districts, and we do not get any benefit out of it. To that extent, Nellore quota must be increased. They may have an estimate of this prepared so that the quota may be replenished to the Nellore district.

"With regard to price also—I do not know who is responsible for it—I have to make a complaint. For a bale of cloth of 1,500 yards, they are allowed a ceiling price of Rs. 400, while really it costs not more than Rs. 80. I do not know whether the Madras Textile Officer is responsible for it or the Government of India. It is a very serious thing, Sir, that while it costs Rs. 80, you allow Rs. 400 and there is a clear margin of Rs. 320. So much of margin must not be allowed to these people whose profession is dyeing and I suppose it will be stopped."

III.—RESOLUTION OF CONDOLENCE ON THE DEATH OF SRI T. N. RAMAKRISHNA REDDI.

MR. SPEAKER:—"I have to impart to the House a very sad news. Mr. T. N. Ramakrishna Reddi, a member of this Assembly who represented the Madanapalle, General (Rural) Constituency, died to-day at 1-30 p.m. The Hon. the Premier will now move the condolence resolution."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I move—

'This House places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the demise of Sri T. N. Ramakrishna Reddi and conveys its sense of sympathy to the members of the bereaved family.'

"Sir, this news is sudden and stunning. The late Mr. Ramakrishna Reddi had been attending the session from the beginning. A few days back, I saw him as he was walking along the corridor of the Council Chamber. Then I felt he looked very weak. I accosted him, but I did not know that his end was so near. He had been taken to the nursing home, where I expected that he was progressing, and that he was out of danger. To-day, all of a sudden this news has come. He was one of those who had been working for the country with all the devotion. He was a man of great experience and learning and devotion to the country's cause without any regard for the other considerations that ordinarily prevailed among the people of the country. He was a very energetic man. When he was in jail six years back, he was so bad, and we all felt that he ought not to have courted imprisonment. Well, he continued in the same condition having

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complaints. I am afraid there was some trouble for him even in those days. He was a very careful man, and had been taking particular care of his health in every respect. He was doing enormous work which he was not physically fit to undertake. He was a great patriot and a great member of our own House. That he should have passed away at this juncture is a matter of great regret. We here owe a duty to pay our homage to the departed soul and pray for the peace of his soul. Body is bound to pass away in the case of every one of us. But the soul is a permanent thing according to all laws of humanity, according to all creeds. Therefore we may pray for the rest of his soul, and send our condolences, through you, Sir, to the members of the bereaved family."

* B. POCKER SAHIB BAHADUR:—"With profound sorrow, I, on behalf of my party, associate myself with what has been said by the Hon. the Premier. Though I did not come in close contact with him while he was alive, yet from what I have heard of him, I know that he devoted his life to the public cause. Myself and my party express our deep sorrow on his death, and beg to convey our condolences to the members of the bereaved family."

* MR. H. S. TOWN:—"Sir, on behalf of the European group, I wish to associate myself with this resolution of condolence at the death of a member of this House and with the remarks made by the Hon. the Premier."

* SRI V. I. MUNISWAMI PILLAI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is a matter of great regret to know just now the demise of Sri Ramakrishna Reddi. On behalf of the Harijan members of this House, I would like to associate myself with the feelings expressed by the Hon. the Prime Minister. Sir, as a member of the old Assembly, I know his various activities especially in the field of agriculture and veterinary development. Several conferences he had organized and had made the departments I have mentioned more active and lively. It so happened that I was for more than seven months in jail along with Mr. Ramakrishna Reddi. I have found him, Sir, to be a man of sterling character. He had a lot of experience in the matter of local administration, and I heard from very prominent friends that the Board of which he happened to be the President, was one that was ideal. It is a matter of great regret that a man of this type should be cut off in his early age. I pray, Sir, that the Almighty may allow his soul to rest in peace."

* SRI P. NATESAN:—"I wish to associate myself with the sentiments expressed by the Hon. the Premier and other colleagues in this House. I have known Mr. Ramakrishna Reddi for some years. He was a member of the Justice Party until he joined the Congress. Ever since he joined the Congress, he used to take very active interest in Congress politics. It is only a few days ago I met him here and had a long chat with him. It is really unfortunate and surprising that he should have been snatched away from us so soon. I and my group associate ourselves with the sentiments expressed by the Hon. the Prime Minister and I

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request you to convey our sorrow to the members of the bereaved family."

* SRI KALA VENKATA RAO:—"Sir, Almighty God seems to be harsh towards the members of the Legislative Assembly from the Chittoor district. Only recently we lost one of the best workers of the district in the death of Sri T. K. T. T. Tatachiar. Again comes the sad news that our good friend Mr. Ramakrishna Reddi of the same district died to-day in a nursing home in this City of Madras. He has died in harness. He came here for this meeting, and even before we could adjourn, he is no more. Mr. Ramakrishna Reddi, though he belonged to the Justice Party, was an Independent. As an Independent, he represented the Rayalaseema in the Central Assembly for a term. Later on he joined the Congress, and I had very good personal contact with him. He worked very well for the Andhra Province. He had been quite genial in temperament, very sincere in his opinions, and steadfast in his loyal support to the Congress. He was recently elected as the Vice-President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, and that shows the amount of confidence that the workers of Andhra have got in him. It is hardly 48 hours since we last saw him, and to-day we do not see him any more. I hope, Sir, that his soul will rest in peace, and that the cause that he espoused will prosper, as that alone will satisfy him."

* SRI R. RAGHAVA MENON:—"It only day before yesterday that I saw Mr. Ramakrishna Reddi in the nursing home, and he promised he would be attending this Assembly yesterday itself. But to-day news has come that he is no more. But we cannot help it. It is God's will. The loss that his untimely demise has caused is very great. He was a pillar of the party, and he had been a very good patriot not only for his district, but for the whole Province. He was an influential man using his influence for the benefit of the people, and a true leader of men. His demise is certainly a loss not only for the party but also for the whole Presidency. With these few words, I associate myself with the remarks made by the members here. I hope we will try to be as good and patriotic as he had been. Let his soul rest in eternal peace."

SRI R. VENKATA REDDI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, the sorrowful news conveyed to the House has come to me as a shock, and it is all the more so when he is personally known to me. Especially so soon after the death of another friend of mine, to lose the most useful, the most energetic and the most patriotic among the lot is a great loss. His loss is not only to the district, but also to the Province. It was but a few days ago that he took ill while attending the sessions of this House, and it was only recently that he entered a nursing home in Royapettah. The next day, I was told that it was only a reaction due to an injection that was administered and that he was recovering from it. I had really no idea that the end was so near, and I could only think that it was the mysterious hand of God that was laid on one of my respected and revered friends. I knew Sri T. N. Ramakrishna Reddi from

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my earliest political life. He had been a senior in the Bar and he was a very promising and rising one at that. But very early in life, he gave up his practice and he was taking great interest in public life. In the first instance, he was elected to the Central Legislative Assembly, where, as a member of the Congress Party, he did very useful work. Ever since he joined the Congress Party, he was the moving spirit in the party in our district and in the whole Province he has earned a very good name as being a patriot and a very good worker in the Congress Party. I am unable to find words to express my sorrow, having moved so closely with him in the party as elsewhere and coming from the same division. I have nothing more to say, and I associate myself with the sentiments expressed by the Leader and other members in this House."

* N. MUHAMMAD ANWAR SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, death has laid its icy hand on a man of considerable influence and affluence. I have known him in many capacities, as a member of the Central Legislative Assembly, and as the President of the District Board of Chittoor. He was a *paterfamilias* for his kith and kin and I am now overpowered by a reminiscent mood: last time when I was enjoying his hospitality—that was six months ago—hospitality which was overflowing with milk and honey, literally, it was an irony that put in my mouth certain words of Shakespeare, and unfortunately I never knew it would come so soon. In the course of that intellectual entertainment, I was reminded of the classic words of Shakespeare:—

'Of all the wonders that I yet have seen,
It seems to me most strange that men should fear death;
Seeing that death is a necessary end,
Will come when it will come.'

"To which he replied, with instantaneity, in the language of Shakespeare:

'Cowards die many times before their death,
The valiant never tastes of death but once.'

"Thus he has responded to the last call of valour! (Pause)—A gentleman *par excellence*."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I wish to associate myself with the sentiments expressed by the members. I know the late Sri T. N. Ramakrishna Reddi very well. He was my well-wisher. Only last week he had taken the oath of allegiance here. He was suddenly taken away from us. The news of his death came upon us so suddenly that we are all shocked and we are unable to give expression to our feelings of sorrow. Without more words, I request you all to stand for a minute."

The resolution was passed, the whole House standing.

The House then adjourned to meet again at 11 a.m. on Monday, the 3rd June 1946.

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Monday, the 3rd June 1946.

The House met in the Assembly Chamber, Fort St. George, at eleven of the clock, Mr. Speaker (THE HON. J. SIVASHANMUKHAM PILLAI) in the Chair.

[Note.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

MOTION RE FOOD AND CLOTH SITUATION IN THE PROVINCE—cont.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The debate on the cloth situation will continue."

ABDUL MAJEED SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Is there a quorum, Mr. Speaker?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"There is a quorum."

* SRI P. NATESAN:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, hon. Members of this House have already covered many of the points that I wanted to touch upon. I see from the statement of the Provincial Textile Commissioner that 'thanks to our handloom industry, which is the largest and most efficient industry in India, there is and can be no cloth famine in the literal sense of the word in this Province'. Sir, if that is the case, how is it that we are so badly off in cloth? Madras is a surplus Province and yet we are not able to get from the Government of India as much of yarn as we really want. I believe the Provincial quota is 21,000 bales and out of this we get only 15,000. Naturally we are not in a position to supply the necessary yarn to the handloom weavers. I understand that there are at least five lakhs of handlooms in this Province and they work only for ten days in the month. Mr. Town observed the other day what an enormous difference it would make in the out-turn of cloth if there was a reduction in the hours of work to 48 hours a week. Now look at the way in which the handloom business is treated here. Five lakhs looms lying idle for 20 days in a month! What does this mean by way of waste of human labour and loss in cloth production? The Provincial Textile Commissioner cannot do anything because every time he has to approach the Government of India which is a big machinery to deal with. Sir, we must agitate and agitate and try to get at least 50 per cent of the yarn output here so that we may have the satisfaction of giving more work to the weavers. I know, Sir, the weavers are not affected because the master-weaver is in charge of a number of handlooms and he pays the weavers for all days in a month. But to make the price of handloom cloth fairly cheap and reasonable, we ought to reimburse the master-weaver. Otherwise he adds the amount he pays to the weavers to the price of the cloth that is produced and no wonder the price of handloom cloth is prohibitive.

"Next, Sir, I believe the Government have been advising people to convert cotton areas into food crop areas, that is to say, people who are growing cotton are asked to divert their lands to

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the production of food crops. Sir, cotton crops can be raised only in dry lands and these lands will not be suitable for cultivation of foodstuffs; the result is we will produce neither food nor cotton.

"Then, Sir, I understand that the distribution of dyes is not being done effectively and that it is in the hands of one particular firm. They have their own likes and dislikes. I should like the Ministry to look into this matter and see that the distribution is equitably made.

"Then, Sir, there are a lot of complaints above the issue of licences. They may be true or may not be true. I understand that licences are issued for cloth and yarn to persons who are really not in the trade, like clerks, retired Government servants, etc., etc., who have no other object but to make money by the difference in prices prevailing at different places, and it is a matter which I want the Ministry to look into.

"Then, Sir, I want to say a word or two about the long-range policy. I believe that long-staple cotton is being imported by mill owners here and I also understand that the Government in England is having the full say in the distribution of staple cotton to India. Perhaps an attempt can be made to grow more long-staple cotton in India also. There is, I believe, the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research which has been doing research for a long time and it will be very useful if the Government of Madras will take the matter up with the Government of India so that this long-staple cotton may be grown in this country on a big scale.

"Then, Sir, I am not sure if it would be possible for the Government to take up the question of starting the Choolai Mills here, and to see whether something can be done effectively to reduce the present shortage of mill cloth. The Government have been trying to do what business people are doing and it would be worthwhile if they could do something to take over the Choolai Mills. There is ample labour available here and yet we are suffering from cloth shortage. If any attempt is to be made, it can only be made by the Government, and the present Ministry being a popular Ministry should see that something is done in the matter.

"Sir, I have nothing more to say except what I have said the other day, viz., that the merchants are anxious to help the Ministry as much as possible. The Hon. the Premier made a very impressive speech when he wound up the food debate. He was describing the conditions of people in the villages in the olden days. He said how the panchayats were working admirably in those days and how the villages were administered by them. But the villager of 1846 is not the villager of 1946. Now he knows much more about the conditions in the world. In the olden days he had no transport nor any other facilities to market his produce. To-day he is a much wiser man and can see things for himself. I have therefore no objection to the Hon. the Premier making his

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experiment for an equitable distribution of cloth by putting his scheme in charge of the village committees, taluk committees and district committees. But, Sir, I should like to ask the Hon. the Premier if he will kindly let the House know, whether he went into the question of the financial commitment as a result of his proposals. I consider that if all these Committees and Members of the Legislative Assembly and non-officials are entrusted with the work, it should mean a very large expenditure and I am not sure if this expenditure will be commensurate with the work turned out by them. I would therefore request the Hon. the Premier to tell us how much approximately he expects to spend on this organization, and when he is going to give effect to his scheme. I certainly think that the House will be interested to know what exactly are the financial implications of the proposal and I therefore request the Hon. the Premier to give us the benefit of his advice and to tell us exactly how he is going to tackle the financial aspect of it. I have nothing more to say except to thank the Hon. the Premier for the excellent scheme he has placed before us."

SRI D. V. RAMASWAMI:—“అధ్యక్షా! 1937 వ సంవత్సరంలో ఈ సభ మాత్రమేగా స్థాపన అయినప్పుడు మాతృభాషలోనే ఇక్కడ చర్చలు జరుగ వలసినది తీర్మానించేను. కాబట్టి అధ్యక్షులవారిని మాతృభాషలో మాట్లాడడానికి శల్య ఇవ్వవలసినది కోరుచున్నాను. రెండు వేల సంవత్సరములనుంచి భారతదేశములో తినడానికి ఆన్నము, కట్టడానికి గుడ్డ లేదనే ఈనాటి ఆపూర్వ కళంకములేదు. దాతృత్వమునకు అలవాటైన దేశము మనది. డక్కా మిస్లిన్స్, క్రైస్తవులు, పాంజారు, వరసన్న వేట సన్న బట్టలకు ప్రసిద్ధిచెందింది. మన బట్టలు పాశ్చాత్య దేశములకు వెళ్లునూ ఉండేవి. మన మద్రాసు వెసిడెన్సికి ఎంతో మంచి ఖ్యాతి వచ్చింది అప్పటిలో. ఇప్పుడు ఈవిధముగా గుడ్డ కొరత వచ్చుటకు కారణము ఏమిటి? నిజముగా ఎప్పుడైతే మన రాత్రి, కదురు మూలపడినో అప్పుడే మన దేశానికి దర్శిదం పట్టింది. కాబట్టి ఆ రెండు పునరుద్ధరించడం చాలా మంచిది. మన Textile Officer గారు చెప్పిన మాటలు చాలామట్టుకు నిజమే. నూలు విషయంలో మనది surplus రాష్ట్రం గాని మన చేనేత పార్శిశాయికులకు నూలు చాలడంలేదు అంటూ వున్నాడు. Central Government వారు విమంహారంలే, యావత్ భారతదేశానికి సరియయిన ప్రాపర్లనులో ఇచ్చేము అంటారు గాని ఎవరి కంత ఆవసరమా చూసి సరిగ్గా ఇవ్వలేదు. కాబట్టి ఇప్పుడు ఉన్న నూలు సరై సక్రమముచేసి వారందరికీ పని కల్పించే వాద్యత మనమీద ఉంది. ఈ విషయంలో మన ప్రధాన మంత్రిగారు గ్రామాల స్వయంసహకము ఉండేటట్లు చూడవలసినదని చెప్పి ఉన్నారు. ప్రతివానికి ఆన్నవస్త్రములు కలిగి బ్రతకడానికివీలు అయ్యేటట్లు చెయ్యవలసినది. అఖిల భారత వరఖా సంఘము, విలేజ్ reconstruction సంఘములు పని చేసేందుకు నేను కొన్ని సూచనలను చేస్తున్నాను. దయచేసి ఈ ప్రభుత్వంవారు సత్వరంగా ఆలోచింప వలసినది నేను కోరుచున్నాను :—

“(1) మనదేశంలో ఇప్పుడు మనరాష్ట్రములో ఒక మిలియను కుటుంబాలు చేనేతవి ఉన్నవి. రోజుకు ఒక చిల పడికిరే మనకు కోటి గజములు గుడ్డ తయారు కాగలదు. ఒక్కొక్కరు ఒక చిల ఇస్తే కావలసినంత గుడ్డ తయారుకాగలదు. నేనామెలకు చాగా పనిచూడ కలుగచెయ్యగలము. యంత్రముల నూలు అవసరం లేకుండా బట్ట తయారుచేసుకోవచ్చును.

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“(2) గవర్నమెంటు పన్నులు వసూలు చేసినపుడు ఎవరైనా చిలపలు ఇవ్వగలిగినట్లైతే చిలప య. 0-2-6 చొప్పున ధర కట్టి సెస్తులకు బదులుగా పుచ్చుకోవచ్చును. అవిధముగా నూలు పోగు అవుతుంది. ఇది ప్రజలకు అనుకూలముగా ఉండవచ్చును.

“(3) సెస్తులకు బదులు ఇవ్వడంకాకుండా ఎవరైనా ఎక్కువ నూలు ఇస్తే వారికి special సదుపాయములు కల్పించవలయును. ఇలాగ చేస్తే ప్రజలకు ఎక్కువ ప్రోత్సాహకరముగా ఉంటుందని నా మనవి.

“(4) గ్రామ కమిటీలు ఏర్పాటు చెయ్యడంలో గ్రామాలలో తగువులు ఉన్నవి. కాబట్టి అభిమానముగ పనిచెయ్యరు అని చాలామంది నేపీహతులు hon. members చెబుతున్నారు. గ్రామంలో ఉండేవారు ముఖ్యముగా కరణం, ముససలు. వారు ఇప్పుడు జీతములు ఎక్కువ కావాలంటున్నారు. కాని నిజముగా వారికి కావలసినది జీతము కాదు. వారిని ఎక్కువ గౌరవముగా చూడవలయును. ఇది వారికి చాలును. వారు ఈ కమిటీలలో ఉంటే చాలా సహాయం చెయ్యగలరు.

“అంతేకాకుండా Agricultural, Industries Departments ఉన్నవి. వారు ఎప్పుడు ఏ ప్రకారముగా చేస్తే పంటలు ఎక్కువ అవగలవు. నూలు ఎక్కువగా తయారుకాగలదు, వారే తయారుచేసి ప్రజలకు దూపించవలయును. అప్పుడు మిల్లుల మీద నెంట్లు గవర్నమెంటుమీద ఆధారపడ నక్కరలేదు. మన సేవసలు గవర్నమెంటు, కాంగ్రెసు గవర్నమెంటు అగ్రికల్చరల్మీద అభిమానముతో పనిచెయ్యవలయును అని నేను సవినయముగా మన ప్రధాన మంత్రికి విన్నవిస్తున్నాను.”

* MUHAMMAD ABDUL SALAM SAHIB BAHADUR:—“Pakistan Zindabad. Mr. Speaker, Sir, it has become the fashion in this House to criticize the regime of the Advisers, but what has the Government that has been in existence for the last one month done? In the speeches of the Leader of the House and in the literature that has been circulated to us we do not find any actual work done in relation to cloth so far. The debate on this subject is expected to conclude with a reply by the Hon. the Leader. I would request him to tell us and the country what his Ministry has done in the past month. We were invited to come here for a short sitting. The meeting had dragged on and we have in our hands proposals for the constitution of village committees. I want to ask the Government what they have done, after wasting so much time? Have they moved their little finger in the direction of improving the cloth situation? Again, Sir, our Ministers have been touring the country and talking about this and that without understanding each other. I have in mind two such talks, one by the Hon. Mr. Giri and the other by the Hon. Mr. K. Bashyam. The latter is understood to have stated that, if there was corruption among the officers, the public also were responsible; they were also guilty in the matter. Here, in this House we complain of corruption in the country and the Ministers on their tours tell the public that the public are also responsible for corruption. I wish that the Ministers have a co-ordinated policy for their talks in their travels.”

SRI M. G. NATESA CHETTIYAR:—“Mr. Speaker, on a point of information, may I know . . .”

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ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—“I rise to a point of order. I want to know whether anybody can get up and ask for information in the middle of a speech.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“The Member who rose first has not interrupted the speaker.”

* SRI M. G. NATESA CHETTIYAR:—“Sir, I understood Hon. the Speaker to say that there must not be any speech or discussion in relation to black-marketing and corruption.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“Mr. Salam was not referring to black-markets. He will please go on with his speech.”

* MUHAMMAD ABDUL SALAM SAHIB BAHADUR:—“Even after one month the Ministry has come forward only with draft proposals for distribution. There is not a word said on the floor of this House, or in the literature published about the production of yarn or about the production of cloth. The sole concern of the Ministry has been with distribution. Distribution there was, distribution there will be and distribution there shall be. What about production, Sir, I ask this popular Ministry.

“We have with us the statement furnished by the Textile Commissioner. The very tone of it is dogmatic. It does not look like a proposal submitted to a popular House, a democratic Assembly. The Textile Commissioner's statement looks like a report submitted to his officers. He is so sure of his facts that he asserts that rationing is not possible and the Ministers who have taken charge of the administration have not been able to make him take a different view.

“Now, the proposals put forward by the Ministry do not contain any plans for the future production. Speaking from the Opposition I suggest that there must be two policies to meet the cloth situation. We must have a short-range policy as well as a long-range policy. You are arranging for the distribution of cloth through the village committees. What are you going to do for the erection of more textile mills in our presidency? If you will depute one of your Ministers to America or England to buy textile machinery and start more factories in our presidency and compete with the mills managed by Mr. Town, we will congratulate you and the country will congratulate you. We cannot go back. We cannot follow your philosophy. We cannot accept your village committees, based on the bullock-cart mentality of the Congress.

“As regards the short-range policy, I commend for the acceptance of the House the amendment of our Party Leader that cloth rationing should be immediately introduced. Hon. Members of the European Group or of the Independent party, might move amendments congratulating you on your achievements. You know the value of their stock. One of the Members of this House—the Leader of the European Group—was provoked to say that there is no civic consciousness or civic ideas among Indians or in India. I say, Sir, taking more salary than is due is also a kind of black-market operation. (Laughter.) If a man

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has to be paid Rs. 1,000 for his work and the concern pays him Rs. 5,000 for it, it is a black-market price paid to him as director or as manager. I know it is very difficult for a Member of the European or Independent party to support our simple proposition regarding rationing. The leader of the Independent party, who was a Minister for some time on the plea that His Majesty's Government must be carried on, has chosen to give his support to the Ministry. Whether of the European Group or of the Independent Group, their Members know how to set their sails to suit the prevailing weather. (An hon. Member 'Are you speaking of politics or of philosophy?') I am speaking of politics."

SRI KALA VENKATA RAO:—"Of cloth rationing please."

* MUHAMMAD ABDUL SALAM SAHIB BAHADUR:—"These groups are not supporting the amendments moved by the Muslim League party. There seems to be an unholy alliance, the European Group no longer playing an important part in the business of this House."

"Sir, this year is a deficit year both as regards cloth and food. Now we have in our midst large numbers of the military personnel with nothing to do. As military matters are the concern of the Central Government, may I request the Hon. the Premier to correspond with the Central Government to remove them from our midst so that both the food and cloth situation may ease a bit?"

"The country expects immediate and urgent action in the matter of cloth, not only in distribution but also in production and we expect the Ministry, instead of wasting its time and energy in petty party politics, to do its best at this critical period."

* SRI N. S. VARADACHARI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I listened to this debate on cloth with interest not unmixed with some amusement. Mr. Town made an excellent speech the other day the seasoned technician that he is. But he gave a sombre setting to the beginning and also to the end of his speech predicting with certainty a fall in production and a deficit running into millions of yards. Another member warned us against strikes. A third member would have us wait at the gates of the mills; a fourth added the woes of the dead to those of the living; a fifth, finding nothing else, lashed himself into unnecessary fury against the officials of the department some of whom bear the highest character and integrity I know of and indulged in bachelor's dreams of becoming a Prime Minister himself. Nobody gave the subject a cheerful setting, nobody gave it a note of confidence. I come forward on behalf of a small Association—it is called a child but it is fast growing into adolescence—with an offer of a crore of yards of cloth within the end of this year provided the Government will fulfil certain conditions. I do not mind mill cloth being muddled through, but I cannot certainly look on if khadi is muddled. Khadi is based on the new economics which is not the science of wealth as it formerly used to be, but the science of full and wholesale employment for all the people of this country, whether it be

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to fill under-employment or unemployment during certain seasons. Prices need not matter because, in modern economics, prices are not dependent on laws of competitive markets or on exchange, but are dependent on the order of the State and State intervention.

"Now let me make a positive contribution. We are to-day in the 12 districts of Tamilnad providing for a class of 2 lakhs of people and one lakh more is taking its cloth by exchanging its own yarn for cloth. That is to say one in every 120 wears khadar. We can treble that figure provided the Government undertakes to fulfil the following conditions. The All India Spinners Association must be the body entrusted with the work. It is a body of seasoned technicians even as Mr. Town's staff of the Binny Mills are a body of seasoned technicians in another line. The Government should give facilities at least in limited areas for the All India Spinners Association to set up service stations. What I mean by that is that in every taluk there should be a centre where charkas can be repaired, parts bought, cotton made available and even training given to the spinners."

"The third thing that I want the Government to do is that every weaver who is guaranteed by the All-India Spinners' Association with a certain quota of yarn for manufacture into cloth should not be given quotas of mill yarn. I trust that this is already being done. And if the Government get into touch with the Association, I am positive that within the next month or two you can have a minimum addition to our present stocks, of 18 lakhs of square yards of cloth. In this connexion, may I suggest that the All-India Spinners' Association is far more liberal than the Textile Commissioner? We are giving to our customers an average of 25 yards of cloth as against 10 yards of mill stuff that would be given as per capita quota for our Province. If we are allowed to go on uninterruptedly with our production we will be able to make a decent contribution to solve the difficulties of the Province. All this will cost a few lakhs of rupees. The Government must get into touch with the Association and ask them to help in the process of rehabilitation of villages and find out how much they would need in order to provide these facilities."

"Then there are two more qualifications and they are the most important. No spinning mills should be set up any more in this Province. We have far too much human power to be allowed to go to waste. I tell you we can find enough work to make up under employment and to provide employment in times of unemployment for the millions of our agricultural workers."

"Then this is another thing, Sir, and that is that certain areas must be declared self-sufficient for certain types of cloth and there should be wholesale or partial stoppage of the sale of mill and handloom cloth in those areas where we open centres and the production is in full swing. This will enable you to do many things. Mr. Town cannot then make his inroads into the countryside. Mr. Pocker will get the shrouds for the dead since we propose to provide the cloth for the living. There will be no strikes, for

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there are no strikes in the All-India Spinners' Association. You cannot get a strike however much you may cry hoarse for it. There will be no black-marketing because the prices are fixed and controlled by the Association and not a pie will be lost by way of improper conduct.

"This is the offer that I make and it is a very nice offer. Nobody could have any objection to it. It will increase the production of khadi cloth three to four times. Perhaps if the Andhra branch of the Association is asked to do the same thing, you will get another substantial addition to the cloth production. It is a modest programme; I do not claim that it will solve the entire difficulty, but it will make a substantial contribution to solve the difficulties. Much has been said about the life of handloom weaver, but I am afraid that nobody has laid his finger on the right spot. The plight of the handloom weaver has become worse and worse on account of the competition from the mills on whom he is perpetually dependent. To-day he is weaving for distant markets cloths of special pattern. A single change of fashion in the City of Bombay may lead to the wholesale stoppage of thousands of looms in places, say, like Proddatur and Narayanavanam. Perhaps the Government think that the local rates of wages are not miserable. It is sufficient for me to say that the wage cannot stand comparison even with the wages of the local agriculturists. That is the reason why the handloom is not thriving. It is not because it is not controlled or because it is left to itself and so on. It is better to link the handlooms to the spinning wheels of the village people in order that they may provide the yarn to the workers on the looms. The energy is there. The springs are there, but they have become dried up and you complain that the handlooms are not working. The only solution for the handlooms would be to link them up to the village spinners in order to avoid the subtle contamination that the Prime Minister would, without his knowledge, be introducing in village markets by entrusting both the handloom cloth and the mill cloth to the village committees. I say it deliberately and I want him not to hand over village markets to the mill people. Let the market for the mill cloth be confined to the towns. Let Binay's have the export business also. They are making a special kind of cloth and let them have all the facilities for export trade. Let them export to other Provinces if there is room there or to other countries. We do not want any export trade for our cloth. We are not asking for any facilities that the Government will not be able to give and we ask just what the Government will be able to give provided they make up their minds in the matter. The village spinner and the village weaver are fighting against the mighty combination known to economic history of pride and power.

"Sir, I shall conclude with one small statement. I want to enter a caveat in this House. I want the Hon. Prime Minister not to distribute the travelling allowances of the taluk and district committees till budget sanctions are obtained and till exact figures are ascertained. Till then, Sir, let us work like patriots

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doing honorary duties. Let all the district committees and the taluk committees stand on their own legs and not depend on Government money. Every resolution of this House would commit us to a certain expenditure and I, as one of the guardians of public finance, even as the Prime Minister himself is, ask him to consider the whole question and see that these travelling allowances are sanctioned only after the actual figures of expenditure have been worked out. I do not want him to work it out to so many rupees, annas and pies, but let us have the expenditure estimated for the budget, let the budget be voted by the House and then let us start these travelling allowances. Meanwhile I would request the Hon. the Premier to issue an order not to grant travelling allowances to the members of the district and taluk committees."

ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have just now heard from Mr. Varadachariyar an essay on Khaddar and its value."

SRI N. S. VARADACHARI:—"An essay? Say, it is a contribution." (Laughter.)

* ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"It may be a contribution according to you, but it has no other value than an essay."

"Sir, I am very sorry that the present Government is not prepared to take the Opposition into its confidence and ensure its co-operation. The attitude of the present Government in this matter is, that they do not want anybody else's help and that they are the only custodians of the rights of the people of this Province. They do not realize the realities of the situation. They do not realize that an important section of the people of this province are not with them and that they are in opposition to the Government to-day. At a time when we are faced with very serious problems and when the Opposition is prepared to extend its hand of co-operation to the Government, they come forward with a very dry and unwarranted reply, 'We are here, we do not want you to help us in this matter.' When we proposed the formation of a Board consisting of the important elements in this province, it was not acceptable to the Government. It is indeed very unfortunate that the Member representing the European Chamber of Commerce could not understand it. He has been bred on the tradition of what is called constitutional forms of Government. He has forgotten that there is to be a national Government established consisting of representatives of all parties and that independence is coming shortly. Naturally when there was a war we were faced with a very serious situation. Now when the war is over we are faced with a more serious situation on account of the scarcity of food and cloth. When we were at war there was nothing but war. Now there is another situation equal to war, famine of food and famine of cloth. He does not seem to realize that there is need for a National Government here to tackle the national question of food. I can at least understand

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his attitude. But I cannot understand the attitude of the Government. The Government, I grant, has a very large majority behind it, but it has not got behind it a single member of my community, the Muslim community, either as a member of its Party or on the Cabinet. They must realize the seriousness of the situation. I do not believe that their policy is a policy of good will. The Hon. the Premier was good enough to plead for good will from the Opposition and from the Muslim League particularly. Well, Sir, it would have been graceful if he had offered that very good will from his side and then asked for good will from the other side; instead of offering good will himself, he wanted good will from our side only. That is not the proper thing to do. It is not reasonable. In spite of the attitude of non-co-operation adopted by the Government, and realising the serious situation in the country affecting not one community, but all communities, we have come forward with good will and to extend the hand of co-operation to the Government. We say that we are prepared to work with them if they establish a Board in which we will get an equal right and voice but they do not want us. They want us only as their hewers of wood and drawers of water and nothing more. They want to monopolize the whole thing. They do not want to give us an equal voice even at least so far as this serious situation, which is affecting the very existence of the people, is concerned.

"Sir, the question of food to-day is a very difficult one. But so far as the cloth situation is concerned, I do not believe that it is so bad. First of all, Sir, we are not self-sufficient so far as the cloth situation is concerned. We have to depend upon other places, like Bombay, Ahmedabad, etc. Mill cloth is to-day cheaper than handloom cloth, because its price is controlled, and that should be available in plenty in the province. The point I cannot understand is why in this province we are not getting our full quota of cloth. I understand that we are not having enough stock that will last even for a month. For the last few months we have not been getting our quota in full. I wish to ask the Government, Sir, whether they have enquired as to why the surplus provinces have not been able to give us our full quota. We have had only 16 to 17 thousand bales, whereas our quota should have been 36,000 bales in the last three months. It may be that the officer who is responsible for distributing the surplus has not been able to do his best for us in the matter. It is high time that the Government takes up the matter with the Government of India and get for us not only the prescribed quota but a larger quantity than we have been getting all along.

"It is very unfortunate that steps were not taken in the last four years when we have been facing this shortage of cloth, to open more mills in the province on a large scale so that we may be self-sufficient so far as mill-cloth is concerned."

SRI P. NATESAN:—"What about machinery?"

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ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"I know that there is difficulty in procuring machinery on account of war. We do not want to establish cotton weaving mills everywhere in the province, but certainly there should be no difficulty so far as spinning mills are concerned. The establishment of spinning mills will put an end to monopoly and black-marketing. In Coimbatore they are endeavouring to have the whole industry concentrated in that district.

"Sir, every facility should be given by the Government to open more and more cotton mills, weaving as well as spinning. It is only then that we will be self-sufficient and we will not have to go to other provinces, surplus though they may be, for our needs, so far as cloth is concerned.

"The Hon. the Premier and Sri Varadachariyar told us much about Khaddar. We have known for the last 25 years since this Khaddar ideal was taking practical shape in this country to what extent it has been able to succeed. It is all an Utopian ideal. When the Khaddar ideal was propagated, if I am right, it was more to help the mill-owners of Bombay and Ahmedabad. If there is anybody who has prospered on account of Khaddar it is the mill-owners of Ahmedabad, Bombay and Sholapur. (An Hon. Member: 'How?') Hon. Members know what Khaddar is. If they cannot understand I cannot help them. (An hon. Member: 'You understood it and now forget'.) Sir, Khaddar can clothe only a very small number of people." (Sri N. S. Varadachariyar: 'One in 40 I said now'.)

MR. SPEAKER:—"Hon. Members will please not interrupt him. Let the hon. Member go on."

* ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Varadachariyar forgets that we are in the midst of a famine and that it will not be possible for us to bring mills into existence overnight. I want Mr. Varadachariyar to understand that the whole province will go without cloth if the state of affairs that now exists continues. Mr. Varadachariyar can talk about the economics of Khaddar. People before him have exposed this bogey of Khaddar long ago. Responsible people have stated in very clear terms how it has been a failure and I am sure I am not making prophecy when I say that any attempt to meet the situation by propagating Khaddar is bound to fail. How many people can afford to wear Khaddar when people are not even able to afford to rear the handloom cloth. Sir, Khaddar is many times costlier than mill cloth. I want my friend Mr. Varadachariyar to realize that the poor people cannot really go in for Khaddar. (Sri T. Viswatham: 'They can make their own cloth'.) Making their own Khaddar is certainly a Midsummer Night's Dream. I tell you, Sir, that everybody has not got the time to think of weaving and spinning. If we do that, then we will be a nation of spinners and weavers, whereas to-day, in the world in which we are living we have to think of many other things than making Khaddar. If we are to live in this world as a nation, if we are to compete with

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other peoples in the world and if in the years to come we are to contest with other nations in a war like the last, we will have to think twice, thrice and change this ideal.

"Mr. Speaker, Sir, production is certainly not satisfactory. We have to become self-sufficient. Khaddar is not going to meet the situation. Handloom cloth is now very costly. Not only is it costly, on account of its being exported it is also not available in this Province. The handloom industry should be encouraged. The handlooms are in existence to-day, because there is demand for handloom cloth from outside. If these demands stop away then we will know what fate is awaiting the handloom weavers. Because there is scarcity of cloth to-day in Ceylon and other neighbouring places, and because there are no imports from abroad the handloom industry is thriving to-day. The moment cloth is imported from other countries then we will know what the fate of the handloom weavers will be so far as this Province is concerned. It is the duty of the Government to anticipate what will be the cloth imports in the future and see that the handloom industry is not affected.

"So far as distribution is concerned, I am sorry, Sir, that I have to say that the scheme as adumbrated by the Government will not satisfactorily meet the situation. Sir, cloth is required by everybody, including the villagers and in very many cases it does not reach the village. Sir, the village committees, taluk committees and district committees will not be able to make cloth available to the people in the remotest parts of this Province. I know how these village committees will function and how the cloth that is required by the villagers will not reach them. As it is distribution is not satisfactory. It must be improved. Sir, the normal trade channels are not utilized, they are starved and certain monopolies have been created in the method of distribution. People who have been in the trade have not been getting their full share in the distribution of mill cloth. There must be equitable distribution equitable not only with regard to the various parts of the Province but also so far as the trade channels are concerned. I know, Sir, that there is not only black-marketing, but there is corruption and the Government must put down corruption as well as black-marketing. Black-marketing can be put down only when we have sufficient production and when we are able to put plenty of cloth in the market.

"I must say in this connection that the Textile Department of this Province is still in a state of experimentation. Whatever we might say about the top, however satisfactory the top might be, I must agree with one of the hon. Members who gave such a graphic description of the way in which the lower strata of the Department is constituted. It is high time that the Government puts this Department in the hands of really reliable and responsible people from top to bottom. Unless that is done I am afraid, what is called black-marketing and what is called corruption will not be done away with. It is no use, after so many years of experience, to go on experimenting still. It is high time that

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you pursue a definite policy and a definite programme. I understand, Sir, that so far as Madras is concerned, distribution is in the hands of one or two individuals, so far as mill cloth is concerned. They are responsible for the distribution of mill cloth whenever it comes. When the mill cloth is distributed there is a regular hierarchy of wholesale dealers and retail dealers. The moment mill cloth comes in it is . . . " (The gong was sounded and the hon. Member resumed his seat.)

* SRI N. M. R. SUBBARAMAN:—"அக்கிராசனாதிபதியவர்களே, துணி விஷயத்தில் நூல் உற்பத்தி மிகவும் முக்கியமானது. நூலை எவ்வளவுக் கெவ்வளவு அதிகம் உற்பத்தி பண்ணுகிறார்களோ அவ்வளவுக் கெவ்வளவு இந்தத் துணிக்கஷ்டம் நீங்கும். முக்கியமாக இப்பொழுது மில்கள்தான் நூலை உற்பத்திசெய்கின்றன. இந்த மில்லில் அநேகம் இரண்டு shift கள் ஒடுகின்றன சிலதமட்டும் மூன்று shift ஒடுகின்றன. இரண்டு shift கள் ஒடும் மில்கள் அனைத்தும் மூன்று shift கள் ஒடினால் அதிகமான நூல் கிடைக்கும். மூன்று shift கள் ஒட்டும் விஷயத்தில் சில கஷ்டங்கள் இருக்கின்றன. மெஷின்கள் அதிக நேரம் ஓடினால் அதிகம் தேய்ந்துபோய்விடும், இருந்தாலும் அதற்கு வேண்டிய சாமான்களைப் போட்டால் சேர்ந்தார்ப்போல் ஒட்டுவது சாத்யமாகவிருக்கும். தற்போது தேர்ச்சிபெற்ற ஊழியர்கள் அவர்களுக்குக் கிடைப்பது கஷ்டம். துணிக் கஷ்டம் நீங்கியபிறகு மூன்று shift கள் ஒருவதை எடுக்கும்படியாக வரும். அப்பொழுது இந்தத் தொழிலில் அதிகமாகச் சேர்ந்த தொழிலாளிகளை நீக்குவதில் கஷ்டங்கள் ஏற்படும். இக்கஷ்டங்களிருப்பினும் இப்பொழுதுள்ள நமது துணி அவசியத்தை உத்தேசித்து மூன்று shift கள் எந்த மில்களில் ஒட்டமுடியுமோ அவைகளிலே ஒட்டும்படி செய்யவேண்டும்; அதற்கு வேண்டிய நடவடிக்கைகளை ஸர்க்கார் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும்.

"நூல் கணக்கு விஷயத்திலும் மில்கள் சரியாக நடந்துகொள்ளுவ தில்லையென்று எனக்குமுன் பேசினார்கள். எங்கும் அந்தப் பேச்சாய் இருக்கிறது. ஒரு மில்லிலே ஒரு நாளைக்கு ஒரு நூறு பேல் உற்பத்தி யானால், அவர்கள் நூறுபேல் உற்பத்தியானதென்று வெளியில் சொல்லுவ தில்லை. இந்த உற்பத்திக் கணக்கைச் சரியாக எடுக்கவேண்டும். அதற் குச் சரியான மேல்பார்வை அதிகாரியை வைத்துக்கொண்டுவளிக்க வேண்டும். மில்கள் சரியான கணக்கைக் கொடுக்காவிட்டால் அந்தக் கணக்குக் கிடைக்க, வேண்டிய நடவடிக்கைகளை ஸர்க்கார் எடுத்துக்கொள்ள வேண்டும்.

"அடுத்தபடியாக இந்த விற்பனையாகும் நூல் எவ்வளவு பலம் இருக்கவேண்டுமென்று போட்டிருக்கிறதோ அந்த பலம் இருப்பதில்லை, ஒருவன் ஒரு வருஷத்துக்கு 4 துணி வாங்குகிறானென்று வைத்துக்கொள் றார்கள், அந்தத் துணி நன்றாக உழைத்தால்தான் அந்த 4 துணி போதுமானது. இந்தத் துணி இப்பொழுது அதிகமாக உழைப்பதில்லை. அதன் காரணம் நூல் சரியான பலத்துடன் இல்லாததுதான். 40-ம் நம்பர் நூலை எடுத்துக்கொண்டால் அவைகளில் அதிகம் எவ்வளவு பலம் தாங்கவேண்டுமோ அவ்வளவு பலம் தாங்குவது இல்லை. முந்தி ஒரு மில்லில் நூல் 10 ரூபாயிருக்கும், இன்றொரு மில்லில் நூல் ரூ. 9-8-0 இருக்கும், மற்றொரு மில் நூல் ரூ. 9 இருக்கும். ஆனால் இப்பொழுது அந்தமாதிரி இல்லை. எந்த மில் நூலை எடுத்துக்கொண்டாலும் ஒரே விலையாக, விலையில் standardise செய்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகையால் நூலுக்கு ஏற்பட்ட பலம் இல்லாவிட்டால் அவர்கள்மீது நடவடிக்கை அவ சியம் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். எந்த நம்பர் சொல்லுகிறார்களோ அந்த நூல் அந்த நம்பர் இல்லையென்று புகார் சொல்லப்படுகிறது. அத்துடன் அந்த நூல் அந்த நம்பருக்கு வேண்டிய பலம் இருக்கிறதா வென்றும் பார்க்கவேண்டும்.

"கதர் நூல் நாம் உற்பத்திசெய்யலாம். கதர் துணியைப்பற்றி வரதாச் சாரியவர்கள் அழகாகச் சொன்னார்கள். முன் காலத்திலே நமக்கு வேண்

12 noon.

[Sri N. M. R. Subbaraman] [3rd June 1946]

டியது துணியெல்லாம் கதர்மூலமாகப் பெற்று வந்தோம். முன் மாதிரி இப்பொழுது கதரில் அவ்வளவு கஷ்டமில்லை. ஸர்க்கார் உதவியுடன் இந்தக் கஷ்டங்கள் நீங்கிவிடும். சில வருடங்களுக்கு ஒரு கெஜத்திற்கு ஒரு அணு வீதம் subsidy கொடுத்துக்கொண்டுவந்தார்கள். இப்பொழுது 4 அணு அல்லது 5 அணு கொடுத்துக்கொண்டு வந்தால் அதிகம் துணி உண்டாகி நம் தேவையைப் பூர்த்தி செய்யும். நம்முடைய தேசத்தில் நம் தேவையை கதர் மூலமாகப் பூர்த்திசெய்து கொள்ளும்படி ஒவ்வொரு ஊரும், கிராமமும் பார்த்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். இந்த மாதிரி எல்லாப் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களிலும் அதை உற்பத்திசெய்யலாம். இப்பொழுது துள்ள பாட புல்தகங்களிலே ஏதாவது ஒரு கைத்தொழிலைச் செய்யலாமென்று திட்டம் ஏற்படுத்தியிருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகையால் இதை ஒவ்வொரு பள்ளிக்கூடத்திலும் செய்யும்படி செய்யலாம். இப்பொழுது நாட்டில் உணவும் உடையும் அவசியமாக வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. எனவே நம் குழந்தைகளும் உணவை அதிகமாக உற்பத்திசெய்வதிலும், உடையை அதிகமாக உற்பத்திசெய்வதில் ஈடுபடவேண்டும். பள்ளிக்கூடங்களை அதற்காக உபயோகமாகப் படுத்துவது மிகவும் நல்லது, இங்கிலாந்தில் யுத்தம் நடந்து கொண்டிருந்தபோது அவர்கள் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களிலே காய்கறித்தோட்டம் மாணவர்கள் போட்டார்கள். அவ்விதமே நாம் இப்பொழுது செய்யலாம். முன்பு அந்த அவசியம் இல்லாவிட்டாலும் இப்பொழுது அதற்கு அவசியம் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. கதரைப் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களில் உற்பத்திசெய்வதற்குச் சில சாதனங்கள் வேண்டியிருக்கின்றன. தகுந்த ஆசிரியர்கள் வேண்டும். அதற்கு இப்பொழுது கஷ்டமில்லை A.I.S.A. அநேகருக்குப் பயிற்சி கொடுத்திருக்கிறது அவர்களை வைத்துக்கொண்டு இன்னும் அதிகமான பேர்களுக்குப் பயிற்சியளித்து பள்ளிகளில் அதிகம் கதர் உற்பத்தி செய்யலாம்.

“கைத்தரிகளைப்பற்றிப் பலபேர்கள் சொல்லிவிட்டார்கள். குறைந்த பணம் நூற்றுக்கு நூற்பதாவது கைத்தரிகளுக்கு நூல் கிடைக்கவேண்டுமென்பது முக்கியமானது. புதுக் கணக்குப்படி 5 லெக்ஷம் தரிகள் இருக்கின்றன. இந்த 5 லெக்ஷம் தரிகளுக்காவது அவசியமான நூல் கிடைக்கும்படி செய்யவேண்டும். பம்பாயிலிருந்து துணி பேல்கள் சரியாய் வருவதில்லையென்று அறிக்கையில் சொல்லப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அங்கிருந்து நமக்கு எவ்வளவு பேல்கள் வரவேண்டுமோ அவ்வளவு வரவில்லையென்றால், உடனே எல்லா நடிவடிக்கைகளையும் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். பம்பாயிலிருந்து வேண்டிய அளவு துணி வரவில்லையென்றால் நாம் நம் நூல்பேல்களை அனுப்பாமல் நிறுத்தவேண்டும், அவ்விதம் செய்தால் தான் நம்முடைய துணி நிலைமையை அபிவிருத்திசெய்ய முடியும். எந்தக் காலம் வரைக்கும் கைத்தரிகாரர்களுக்குச் சரியானபடி நூல் கிடைக்கிற தில்லையோ அதுவரையில் ஒரு மாறுதல் செய்யவேண்டும். மில்களில் நூல் நூற்பதுமட்டுமில்லை. துணி நெய்வதும் இருக்கின்றன. நெசவு மில்களுக்கு கொஞ்சம் நூலாவது குறைத்து கைத் தரிகளுக்கு உதவி செய்யவேண்டும், அவ்விதம் அவசியம் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று தெரிவித்துக் கொள்கிறேன். அவ்விதம் செய்தால் கைத்தரிகள் இப்பொழுது கஷ்டப் படுவது ஓரளவு நீங்கும்.

“கைத்தரிகளுக்கு போதிய நூல் கிடைக்கவில்லை, நூல் கிடைத்தால் கைத்தரிக் துணியினுடைய விலை குறையும், இப்பொழுது போதிய அளவு கிடைக்காததினால்தான் விலை அதிகமாக இருக்கிறது. 30 நாளுக்குக் கொடுக்கும் சம்பளம் 10 நாட்களிலே வேண்டுமென்று கேட்கிறார்கள் ஆகையால் அதற்குக் கூலி அதிகமாகிறது. போதிய அளவு நூல் கிடைக்கும்படி இந்த விலை மிகவும் குறையும்.

“மில்கள் இவ்வளவு பேல்கள் நூற்கின்றனவென்றுதான் கணக்கு கொடுக்கின்றார்கள். தரிகளுக்குவேண்டிய மாதிரி மில்கள் உற்பத்தி இருக்கும்படி செய்வதில்லை. இந்த நம்பர் பேல் இவ்வளவு, அடுத்த நம்பர் பேல் இவ்வளவு என்று இருந்தால் அதை அவர்கள் கவனித்துச் செய்யாமல் அவர்களுக்கு எது சௌகரியமோ அவ்விதம் செய்கிறார்கள். அவ்விதம் செய்யாமல் நம்முடைய நூல் தேவையைக் கணக்குப் பார்த்து அந்த முறையிலே மில்கள் உற்பத்திசெய்யும்படி செய்யவேண்டும்.

3rd June 1946] [Sri N. M. R. Subbaraman]

“கைத்தரிகளிலே உற்பத்தியாகும் சரக்குகளைப் பார்த்தால் நாட்டின் தேவைக்குக் குறைவான சரக்குகள்தான் உண்டாகின்றன. வெளி நாட்டிற்கு அதிகம் துணி நெய்து போய்க்கொண்டிருக்கிறது. சேலை, வேஷ்டி, அதிகமாக உற்பத்தியாகவேண்டும். ஏற்றுமதி வியாபாரத்தினால் தேசத்திற்கு நன்மைதான், ஆகையால் பூராவும் நாம் அதைக்கட்டுப் படுத்தி நிறுத்திவிட முடியாதுதான். இருந்தாலும் நாம் கஷ்டப்படும்தோது நம்முடைய தேவையைக் கவனிக்காமல் வெளிநாட்டு வியாபாரத்தையே பிரதானமாகக் கவனிப்பது நல்லதல்ல; நம்முடைய தேவைதான் முதன்மையானது. ஆகவே வெளிநாட்டு வியாபாரம் எப்பொழுதும் நமக்கு இருக்கும்படியாக பார்த்துக் கொண்டு உள்நாட்டுத்தேவையைப் பூர்த்திசெய்யும்வரையிலாவது இந்த வெளிநாட்டு வியாபாரத்தைக் குறைத்து ஆகவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்கிறேன். வெளிநாட்டு வியாபாரிகளும் கைலி, துண்டு, இவைகள்தான் உற்பத்தியாக்குகிறார்கள். இது சண்டைக்கு முன்னால் எவ்வளவு உற்பத்தியாயிற்று? இப்பொழுது எங்கு பார்த்தாலும் கவான்மெண்டு உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களும் இந்த தொழிலே தெரியாத மற்ற வியாபாரம்செய்து கொண்டிருந்தவர்களும் அவர்கள் வீட்டில் தரையை வைத்து உற்பத்தி செய்கிறார்கள். அதுவும் நம் தேசத்திற்கு வேண்டிய துணியை உற்பத்திசெய்வதில்லை. அதனால்தான் மற்ற தரிகள் கஷ்டப்பட்டுவேண்டியதாயிருக்கிறது. ஆகையால் ஏற்றுமதி சரக்குத் தரிகளை எவ்வளவுதூரம் குறைக்கலாமோ அவ்வளவு தூரம் குறைப்பது நல்லது. அதே சமயத்தில் ஏற்றுமதி வியாபாரம் கெட்டுப்போகாதபடி நாம் பார்த்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும்.

“லேசென்ஸ் கொடுக்கும் விஷயமாயும் நான் ஒரு வார்த்தைசொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். இதுவரையில் வியாபாரம் செய்யாத பலபேர்களுக்கு லேசென்ஸ் கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஏற்கனவே பரம்பரையாக வியாபாரம் செய்தவர்களுக்கெல்லாம் அவர்கள் வியாபாரம் குறைந்திருக்கிறது. ஆகவே இது விஷயத்தில் மிகவும் கண்டிப்பாக இருந்து தாக்கணயம் பாராமல் யார் பரம்பரையாக வியாபாரம் செய்துகொண்டிருந்தார்களோ அவர்களுக்கே லேசென்ஸ் கொடுக்கவேண்டும், வியாபாரம் செய்யும்படி செய்ய வேண்டும். இல்லேயெல் எல்லோருக்கும் அறைவயிற்று உணவாகிவிடுகிறது.

“சாயப்பட்டரைகள் முன்னால் சிலதான் இருந்தன, இப்பொழுது அதிகமாக இருக்கின்றன. 1936-1939-ல் யார் யார் சாயம் தோய்த்துக்கொண்டிருந்தார்களோ அவர்களுக்குத்தான் வியாபாரம் செய்ய லேசென்ஸ் கொடுக்கவேண்டும். இப்பொழுது சாயக்கூலியும் அதிகமாயிருக்கின்றது. அதிகப்பேற்களுக்கு லேசென்ஸ் கொடுக்காமல் கட்டுப்படுத்தினால் கூலியும் குறையும்.

“மில் துணி எங்கு பார்த்தாலும் கிராக்கியாயிருக்கிறது. மில் துணி மோகம் நல்லதல்ல. தேசத்திற்குக் கெட்டது.”

* SINNA KAZIAR HAJI S. A. F. IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, so many members have suggested many things. After all, all the suggestions were to improve the stock and to prevent leakage. I really appreciate the different ideas—whether you bring machinery from America or whether you use charka and thereby improve production—it is all the same. I only wish that we succeed in our attempt; but I would like to submit that these are long-range schemes. Now, what we have to do at this present crisis is the most important thing. When the house is burning, you cannot be digging a well to use its water to put out the fire. You should rise up to the occasion; you should do things with as much speed as possible, to meet the crisis and save the millions of this Province and thus do our duty. Now, when we get a large stock either by bringing in new machinery or by introducing charka, all these questions will

[S. A. F. Ibrahim Sahib Bahadur] [3rd June 1946]

vanish. What is the stock we have now and, how are we to distribute them to the tax-payers, is the question now. To tell you the truth, black-marketing has been going on everywhere. You may take this province as a black house, with black-marketing, then, I should like to say Sir, that Madura happens to be a dark room in that dark black-market house. Why is it so? Fortunately or unfortunately, it has one of the biggest spinning mills in the world. Madura is supposed to be one of the biggest hand-loom centres in this Province. I do not believe that we do not have yarn for the hand-loom. So far as Madura is concerned, I should like to submit, Sir, hand-loom work is going on day and night. I will submit another interesting fact which will be very convincing. Hand-loom licences are being purchased by ordinary men at exorbitant rates. If yarn is not available, if the workers have work only for ten days in the month, can people like me purchase hand-loom licences from the original licence-holders? It is rather a preposterous logic to believe this. But what is really taking place is this: you have ample yarn, but it is being sold in the black-market. Recently, last month, I was told that in Coimbatore when the Military department was making an investigation into details about sales of stolen petrol, at dead of night, a lorry was caught carrying bales of yarn, and a case has been filed against the mill-owners. This is the position. Regarding piece-goods also, I should like to say Sir, that last month in Madura a wholesale piece-goods dealer was booked for having under-ground stock. The white elephants in our country, I should say the cannibals, are the export licence-holders and mill-owners. One of the chief things the Hon. the Premier should undertake is to put an end to these licences and to put an end to the exporting system and to get hold of the spinning and weaving mills. This may no doubt involve great difficulty and risk. The Hon. the Premier, Sir, is the ruler of this Province. God says in Koran—

‘Ya Davooda Innajalnaka Khalifathan fil Arzi Fabakam leannan Nisi bill Kisth.’—

‘Oh, David, we have made you king among nations; do your duty, and safeguard the interests of our people by doing justice.’ That is what God says. The Hon. Premier has shouldered the present grave responsibility. No doubt there will be opposition. There are very big giants as licence-holders who export articles to foreign countries. They happen to be members of the Central Legislative Assembly, they happen to be members of the Council of State, and they happen to be members of this Assembly too. Whatever it may be, what does Lord Sri Krishna say, in the *Bagavad Gita* to Arjuna? ‘Do your duty; your duty is the chief thing.’ *Quoran* advises us in the same way; *Bagavad Gita* also teaches us the same thing. I know that with difference we cannot succeed. In the words of Mustapha Kemal, I should like to say, ‘undertake the greatest risks: there lies the greatest success.’ Thanks to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, he did it and saved millions of people by enacting the Agriculturists’ Relief Act. There was opposition; many money-lenders were up to anything and they

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wanted to see that the Bill was not passed into law; he however took the risk and saved many people. Now, Sir, it is on your shoulders. Without risking, nothing could be done. Irrespective of the position of the man who holds the licence, and irrespective of the position of the man who happens to be the mill-owner, you should take a bold step and create a record in the history of this Province. After all, under normal conditions some men do things normally; and certain people do abnormal things under normal conditions; but doing abnormal things under abnormal conditions is the thing which will go into history and will be read by posterity. Let me not be misunderstood as being selfish in saying these plain facts. I may tell you I have to be selfish also, as at times and under certain circumstances, it would be a sin not to be selfish. What I want to bring to your notice is this: there are piecegoods everywhere; there is yarn everywhere. But the dead body of a Muslim—last month when I was away in Delhi—was lying in Madura for 24 hours for want of shroud cloth. I appeal to you, Sir, should you not make necessary arrangements for this? You say that food and cloth are life and death questions; really, if food is a life question, cloth also is a life question. You require food and cloth, when you are living, but after death also there is this cloth question for the Muslims; at least we should have shroud cloth after we die. When on some justification, Germany and Japan got food and cloth from the Allied nations, can you not have sufficient justification to see that we get shroud cloth freely, that is, without any difficulty. The pity is this: I was absent at Delhi and the corpse was lying there for 20 hours. When I reached Madura—I did not know how they came to know about it—the next moment my son went out and from so many places, the piecegoods dealers were prepared to give the shroud, just because I had come to Madura town. See how they do things and how they circumvent the rules. This is the position.

“The next thing, Sir, you know under the tenets of Islam, poor gosha ladies cannot go out, cannot stand in a queue, and cannot get supply of cloth. We all know it, and it does not require much explanation. In this chain of black-marketing, another black-marketing is taking place against the Muslim gosha ladies. So far as the Muslim gosha ladies are concerned, when there is no male member in the family, what is happening? Small boys go to the bazaar, stand in a queue and purchase piecegoods. They take it to the gosha ladies and the ladies are forced to purchase from those boys, because there is no alternative for them; as they cannot go and get it themselves. Apart from other considerations, these are the two life and death questions from the Muslim point of view. Hon. Members, and I trust the Hon. the Premier also, will agree with me that these things require special attention and that special arrangements should be made, so that we may get shrouds for dead bodies and also our poor gosha ladies without male members in their families can get cloth without much difficulty.

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"Now, Sir, we experience the same difficulty regarding our Ramzan, Bakrid and Muharram festivals. This can also be proved. Please see the Textile Commissioner's report at page 2, paragraph 7 which reads as follows:

"Something like a crisis is reached on the eve of the important festivals like Deepavalli, Sankaranthi and Telugu New Year's day (Onam and Vishu in Malabar) when our people make the bulk of their purchases."

Really, Sir, it seems to be the eighth wonder to me; till now we have been having only seven wonders of the world; this is the eighth wonder. I do not know what the Textile Commissioner thinks. Does he think we should go naked during our festival occasions? What about Ramzan, Bakrid and Muharram festivals? Has he purposely left them out, or has he forgotten them? What is happening outside has actually happened in the records also. I request the Premier that special arrangements should be made—we do not want special arrangements to be made for us, for us alone, Sir. When on account of shortage, cloth is not available, and when others do not get cloth for their festivals, we do not want special arrangements to be made for our festivals; but when there is stock and such arrangements can be made, I want the Premier to see that cloth is supplied to us all on such occasions.

"Sir, it is really fortunate that—I say that without any flattery or exaggeration—our Premier is up to anything (laughter). Though I have not known him before, though I have not come into contact with him in person, now I have seen him; he will be the first gentleman to undertake risks, to achieve his object and to discharge his duties. During the formation of the ministry, he did undertake a very great risk and he has become the Prime Minister. By undertaking such great risk, he has saved the prestige of this Province. (An hon. Member: 'What is that?') Without my saying it, everybody knows it; surely they do not want me to explain it."

MR. SPEAKER:—"There is one more minute before you."

SINNA KAJIYAR HAJI S. A. F. IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR:—

"All right, Sir; you cannot, of course, exempt me from the general rules. Anyhow, if you give 2 minutes more I shall finish."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Like everybody else, you can have 2 minutes more."

SINNA KAJIYAR HAJI S. A. F. IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR:—

"I am sure, Sir, the Premier is going to take the stocks of these people; and he will legislate and take over all the mills into his hands or he will commandeer them. Sir, one other thing is, if you are going to take a bold step to cancel the licences of these big people, you will have to legislate on this matter and you will have either to take the mills in your own hands or commandeer them. Men have commandeered the mills during war in order to clothe the foreigners, but when millions of us are naked now, why not commandeer them. All the mills should be taken as Government property. Or get the mills under your control, give them some percentage of profit, and have direct control

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over them, and over all the things produced and distributed by them. There is no use of high-sounding philosophies being spoken here; unless these philosophies are translated into action, what is the use? It may appear in the press to the effect that so and so was talking here, he was so very fluent and so on and so forth, but these are not going to help anybody. I would, therefore, request the Hon. the Premier to see that these things are translated into action. With these few words, I resume my seat, Sir."

SRI S. SAHAJANANDAM:—"கனம் தலைவரவர்களே, மனிதனுக்கு உணவும் உடையும் முக்கியமானவை. உணவும் உடையும் மக்களுக்கு அவசியமாக வேண்டும், உடை மிகவும் முக்கியமானது. அந்த உடையினால் தான் மக்களுடைய மானத்தைக் காப்பாற்றிக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். உடையில்லாமல் போய்விட்டால் மக்கள் மானத்தோடு வாழமுடியாதவர்களாயிருக்கிறார்கள். கன்ட்ரோல் விலை வருவதற்குமுன் ஒரு புடவை 12 ரூபாய், ரூ. 14, ரூ. 15 விற்குங்கள். ஆனால் கன்ட்ரோல் வைத்த பிறகு ரூ. 4, ரூ. 3. கன்ட்ரோல் வந்தது சிலாக்கியமான விஷயம். ஆனால் நம் பிரதம மந்திரி ஒவ்வொரு மக்களுக்கும் 5 கெஜத்தான் கொடுக்கலாமென்று சொன்னார்கள். அப்படிச் செய்வதாயிருந்தால் இரண்டு வேஷ்டி ஆகிறது. அந்த இரண்டு வேஷ்டியில் ஒரு மனிதன் தோய்த்துக் கட்டாமல் இருக்கவேண்டும். ஆகையால் ஒரு மனிதனுக்கு 8 வேஷ்டி இருக்கவேண்டும். 4 வேஷ்டி வெளுக்கப்போட்டால் 4 வேஷ்டி கையில் இருக்கவேண்டும். இன்றைக்கு இரண்டு வேஷ்டி தோய்த்துப் போட்டால் நான்கு அந்த இரண்டையும் கட்டிக்கொள்ளலாம். ஆகையால் 8 வேஷ்டி இருக்கவேண்டும். ஆகவே இந்த 5 கெஜத்தை 20 கெஜமாகக் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். இப்பொழுது இந்த அளவு வந்திருக்கிறதென்று ஸர்க்கார் சொன்னால் உடனே பிளாக் மார்கெட்டு விலை ஏறிவிடும், இல்லை யென்று சொல்லிவிடுவார்கள். அவசியத்தை முன்னிட்டு அதிகப் பணம் கொடுக்கவேண்டியதாய்வுரும். ஆகையால் ஸர்க்கார் எல்லோருக்கும் கிடைக்கும்படி செய்யவேண்டும். அவனுக்கு இத்தனை வேஷ்டிதான் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று திட்டம் போடுவது அவசியமில்லை. இப்பொழுது திருக்கின்ற உணவுப்பொருள் ஷாப்புகளுக்கெல்லாம் மிராசுதார்கள் தங்களுடைய வேலையாட்களுக்குத்தான் கொடுப்பார்களே தவிர தங்கள் வேலைக்கு வராதவர்களுக்குக் கொடுக்கமாட்டார்கள். அரிசி ரேஷனில் இவ்வாறு கிராமத்தில் புகார்கள் எழுந்தன. ஆகையால் கிராமங்களில் ஐக்கிய சங்கங்களை வைக்கவேண்டும், இல்லையெல் மிராசுதார்கள் கையிலேதான் வந்து சேரும். அப்படியிருக்குமானால் எல்லாச் சங்கத்திலும் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு பாதிப்பிரதிநிதித்துவம் கொடுக்கவேண்டும். கிராமங்களிலே ஐக்கிய நாணய பிரான்சு சொசைட்டிகள் ஏற்படுத்தி அதன் மூலமாக ஸர்க்கார் கொடுத்தால் பிளாக் மார்கெட்டு ஏற்படாமல் ஒழுங்கான முறையிலே எல்லோருக்கும் கிடைக்கும். 8 வேஷ்டிக்கு மேலே அதிகமாகக் கொடுக்கக்கூடாதென்று ரேஷன் கார்ட் மூலமாக விதித்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். ஆகையால் ஐக்கிய சங்கங்கள் வைக்கவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லுகிறேன். இந்த வழியில் ஒவ்வொருவருக்கும் உணவு உடை எல்லாம் தரவேண்டும். அந்த உடை ஒவ்வொருவருக்கும். கிடைக்க சர்க்காரே செய்யவேண்டும். நூல் நூற்க வேண்டுமென்று காந்தி கதருகிறார். ஆகையால் ஒவ்வொரு வீட்டிலும் கைத்தறி வைத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டுமென்று ஸர்க்கார் உத்திரவு போடலாம். அவர்கள் தரிசுகளில் பருத்தி பயிரிட்டு துணி, நூல்செய்யவேண்டியது அவசியமாகிறது. மில் நூலை எதிர்பார்ப்பதைவிட கையால் நூலானது சிலாக்கியமானது. எல்லோருக்கும் தொழில் கிடைக்கும். பள்ளிக்கூடங்களில் இந்த நூல் நூற்றல் தொழிலைக் கற்றுக்கொடுத்து அதன் மூலமாக நூல் நூற்கக் கற்றுக்கொடுப்பது சிலாக்கியமாகும். அதனால் பிழைப்பும் உண்டாகும். சிதம்பரத்தில் தங்கவேலு முதலியார் கன்ட்ரோல் துணி ஷாப்பு வைத்திருக்கிறார். அங்கே ஹரிஜனப்பிள்ளைகள் போனால் அடித்துத் துறத்துகிறார். 5 மணிக்குமேலே வரிசையாக நிற்க வைத்து சில முக்கியமானவர்களுக்கு மாத்திரம் உள்ளே அழைத்துக் கொண்டுபோய் துணி கொடுக்கிறது. இப்படிப் பண்ணுவார்களே தண்டிக்க

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வேண்டியது ஸர்க்காருடைய கடமை. சிதம்பரம் விஷயத்தை விசாரணை பண்ணவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். ஸர்க்கார் உடை விஷயத்திலும் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கும் ஏழை ஜனங்களுக்கும் கிடைக்கிறதா என்ற விஷயத்தை கவனிக்கவேண்டும். சட்டத்தைப் போடுவது போதவில்லை. ஏழை ஜனங்களுக்கு உடை கிடைக்கிறதா என்று பார்க்கவேண்டுமென்று, கேட்டுக்கொண்டு இத்துடன் முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

* N. MUHAMMAD ANWAR SAHIB BAHADUR:—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, amidst the bewildering welter of conflicting crucibles of our geo-politics, one thing at least appears to be of common agreement and that is the standard of public morality in our country has sunk into an abysmal depth of infancy with corruption, corruption, corruption everywhere. Mr. Speaker, the cynic may turn round against us and say with apologies to Lord Tennyson: ‘ More things are wrought by corruption than this world dreams of.’ And that is the reality of the present situation. I believe that of all Departments, it is reserved for the Department of Textiles to be corrupt to the core—almost from top to bottom; and I say this without any mental reservation and that is the bitterest experience that we have in the countryside.

“ Mr. Speaker, you have decreed that we should not discuss the question of distribution. Our grievances are not so much against distribution, but against maldistribution; not so much against adjustment of supply and demand, but against mal-adjustment of supply and demand; not so much against the practices of the administration, but against the malpractices. Indeed, our protest is not against administration, but against maladministration. I say that no department of administration has come in for so much public indictment and so much public indignation as this Department. Now was it given to so few to do so much harm to so many in such few years? There has come about a metamorphosis in the very personnel of this world of trade and he who runs can read how things have altered within this efflux of five years. The dealers who were carrying on this trade—most of them—have yielded place to new men, strange faces, and other minds indeed. I should say such is the discretion that is vested in the Provincial Textile Commissioner that we find ourselves in a rendezvous of undesirables as we get into the world of textiles. Black-marketing about which so much has been said on the floor of this House takes place in every nook and corner of this world of textiles.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“ So many hon. Members have talked about it.”

* N. MUHAMMAD ANWAR SAHIB BAHADUR:—“ But, I wish to speak on one particular novel aspect of it. Sir. It is our tragedy that this black-marketing should appear to have come in with almost encouragement, inspiration and admiration from the powers that be. It is not among the old dealers who are running the stores in recognized channels of trade that we see this black-marketing so much, but among new licensed dealers in black-holes to which people have no easy access. They still thrive by night and by day and they remain *incognito* and they get patronage from the powers that be. I want the Hon. the Premier to

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institute an investigation by appointing a tribunal to go into the scandals of the administration. I wholeheartedly endorse the opinion of my hon. friend, Mr. Gopal Reddi, when he said that even if it means top-heavy administration to root out corruption, let it be started at once. Let him (the Hon. Premier) not go into the past, let the past bury its dead, let him at least deal with what happens at present and see that at any rate in future the menace of corruption is rooted out.

“ Sir, I see in the Treasury Benches new men, strange faces, other minds, all of them evidently actuated by a policy and programme as broad-based as possible, but they should not give any room for any complaint against their administration. In regard to the Hon. the Premier at least I should say this—and I am sure everybody agrees with me—in every wrinkle of his face that I see before me there is evidence of service and sacrifice—hats off to him; but under him while actually confronted with the problem of putting down corruption, he will find the same old officials of the lower rungs of the administration, guilty of their past record. Sir, nowhere have we got an example of ‘ penny-wise and pound foolish administration ’ as we have in the Textile Department. The men who are actually carrying on this department, district authorities, textile control officers and others are drafted from the quill drivers of the Revenue Department, who even to-day continue to earn a pittance on paper. When these are the people who run the department, how can you expect them to live up to the high responsibilities of their duties. It is in their hands to make or mar the career of dealers and they are to-day in the unique position of conferring favours and they are the persons who are expected to maintain integrity. Mr. Speaker, you cannot expect integrity and intelligence from an administration which is based on such niggardly emoluments.

“ If the Hon. the Premier is serious about his drive against 12-45 corruption, let him first cry a halt to this arrangement; let him, p.m. if necessary, destroy this Department root and branch, and start a new Department of officers worthy of their responsibility drafted from gazetted cadres, preferably representative of all communities. I say that they must be representative of all communities because I know that clanish outlook has done so much harm in this trade. It is the irony of our situation that with our attainments and with our achievements, still we are not able to get out the ruts of clanish outlook from which we are born and in which we live. If the Hon. the Premier wants to give a decent burial to this Department in which favouritism and nepotism are so rampant, let him institute an enquiry and associate non-officials and see that the Tribunal is held soon so that at least the future is safe and we may be saved from the horrors of favouritism, nepotism and the spoils of this Department.

“ Mr. Speaker, I believe you agree with me that cloth and culture go together unless it be in nudist cult. So, when cloth is in short supply, culture is at stake. Even the course of love will

[N. Muhammad Anwar Sahib Bahadur] [3rd June 1946]

not run smooth until we have raiment for the body, until we have glamour for the spirit—unless it be *in camera*. Cloth and charity are also bound up together. The saying goes that you must cut your coat according to your cloth but I ask are you going to cut your charity according to the cloth. It is clear that culture is at stake. I speak on behalf of philanthropic men and I am sure that this point will merit the consideration of the House. I speak particularly on behalf of men of philanthropy from my constituency of North Arcot district who are famous all over this Province. We have got and luckily, many men of influence and affluence who have got this age-long tradition during certain seasons of the year or part with cloth to the poor. All religions have ordained it and here let me not be misunderstood if I bring home to the memory of the House that an illustrious predecessor of mine, that prince of philanthropists.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“I advise the member to revert to the topic under discussion and not to meander about philanthropists who have been making gifts.”

* N. MUHAMMAD ANWAR SAHIB BAHADUR:—“Mr. Speaker, cloth and philanthropy go together. I believe, Sir, you agreed when I said that cloth and culture go together.

“That prince of philanthropists and that illustrious predecessor of mine was none other than Nawab C. Abdul Hakeem of blessed memory. May his soul rest in peace. As every religion has ordained, it is easier for the camel to enter through the eye of a needle than for the rich man to enter the Kingdom of God. In the case of rich men, they have to serve two masters; they must give unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's; and so it is among the Muslims, it has been ordained that they must part with *zakkath*, what may be called the ‘poor rate’ or ‘the capital levy.’ Since charity is the solvent of all sins and since this is drained at the very source on account of licences and controls, let the Hon. the Premier share the blessings of charity—charity is really thrice blessed; in this case, it blesseth the Hon. the Premier who orders the issue of licences, it blesseth the philanthropist who gives the cloth and it blesseth the needy who receives the cloth. I wish that there is special reservation made that there shall be no restriction at least in matters of charity.”

AN HON. MEMBER:—“The hon. Member is alluding to culture, charity and such other things that can more properly be discussed somewhere else.”

* N. MUHAMMAD ANWAR SAHIB BAHADUR:—“I appeal to the Hon. the Premier to see that there are no reservations and no interference at least in the matter of distribution of cloth as charity. There cannot be a better award of charity than distribution of cloth to the poor, particularly in these hard days of scarcity. I would very much wish there were a thorough enquiry instituted very soon and if the findings warrant, the personnel of the administration come in for severe censure, so that we shall have a clean administration before we can expect to fight this

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famine of cloth. Cloth has got to be provided for everybody and for that reason, I say that we must at least safeguard ourselves against the scandal of nepotism and favouritism that we see so much in the administration to-day.”

* SRI KALA VENKATA RAO:—“Mr. Speaker, it was on the 28th March 1946 that Mr. Thakersay, the President of the non-official Control Board, spoke as if there can be no famine of cloth in this country. He said that the production in 1945 was much higher than the production for 1944; it was about 3,794 million yards for 1944 and for 1945 the figure was 3,883 million yards and that worked to about 14 yards per capita. He also forecast that there will be a greater availability in 1946. Barely two months have gone by and we find cloth famine rearing up its head; I do not know what the real reason is for this cataclysm. On the 17th May 1946 the Government of India prohibited the manufacture of cloth for export till the end of July. This annual export of cloth was about 600 million yards and this prohibition will have the effect of saving for this country 120 million yards and it will stand us in good stead in the present state of affairs. Mr. Town was not quite willing even for this and expressed much solicitude for the loss of overseas trade. But let me tell him through you, Mr. Speaker, that we are not enamoured of overseas trade especially of manufactured goods. What this means and what free trade means is patent and plain to all of us who have been under the rule of his race. I feel that this is something like letting loose the free jackal in a free hen-roost and you know the result. We do not want to compete with any other country by exporting our manufactured goods at this stage, when we are starved for cloth.

“There are a number of gaps in the matter of yarn control and handloom cloth. According to the note in our hands, we find that the wholesaler gets 4 per cent; the retailer gets 10 per cent and the producer is given 15 per cent. I am not sure if in any other trade so much profit margin is allowed and I think you must find a way to reduce this big profit margin. I have not the figures nor the confidence with which my hon. Friend Mr. Anwar spoke before me in criticising the patronage that is so rampant in the Department; but I have got one thing to add to his list. I reliably learn that in the Madras list of quota-holders, there are some oddities. Book-sellers, musicians, newspaper managers and such like people find a place in the list.”

N. MUHAMMAD ANWAR SAHIB BAHADUR:—“My list contains cartmen also.”

* SRI KALA VENKATA RAO:—“Why should they alone be unfortunate. I wish to ask Sir, whether these people are attracted to the new field on account of huge profits. In connexion with the food debate the Hon. the Premier stated that he would put temple lands and trust lands under the plough under Government agency. I would like to know whether, and I would even submit to him that, he should nationalize the business, into which these

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gentlemen have freshly entered for black-marketing. The number of dealers, sub-dealers and the rest is something like the sub-infeudation in the zamindari areas. I understand that in Bihar and Orissa, in between the zamindar and the actual cultivator, there are as many as seventeen layers. The zamindars are going to be abolished and why should the same thing be allowed to recur here. I plead for the abolition of all these intermediaries between the producer and the actual consumer and I know, Sir, personally, how this system has been working too. During the last days of 1945, the Hon. the Premier as President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee and as the President of the Cyclone Relief Committee took very great care to see that fishermen in the sea coast villages were supplied with yarn, as their nets were lost during the cyclone. For each box of yarn so supplied the dealers paid them to the extent of Rs. 50 and mulcted them. Therefore, I say that we should keep our eyes open and see that each bundle of yarn that is sent to the dealer is properly given to the weaver and he in his turn should weave it and render it back again to some agency nominated by the Government. In this connexion, I have got a word to say about co-operation. You have already a co-operative organization interested in the sale of handloom cloth, I mean the Provincial Handloom Weavers' Co-operative Society. I ask 'Why not make this the wholesaler for the whole of the Province?' Let them take the whole quota of yarn from the mills and get them distributed through the village committees. Along with it, I would like to impress that every weaver who receives his quota must deliver the cloth to some dealer approved by the Government in this behalf or where there is a co-operative society or stores to such an organization. If not this cloth will go elsewhere and we have to prevent it and see that it reaches the man for whom it is intended.

1 p.m. "Then, Sir, our friends, especially Muslim friends, are very critical about the bullock-cart mentality. In spite of the fact that many of our bullocks have been eaten away by the military, still we have the biggest bovine population. India has one-third bovine population of the world. (Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan: 'You see them before us.') Then, you will have to ride them occasionally. We have also one-fifteenth of the world's total human population in this country. Some friends suggested the starting of mechanised industry in this country. Machinery is for such countries which have no big and large populations. Introduction of machinery will displace men from work, and would create unemployment. Therefore if we want to maintain full employment, employment which is not, in the words of Lord Keynes, digging up holes and filling them up, then the only way to do it is to introduce the charka. For, charka is not a fool's invention. It is the intuitive creation of a saint for the economic regeneration of a country, whose population is large and where capital is scarce. An hon. Member said that necessary capital would not be forthcoming. A charka can be made with two hours' effort. It requires only three rupees to be invested. (Mr. H. S. Town: 'Rs. 12.') With reference to my friend's claim

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I should say he is thinking of the Yerrawada charka, which costs Rs. 12. Then, Sir, regarding the lack of capital and the need for employing all people in this country, the only way is one by increasing the number of charkas and the like. Now, Sir, the All-India Spinners' Association is working with a capital of 6 lakhs of rupees."

Mr. SPEAKER:—"That point has been covered by Mr. N. S. Varadachari. The hon. Member need not deal with it."

* SRI KALA VENKATA RAO:—"The present All-India Spinners' Association is working in about 4,200 villages, employs 150,500 people, produces 46½ lakhs of yards of cloth costing about 60 lakhs of rupees. This outturn may be increased, if only Government invest one crore of rupees and thus employ six lakhs of charkas and 20,000 weavers, the outturn will be about three crores yards of cloth. The Hon. Premier, who experimented in the Jogannapalem area, I hope, would bring his experience to bear on the scheme, and change the present mentality, the present mode of administration and the present mode of work, and will produce more cloth. With these words I support the motion."

* MR. W. J. FERNANDEZ:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I had no intention of taking part in this debate as I felt that the subject could best be dealt with by technical experts or men in the line of business to neither of which I lay pretensions. But the remark laid at the door of the Independent Group by my hon. Friend Mr. Salam has compelled me to rise and vindicate our position. I say, Sir, that we here are entitled to hold our own views on all subjects. (Hear, hear.) We are not here to take sides with this or that party, but to freely and candidly express our views on subjects under discussion. If we happen to have identical views with other parties we shall certainly support them wholeheartedly. Otherwise, I am sorry, we cannot support merely for the sake of supporting this or that party. As I am about it, I may place before this House a few ideas that struck me during the course of this debate on the question of rationing of mill cloth. I am afraid, Sir, I cannot see eye to eye with the hon. Members who advocated rationing of mill cloth; for I feel the purpose underlying the idea of rationing of mill-cloth will not be served. The idea behind the proposal put forward by the Premier, is, to ensure the equitable distribution of mill-cloth among all the peoples of this Province, so that mill-cloth may be brought within easy reach of the poor people in villages and taluks. To this end quotas of monthly requirements are to be fixed by the committees proposed to be set up, dealers in and around the villages selected for distribution. A basic scheme of distribution is to be evolved and instructions in writing regarding distribution of consignments received by dealers are to be issued to them. This cumbersome process will I imagine involve much labour, and perhaps, expenditure. All for what? For the purpose of securing the supply, we are told, of one saree for ten families, one dhoti for a family and five yards of mill-cloth per capita per annum! Is it worth while,

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I ask? I think, Sir, the game is not worth the candle! To me, it seems, the real effect of rationing of mill-cloth would be to play into the hands of the black-marketeer by creating fresh avenues of supply for him. He will not be slow to grasp the opportunity of collaring the cloth and garments made available for the village folk through the agency of the villagers themselves in return for a small consideration as an inducement to part with the cloth. Thus the cloth intended for use by the villagers will find its way back to the blackmarkets in cities and towns. We should instead concentrate upon making more handloom cloth and placing it within the reach of the village folk at cheaper and controlled prices. I shall revert to this a little later. Meanwhile, I would plead that the Hon. the Premier abandon the idea, if any, of rationing mill-cloth as it will serve no purpose.

"It is an irony of fate that a Province self-sufficient in cotton yarn should overnight be converted into a deficit one by the findings of a committee. The present position of this Province in cloth clearly exposes the fallacies of the findings of the committee. I think Government should register a strong protest with the Imperial Government against the inequitable distribution of cotton yarn which has resulted in this position and insist that the quotas of mill-cloth short supplied to this Province by the Bombay mills should be made good within a specified period. I would even go further and hold out a threat, that if there is no redress of our grievance, cotton yarn will not be sent out of this Province, even though it may result in certain reprisals.

"Now I come to the proposed committees. I think there are possibilities for considerable good in the various committees proposed. Unfortunately the proposals are viewed with great suspicion and fear. One of my Muslim friends bases his fear on the statement made by the Hon. the Premier that tahsildars had been asked to remember that they are the servants of the Congress Government. The idea which the Premier probably had in view was as follows: 'You, tahsildars and other officers, as servants of the previous Government, you carried on a game to your own liking; remember you are under a new Government and if we get hold of instances of corruption we shall make an example of you, so that it will act as a deterrent to the other officials.' I ask, why not look at it from that generous point of view. I think we should be a little more charitable. Now these committees are proposed with the idea of tackling the cloth problem and I feel that the Premier, who, strikes one as being a man of determination, will see to it that these criticisms are groundless, and will prove in good time that the scheme which is now said to be impracticable and unworkable is practicable, and that all the fears entertained are groundless. I think the better course is to allow him to have his way. I therefore support his scheme."

SRIMATHI V. SEETHALAKSHMI AMMA:—"అధ్యక్షా! ఇప్పుడు మన టేక్స్ టెయిర్ కమీషనరుగారి రిపోర్టులో బట్టల ఉత్పత్తి చూస్తే చాలా ఆశ్చర్యముగాను, విచారముగాను ఉంది. ఏమంటే మన ప్రధానమంత్రిగారు చెప్పినట్లుగా 10 కుటుంబములకు ఒక చీర సప్లయ్ చెయ్యబడును అని అన్నారు. ముఖ్యముగా నేను

[3rd June 1946.] [Srimathi V. Seethalakshmi Amma]

చెప్పేది ఏమిటంటే ఆహారము లేకపోయినప్పటికీ ప్రతి మానవునికీ తన ప్రాణముపోయే వరకు మానము కాపాడుకునేందుకు గుడ్డ ఆత్మవస్త్రము. 10 కుటుంబములకు ఒక చీర అనేది ఎంత ఘోరమో, స్త్రీల మానము ఎలాగ కాపాడగలరో మీరే ఆలోచించవలయును. బట్టలకొరకు ఈ రాష్ట్రములో ఎంత కాటకముగా ఉన్నా కూడా కాంగ్రెసు మంత్రివర్గం అధికారంలో ఉండగా ఎగుమతులు పెంటనే ఆపివేసి తగిన షరతు లీసుకొనవలెను. ప్రస్తుతము మిల్లు బట్టలు దొరకడమేలేదు. నేతబట్టలు సాధారణ కుటుంబములకు అందుచాలులో లేవు. మిల్లుబట్ట ప్రజలకు చాలినంతగా లేదు. గ్రామవాసులలో రూ 50 లు వరకు ఆదాయము వచ్చేవారికి ప్రతి కుటుంబానికీ మిల్లు బట్టలు సప్లయ్ అయ్యేటట్లు చూడాలి. పట్టణాలలో నెలకు రూ 100 లకు తక్కువ ఆదాయము వచ్చేవారికి మిల్లు గుడ్డలు అందేటట్లు చూడాలి. ఆహారవిషయములో వివిధముగా మరల సంచి ముదుగు బియ్యం తీయించుటకు యేర్పాట్లుచేయుచున్నారో ఆదేవిధముగా బట్టలు కూడా మిల్లులనుండి ముదుగులో తయారుచేయించవలెను. నెలకు రూ 50 నుండి 100 లు వరకు ఆదాయముగలవారు ఈ చేనేతగుడ్డలు కొనలేకుండా యున్నారు. సువత్సరానికి సాధారణముగా కనీసం ఒక స్త్రీకి 3 చీరలు కావాలి. చీర రూ 10 ల వొప్పున రూ 30 లు ఇచ్చి చీరలు కొనలేనివారు చాలామంది ఉంటారు కాబట్టి మిల్లు చీరలు వీడవారికి దొరికేటట్లు చూడాలి.

"అంతేకాకుండా (All India) చరఖా సంఘంవారు పనిచేస్తున్నా ఖద్దరు చాలి సంతగా లేదు అని మన టేక్స్ టెయిర్ ఆఫీసరుగారు అన్నారు. చాలినంతగా ఖద్దరు ఉత్పత్తికావలసినట్లే గ్రామాలలో వీడలకు చరఖాలు, ఏకులు వుచితముగా ఇచ్చి రూ 100 లకు రూ 5 లు విలువగల చిలపలు పన్నులహావముగా చెల్లించేటట్లు చెయ్యవలెను. ఇప్పటి నిబంధనల ప్రకారము రూ 5 ల ఖద్దరు కావలసినట్లే ఆర్థిక చరఖా సంఘంలో ఒక చిలపయిస్తు, తమిళనాడు సంఘంలో కూడ రెండు చిలపలు నూలు ఇవ్వాలని ఉంది. అలాగ ఇచ్చి ఖద్దరు కావలసినవారు కొంటున్నారు. నూలు ఉత్పత్తి అధికముగా లేదు కాబట్టి ఈ బట్టలకొరత తీర్చవలసిన భార్యత ప్రభుత్వమువారిమీదను ఉంది. కాబట్టి ముఖ్యముగా రూ 5 ల సిసలుకు ఒక చిలప నూలునైననూ ఖండితముగా వసూలుచెయ్యవలయును.

"మిల్లుబట్టలు ఎక్కువగా సప్లయ్చెయ్యవలయును. హిందూ విఠలతులకు మల్లు దొరకడములేదు అని అంటున్నారు. వారు రంగు చీరలు అంచు బట్టలు కట్టుకోరు. మా సాంప్రదాయముల ప్రకారంగా కట్టడానికి వీలులేదు కాబట్టి మల్లు కావలసిన వారు అంటున్నారు.

చేనేత పాకిస్తానుకులకు సహాయము ఎక్కువగా చెయ్యాలి. ఖద్దరు నేయు మగ్గు మలకు Bonus ఇవ్వాలి. ఈ బట్టలకొరతను మన మద్రాసు ప్రభుత్వం తొలగించాలి. ఆన్న్ వస్త్రములకు లోటులేని ఈ భారతదేశములో 10 కుటుంబములకు ఒక చీరకన్న ఎక్కువ ఇవ్వలేమని చెప్పటం విచారకరముగా ఉంది. రాట్నములు ప్రజలకు విరివిగా సప్లయ్చేస్తే ఈ కొరత తీరుతుందని నేను చెప్పుచున్నాను. ఇది నా విన్నవముగా చెబుతూ నేను శలవుతీసుకుంటున్నాను."

* **SRI N. ANNAMALAI PILLAI:**—"கனம் சபாநாயகரவர்களே, சபையிலுள்ள கனம் அங்கத்தினர்களே, மிகக் கஷ்டமான சமயத்தில் இந்த சபை கூட்டப்பட்டு இருக்கின்றது. சுமார் 10 நாளைக பிரமாதமான விவாதங்களை நாம் நடத்திவந்திருக்கிறோம். எதற்காக விவாதம் நடத்தினோமென்றால் உணவு, துணி அலகியம் வேண்டும் என்பதைப் பற்றியே பேசினோம். பலபேர் பல அபிப்பிராயங்களை வெளியிட்டார்கள். மனிதனுக்கு முக்கியமாக வேண்டியது உணவும் துணியும். இது இரண்டும் மனித சமூகத்திற்கு இருந்து வரவேண்டும். அதில் முக்கியமாக உடையினி

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மனிதன் வெளியே போக முடியாது. வெளியே போய்ச் சுற்றி பல காரியங்களைச் செய்து பொருளைத் திரட்ட அல்லது தானியங்களைப் பூமிமீலிருந்து கறந்துகொண்டு வருவதற்கு முடியாது போய்விடும். இந்த ஜீவாதாரமான உடையானது போருமானவரை இப்பொழுது கொடுக்கமுடியாத நிலைமை ஏற்பட்டிருக்கின்றது. நமது கனம் பிரதம மந்திரி 5 கெஜம் துணியே ஒரு நபருக்கு கொடுக்கமுடியுமென்று சொன்னார். இந்த நிலைமையில் இருந்தால் ஜனங்கள் வெளியே போய் தொழில் செய்யவோ தானியங்களை பூமிமீலிருந்து கறந்துகொண்டுவரவோ, அல்லது வேலை செய்து சம்பாதிக்கவோ தொழில் முறைகளைப் பெறவோ முடியாமல் ஸ்தம்பித்து விடுவார்கள். இந்த நிலைமையை மாற்ற வேண்டுமானால் நம் மாகாணத்தில் உடனடியாகச் செய்யவேண்டியது மில்களை யெல்லாம் ஸர்க்கார் எடுத்துக் கொள்ளுவதுதான். ஸர்க்கார் மில்களையெல்லாம் எடுத்துக் கொண்டால் கள்ள மார்க்கெட்டு அடியோடு அழிந்துபோகும். மில்காரர்களிடமிருந்து இதை எடுப்பதற்கு நேரமாகும், காலமாகுமென்றால் உடனடியாக நெருப்பு பெட்டி தொழில்சாலைகளுக்கு எப்படி போலீஸ் பந்தோபஸ்து போட்டு அதற்கு வரிவசூல் பண்ணுகிறதற்கு ஸர்க்கார் வேலைசெய்கிறார்களோ அதே மாதிரி இந்த மில்களையெல்லாம் சுற்றி பந்தோபஸ்துபோட்டு கள்ள மார்க்கெட்டு நடக்கவொட்டாமல் தடுத்துவிட வேண்டும். கோயமுத்தூரிலே சுமார் 32 மில்களிருக்கின்றன. மதுரை, அம்பாசமுத்திரம், மேட்டூர், இந்த இடங்களிலெல்லாம் மில்கள் இருக்கின்றன. சென்னையில் மில்கள் இருக்கின்றன. சென்னையில் சூளைமில் என்ற ஒரு மில்லை மூடிவைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஸர்க்கார் இதைப் பார்த்துக்கொண்டுதான் இருந்தார்கள். இதுவரையிலிருந்து அட்வைசர் ஸர்க்கார், இந்த நெருக்கடியான நேரத்திலே ஒரு பெரிய முதலைப்போட்டு லெக்ஷாதி லெக்ஷம் தொகையைப் போட்டு முதல்வைத்து அதற்கு இடத்தையும் கொடுத்து வேலை செய்து வந்த மில் மூடப்பட்டு சிட்கிறதென்றால் அம்முறை மிக பரிதாபகமானதாகும். ஜனங்கள் துணியில்லாமல் நிர்வாணமாக இருக்கின்ற காகி நாட்டில் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிற காலத்தில் ஸர்க்கார் அதை எடுத்துக்கொண்டு என் நடத்தக்கூடாது. அப்படி நடத்தியிருந்தால் அந்த மில்லிலிருந்து எவ்வளவு துணிகளையும் நூல்களையும் உற்பத்தி செய்திருக்கமுடியும். அது ஒருபுறமிருக்க மில் முதலாளிகள் மில்லில் உற்பத்தியாகும் நூல்களைச் சரியானபடி கொடுக்காமல் கள்ள மார்க்கெட்டில் விற்கிறார்களென்று பல பேர்கள் சொல்லுகிறார்கள். அது உண்மையாயிருக்குமானால் அதற்கு ஸர்க்கார் எதேனும் வழி கண்டுபிடிக்கவேண்டியதுதானே! அதைச் செய்யாமல் விட்டுவிட்டு தாக்கூசையத்திற்கும் பணக்காரர்கள் கவுரவம் வாய்ந்தவர்கள், செல்வவந்தர்கள், சிறந்தவர்கள் என்றதற்காகவும் அவர்களுக்கு தாக்கூசையத்தைக் காட்டுவார்களானால் ஜனங்களுக்கு பெரும் கஷ்டம் வந்துவிடும். மக்கள் இப்பொழுது மாண்டு மடிந்துபோகிற நேரம், இது அவசரமான நேரம், உயிரைக் காப்பாற்றும் நேரம், மானத்தைக் காப்பாற்றும் நேரம். இந்த நேரத்தில் இந்த வேலையைச் செய்யாமல் போனால் இந்த சபையானது தன்னுடைய கடைமையைச் சரியாகச் செய்யாமல் தவறி விட்டதென்று உலகம் பூராவும் நம்மை பார்த்து என்னி நகையாடும் இரண்டு வருஷங்களுக்கு முன்னே வங்காளத்திலே ஏற்பட்ட பஞ்சத்தினால் மக்கள் பட்டினியால் மாண்டதைப் பார்த்து உலகம் சிரித்தது. இந்தியாவில் இந்த அவக்கேடு ஏற்பட்டதைக்கண்டு ஒவ்வொரு ஆண்டும் தலை குனிந்தான். இந்த நாட்டில் அதிகாரத்தைச் செலுத்திவந்தவர்கள் வெட்கினார்கள். தற்போது நமது மாகாணத்தில் ஏற்பட்டுள்ள நிலைமையை கண்டு அரசாங்கத்தை நடத்திவந்த அட்வைசர் ஸர்க்காரும் வெட்கித்தான் இருக்கவேண்டும். வெட்காமலிருப்பார்களானால் அவர்களுக்கு உணர்வு இருக்கவில்லை யென்றுதான் நினைக்கவேண்டும். இப்பொழுது ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிற காங்கிரஸ் ஸர்க்கார் அதற்கு இடம் கொடுக்காமல் தக்க நடவடிக்கை துரிதமாக எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டுமென்று கனம் பிரதம மந்திரியை நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன். தவிர மில்லில் உண்டாகும் நூல்களையும் துணிகளையும் ஸர்க்காரே எடுத்துக்கொண்டு கூப்பன் லிஸ்டம் வைத்துப் பகிர்ந்துகொடுக்கவேண்டும். இப்பொழுது மில் துணி 9½ அணுவுக்குக் கிடைக்கிறது. ஏதோ 82-ம் நம்பர் என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். 1½ கெஜம் அகலம், இரண்டு கெஜம் ஒரு மனிதனுக்குப் போது

rd June 1946] [Sri N. Annamalai Pillai]

வானது. இரண்டு கெஜத்தின் விலை ரூ. 1-3-0 ஆகிறது. நானெல்லாம் : முழும்தான் கட்டுகிறேன். மில் துணி இவ்வளவு ஸரஸ்மாகக் கிடைக்கிறது. இந்த மில்லில் உற்பத்தியாகும் நூலைச் சரியானபடி பகிர்ந்து கொடுக்க முயற்சித்தால் எப்படி குறைந்த விலைக்குக் கிடைக்காமல்போகுமென்று கேட்கின்றேன். கள்ள மார்க்கெட்டுக்காரர்கள் நூலை பேல் பேலாக வாங்குகிறார்கள். மறுபடியும் மாஸ்டர் வீவரென்று அதற்குச் சிலபேர் னை ஏற்படுத்தியிருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் அந்த நூலைக்கொண்டுபோய் வீவர்களுக்கும் கைத்தரிக்காரர்களுக்கும் அதைப் பிரித்துக் கொடுக்கிறார்கள். ஒரு மாதத்துக்கு மூன்று பொந்து கொடுக்கிறார்கள். மூன்று பொந்து என்றால் ஒரு பார்வு, ஒரு பாவு என்றால் ஒரு தான் என்று சொல்லுவார்கள். ஒரு தான் எடுப்பதனால் மூன்று பொந்து வேண்டும். இந்தமூன்றுபொந்து பாட்டு வேலைசெய்தால் ஒரு கைத்தரியாளனுக்கு நான்கு நான் வேலைதான் டுக்கும். நான்கு நாளைக்குள் அல்லது ஐந்து நாளைக்குள் இந்த வேலை மடிந்து போய்விடுகிறது. மறுபடியும் ஒரு மாதம் வரையில் வேலையில்லாமல் இருக்கிறார்கள். இப்பொழுது நாட்டிலிருக்கின்ற கஷ்டம் எங்களைப் பாலுள்ளவர்களுக்குத்தான் தெரியுமென்பதாக நான் பிரதம மந்திரிக்கு எடுத்துச் சொல்லிக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன். நம்முடைய ஜனங்கள் இம்மாதிரி பட்டினியால் மாண்டு மடிந்துபோகிறார்கள். வாழமுடியாமல் அலங்கோலமாக இருக்கிறார்கள். நிர்வாணமாய் இருக்கிறார்கள். இங்கு பேசுவதற்கு நுந்து நிமிஷம் அதற்குமேல் மணியடித்துவிடுகிறார்கள்; எனக்கு ஒன்றும் ரியவில்லை. குருதியநேரத்தில் என் மனதிலுள்ளவைகளை எப்படி சொல்ல மட்டும். சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, இன்னும் இரண்டு நிமிஷம் கொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“நூல்களையெல்லாம் ஸர்க்கார் சரியானமுறையில் பகிர்ந்து கொடுக்க வேண்டும். மற்றும் கைத்தரிக்காரர்களுக்கு மாஸ்டர் வீவர்கள் ஒரு பொந்து, இரண்டு பொந்து ஒவ்வொரு வீவர்களுக்கும் நூலை கொடுத்துவிட்டு டுத்த மாதத்துக்குக் கொடுக்கிறேனென்று சொல்லிவிடுகிறார்கள். அப்படி நிறுத்திவிட்டால் அவனுக்கு வேலைசெய்ய முடியாமல் அந்த நூலை ற்றெருவனுக்கு விற்ப்புண்டுள்ளது. இப்படி இந்த மாஸ்டர் வீவர்கள் கொடுத்த நூலையெல்லாம் அதிக லாபம்கொடுத்து திரும்பவும் வாங்கிக் கொள்ளுகிறார்கள். அவர்கள் சொந்தத்தில் தங்கள் போட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இதிலே நெய்து ஒரே கொள்ளை லாபம் அடிக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு ஸர்க்கார் பல சிஷ்களையும் விதித்து பெறுத்த அபராதத்தையும் போட்டுக்கிறார்கள். ஆயினும் கள்ள மார்க்கெட்டு நின்றுபாடிவிடும். கள்ள மார்க்கெட்டு செய்பவர்களுக்கு இன்னும் கடுமையான தண்டனை கொடுத்தாலாபிய இது நிற்காது. நமது தலைவர் ஜவஹர்லால் நேரு அவர்கள் இந்தக் கள்ள மார்க்கெட்டுக்குக் காரர்களைப்பெல்லாம் தூக்கில்போட்டுவிடவேண்டுமென்று சொன்னார். இந்த Balck market காரர்கள் என்ன நினைத்தார்கள் ஏதோ ஜவஹர்லால் நேரு சொன்னால் அது முடியாத காரியமென்று இருக்கிறார்கள். ஸர்க்கார் குறைந்தபட்சம் 10 வருஷம் அவர்களுக்கு தண்டனை கொடுக்கவேண்டும், அப்படிக் கொடுத்தால்தான் இந்த கள்ள மார்க்கெட்டு வியாபாரம் நின்று போகும். இப்படி தண்டனை அதிகமாகக் கொடுக்கிறதற்கு சட்டத்தை ஏற்படுத்துவதற்கு வேண்டிய டவடிக்கை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டுமென்று நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன். இன்னொரு விஷயம் நடக்கவேண்டும். சண்டை சமயத்தில் றணுவத்திற்காக ரயில்வேக்களையெல்லாம் சர்க்கார் எடுத்துக்கொண்டு, ரயில்வேயிலிருந்து அதிகாரிகளையெல்லாம் சிப்பாய்களாகச் செய்தார்கள். இந்தியாவில் இப்பொழுதும் சிப்பாய்களாகவே இருக்கின்றார்கள்; பஞ்சம் ந்திருக்கும் நேரத்தில் அதைத் தவிரக் ஜனங்களுடைய உயிரைக் காப்பாற்றவேண்டிய அவசியமாய் நெசவு சிப்பாய்களென்றும், விவசாய சிப்பாய்களென்றும் ஏற்படுத்தவேண்டும். எல்லா மில்களையும் கைத்தரிக்காமல் ஸர்க்காரே எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். விவசாயிகளுக்கு விவசாயத்தை அபிவிருத்திசெய்ய உதவி தரவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொண்டு மடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

The House then rose for lunch.

[3rd June 1946]

(After lunch—2-30 p.m.)

MR. SPEAKER:—"Still 18 members want to take part in this debate. I have fixed 5 minutes for each speaker."

* SRI A. KALESWARA RAO:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, sufficient is the condemnation made on the floor of this House by various hon. Members of corruption and blackmarketing. I wish only to say two things in this connexion. The root of the blackmarket is the corruption of the officials. The wholesale merchants got licences from the officials either because they paid heavily for the War Fund or because they bribed the officials. When such an atmosphere was prevailing, the officials were corrupt from top to bottom with a few exceptions, the merchants tempted the officials and there was notorious blackmarket without check or hindrance. I heard from very many Deputy Registrars of Co-operative Societies that the co-operative stores were not encouraged by the Government. On the other hand, circulars were coming from the highest officials that private merchants should be encouraged as much as possible in obtaining licences. That was the state of affairs, and two departments—Police and Ration—have become too notorious for their malpractices and corruption. The Hon. the Premier knows the state of affairs and I am sure he will take rigorous steps. He has already given them sufficient notice. We hope that the curtain against the old regime of corruption will fall down, and that a new era begins under this new Government."

"In this connexion, I wish to say also another thing. I remember there was a Government Order passed by the previous Congress Government that if there are persistent rumours about the conduct of an official, wherever he goes, that he is a dishonest man, the Government will take action against him. I think that that would be a wholesome Government Order. I hope that the Government will consider that also. I agree with my hon. Friend Mr. Gopala Reddi, that there should be a special department for putting down corruption and request the Government to depute immediately a specially selected Deputy Inspector-General for this purpose. I wish a Minister or the Chief Parliamentary Secretary should be in charge of it."

"My friend, Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan, the Muslim Leaguer from the Kurnool and an erstwhile Congressman, has said that they would non-co-operate unless their demand is conceded by the Government. I do not understand how they will non-co-operate. The village committees will consist of persons from all communities. The Muslims will be there. Persons from no community will non-co-operate unless the Leaguers go and do mischief purposely." (Hear, hear, and question.)

SRI A. RAYAPPA:—"అధ్యక్షా! మా రాష్ట్రంలోని వస్త్రములకు చాలా ప్రసిద్ధి అయిన దేశము. వజ్రములకు కూడా పేరుగాంచిన దేశముగా అన్ని ఉండే కూడా మా జిల్లా ఎల్లప్పుడు ఖామదేశ గుప్పిటిలో ఉంటుంది. అందువల్ల మంగళద్రా

[3rd June 1946]

[Sri A. Rayappa]

వంటనే తయారుచేయించవలయునని కోరుచున్నాను. High level scheme, Low level scheme అని రెండు విధముల వర్షాధారిత High level channel scheme తయారు అయితే మా జిల్లాలో ఖామదేశమునకు వస్త్రముల నూలు నేసేవారు మా ఉర్రూతలూడి, క్రీష్ణానదిలో చాలామంది ఉన్నారని వారికి ప్రశంసం నూలు తయారు చేసేటట్లు సౌకర్యము సమగ్రముగా అనుమతించి, గాంధీజీ జయంతి సందర్భంగా వస్త్రములను సరిపాటుంది, తక్కిన రోజులు వారు వృథాగా గడుపుతుంటే వారికి సహజముగా మౌనంగానే నేను కోరేది విమలంబే నూలు వారికి ఇంకా ఉన్నాయని చెప్పాలి.

"మా జిల్లాలో ఖామదేశమునకు చెయ్యడానికి బొంబాయి వర్తకులు ఒక లక్ష రూపాయలు ఇచ్చి Bombay Famine Relief Committee ఒకటి ఏర్పాటుచేసింది. మా జిల్లాలో రెండింటిలోనూ ఖర్చు పెట్టే సౌకర్యమును, బహుళం ఒకటి, కర్నూలులో ఒకటి ఏర్పాటుచేసినారు. వారు ఇచ్చే లక్ష రూపాయలవల్ల ఏ మంతనంకాదు. ఇప్పుడే 40 ప్రాంతం అయింది, అందువల్ల నేను ప్రధాన మంత్రిగారి Decent subsidy ఇచ్చి ప్రోత్సహించాలని కోరుతూ నేను విరమించుచున్నాను."

SRI A. SUBRAMANIAM:—కనాం తలైవరవరంగణే! తற்பోతు తుణి పஞ్శం எங்கும் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறதెன்பது அனைவரும் அறிந்த விஷயம். ஆனாலும்கூட எல்லோருக்கும் அந்தத் துணி சரிவரக் கிடைக்கவில்லை. யென்பதை யாவரும் ஒப்புக்கொள்ளுவார்கள். ஆனால், அதற்குத் தகுந்த பிரகாரம் நடந்ததை அறிந்து பல சட்டதிட்டங்களைச் செய்யாததைப் பற்றி வருத்தப்படவேண்டியதாயிருக்கிறது. நம்முடைய பிரதம மந்திரி அவர்கள் ஒரு அறிக்கையை சமர்ப்பித்திருக்கிறார், அது மிகவும் நல்ல அறிக்கையாக இருந்தாலும்கூட அதில் உடனடியாகச் செய்யவேண்டிய வேலை திட்டங்கள் இல்லாதிருப்பதைப்பற்றி நாம் கொஞ்சம் வருத்தமடைய வேண்டிய நிலைமை ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. பொதுவாக ஒரு மனதன் உணர்வில்லாமல் சில தினங்கள்வரையில் இருக்கலாம், ஆனால், உடை இல்லாமற் படிக்கு ஒரு அரை வினாடியும் இருக்க முடியாதென்பது எல்லோருக்கும் தெரிந்த விஷயம். ஒருவன் அப்படி உடையில்லாமல் இருப்பானானால் அவன் பைத்தியக்காரனாகத்தான் இருக்கமுடியும் என்பதை நாம் மறந்து விட முடியாது. ஆகையால் முதலிலேயே நாம் செய்யவேண்டியது ஒன்று இருக்கின்றது. தற்போது என்னுடைய சேலம் ஜில்லாவில் குறிப்பாக கைத்தறிக்காரர்கள் 75,000 பேர்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களில் 53,000 கைத்தறிக்காரர்களுக்குத்தான் தற்போது நூல் கிடைக்கிறது. அதாவது, நூல் விநியோகிக்கும்படியான கார்டுகள் வழங்கப்பட்டு நூல் கொடுக்கப் பட்டு வருகின்றது. அவர்களுக்குக்கூட மாதத்தில் 7 நாள் அல்லது, 9 நாளைக்கு நெய்யக்கூடிய நூல்தான் கொடுக்கப்பட்டுவருகிறது. மீதமுள்ள 22,000 தறிக்காரர்கள் நெய்வதற்கு நூல் கிடைக்காமற்படிக்கும் ரேஷன் கார்டும் இல்லாமல்படிக்கும் அவர்களெல்லோரும் மிகவும் கஷ்டப் பட்டுக்கொண்டு பட்டினியால் வாடி வதங்கிக் கிடக்கின்றார்களென்பதை இந்த சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் நான் எடுத்துக்காட்ட விரும்புகிறேன். மேலும், கைத்தறிக்காரர்கள் கையால் நூற்ற நூலை நெய்வதற்கு பிரியப்படுவ நிலை, அதற்குக் காரணமென்னவெனில் கையால் நூற்ற நூலை அவர்கள் நெய்தால் கூலி அதிகம் கிடைப்பதில்லை, ஆகவே அதிகமான கூலியை அவர்களுக்குக் கொடுத்து கைத்தறி தொழிலாளர்களை ஆதரிப்பதுத் தவிர நூல் இல்லாத பஞ்சத்தையும் போக்கலாம். இப்பொழுது பிரதம மந்திரியவர்கள் ஏராளமாகக் கதருக்கு ஆதரவு கொடுக்கப் போகிறேனென்று சொல்லுகிறார்களே அதைப்பற்றி நாம் சந்தோஷப்பட வேண்டியதுதான். கைத்தறிக்காரர்களுக்கு ஏராளமாக கையால் நூற்ற நூலைக்கொண்டு நெய்வதற்குச் சாதகமான வழியில் உடனடியாக அதிகக் கூலியை அவர்களுக்குக் கொடுத்தால் அதிகமாக துணி உற்பத்தியாகும். இப்படிச் செய்வோமானால் இந்த நாட்டில் துணிபஞ்சம் ஒருவாறு கண்டிப் நாக ஒழியுமென்பதைத் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். அடுத்தபடியாக பமது மந்திரி சபை திட்டத்தை நான் ஆதரிப்பதோடு கதர் துணி அதிக

[Sri A. Subramaniam]

[3rd June 1946]

விஷைக்கு விறகிறதென்று பொது ஜனங்கள் கருதுவார்களானால், உடனே அரசாங்கத்தார்கள் கைத்தறிச்சாரர்களைக் கட்டுப்படுத்தி அதை அப்படியே கவர்ன்மெண்டார் வாங்கிக்கொண்டு போலீஸ்காரர்களுக்கும் இதர கவர்ன்மென்ட் சிப்பந்திகளுக்கும் வழங்கவேண்டும். இப்படிச் செய்யவாமானால் துணிப்பஞ்சம் தீர்ந்துவிடுமென்பதை மறுக்கமுடியாது, மிஞ்சின துணியை மற்ற மாகாணங்களுக்கும் கொடுக்க இருக்குமென்பதையும் இந்த சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் தெரிவித்துக்கொண்டு இதை உடனடியாகச் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

* SRI R. SUBBAYYA:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, within the 5 minutes allotted to me, I only rise to represent some of the grievances of my district and place before the Hon. the Premier some of my suggestions.

“In the matter of the distribution of yarn to various districts, I have got some interesting statistics regarding the number of handlooms in the following districts, as also the quantity of yarn supplied to each from June 1945 to December 1945:—

Name of district.	Number of hand looms.	Quantity of yarn supplied. BALES.
Madura	23,896	16,685
Tinnevely	50,300	11,425
Chingleput	30,865	3,505

From the above figures, it will be seen that a great disparity exists in the supply of yarn. Therefore, I request the Hon. the Premier to look into this matter, and to order the distribution of an equitable quota of yarn to the Chingleput district.

2-45 p.m. “Secondly, a good deal has been said about the master-weaver and the need to eliminate him from this market. I would submit only one or two reasons why he has got to be eliminated. Sir, he is like the wholesale dealer in the business of procurement and distribution of foodgrains, having a key position in the scheme of things in regard to the distribution of yarn. The other day as I was coming to this House, a copy of a petition sent to the Textile Control Officer at Conjeevaram was handed over to me by some weavers of Karanaiputhucheri near Guduvancheri in my district. There is a master-weaver employing more than 100 weavers. When the weavers asked for fair wages, he turned them out. In such cases what happens is that the yarn finds its way into the blackmarket. I am reliably informed that a bundle of yarn costing Rs. 17-8-0 is sold at Rs. 60 in the blackmarket and the finished product is sold at Rs. 85. This is how the black-market flourishes. Therefore, just as we are arranging to eliminate the wholesaler in the matter of the procurement of foodgrains here also we must eliminate the master-weaver who sucks the blood of the weavers. These master-weavers draw the yarn due on the ration cards and send it to the blackmarket distributing precious little to the weavers and at the same time paying them poor wages. Seeing the possibility of getting yarn in the black-market, many new looms have been started in my own district. Even according to the figures furnished by the Textile Commissioner, there are now 75,000 new looms erected. In my district

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a number of agriculturists have given up their profession and taken to weaving. I submit, therefore, that the weavers who have been in this profession traditionally must alone be given ration cards and steps should be taken to see that the agriculturists do not leave their jobs and take to weaving.

“Sir, we have heard a good deal here about corruption. I would suggest in this connexion that the practice of appointing officers of the Revenue Department to the Textile and Supply Departments should be deprecated. These officers are steeped in corruption, they are bred in corruption and nothing better can be expected from them. The Supply and Textile Departments should be manned by educated young men available in plenty. They must be directly appointed to these departments.

“Another suggestion I wish to make relates to the creation of a Khadi ministry. If this is done, the improvements which my hon. Friend Mr. Varadachari desired to introduce, could also be carried out.

“Sir, controls without commandeering have been responsible for three things: (1) the blackmarket, (2) corrupt officers and (3) a set of war-made rich people, the wholesale licensees and master-weavers. These are becoming a social nuisance and a menace to society. There are also many weavers who are weaving cloth for extra local consumption. Steps may be taken to see that cloth for local consumption is made in the looms of the locality concerned. The demand for cloth cannot otherwise be satisfied.

“The hon. Member from Nellore said that the stringent provision for sanction in the Defence of India Rules should be removed. I am against that removal. The Defence of India Rules are a formidable weapon in the hands of the executive. Sanction before prosecution is perhaps the only safeguard for the citizen. If even that is removed he will be at the mercy of petty officers.”

* SRI M. KANNIAPPAN:—“கனம் பொருந்திய தலைவரவர்களே, இன்று துணி விஷயமாகவும் நூல் விஷயமாகவும் பலர் பேசி விட்டார்கள். நான் ஒரு தொழிலாளி யென்பதை உங்கள் முன்னிலையில் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். இன்று இருக்கும் நிலைமையில் நூல் பஞ்சத்தை ஒழிக்கவேண்டுமென்று பேசுகிறோம். இன்று நூல் கண்ட்ரோலர் இங்கிருக்கிறார்கள். இங்கு நூல் கொடுப்பதை நாம் பார்க்கின்ற காலத்தில் அவர்கள் கொடுக்கக்கூடிய கோட்டா வீதம் 10 தினங்கள் தான் தொழிலாளிகள் வேலை செய்ய முடியும். இன்னும் 20 தினங்கள் அவர்கள் பட்டினியால் வாடி கஷ்டப்படுகிற நிலைமையில் தான் இருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த நிலைமையை முதலில் போக்க வேண்டும். மாஸ்டர் வீவர் என்று சொல்லுகிறவர்கள் செய்யக்கூடிய அக்கிரமம் கொஞ்ச நஞ்சமல்ல. பல கிராமங்களுக்கு நான் சென்றிருக்கிறேன். நேற்றையதினம் காஞ்சிவரத்துக்குச் சென்றிருந்தேன். இன்றைய தினம் 100 பேர்களுக்கு மேலாக வேலையை விட்டுத் தள்ளி இன்று அத்தனை பேர்களும் சென்னைக்குக் கால் நடையாக வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த அக்கிரமத்தைப் பார்க்கும் பொது மாஸ்டர் வீவர்கள் பேரில் இருக்கக்கூடிய கார்டுகள் அவர்கள் தொழிலாளிகளை விரட்டி விட்டு அந்தக் கார்டில் வரக்கூடிய

[Sri M. Kanniappan]

[3rd June 1946]

நூலைக்கொண்டு பிளாக் மார்க்கெட் செய்கிறார்கள். இதை கண்ட்ரோலருக்கும் கமிஷனருக்கும் பல தடவை ரிப்போர்ட்டு செய்தும் அவர்கள் அதைச் சென்று பார்த்து நடவடிக்கை எடுத்ததாகத் தெரியவில்லை. போன வாரம் தான் சென்னைக்கு அடுத்த புதுச்சேரி என்று சொல்லக்கூடிய கிராமத்தில் 70 பேர்களுக்கு மேல் தொழிலாளிகள் வேலை யைவிட்டு நீக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த 70 பேர்களுடைய நூல் அவர்களுக்குக் கொடுக்கப்படவில்லை. இவர்களைப்பற்றி கண்ட்ரோலருக்கு எழுதியிருக்கிறார்கள். இங்கும் ரிப்போர்ட்டு செய்திருக்கிறேன். இந்த நிலைமையில் இருக்கின்ற காலத்தில் தொழிலாளிகள் ஏதாவது கேட்டால் பூந்தமல்லிக்கடுத்த திருமழிசை கிராமத்தில் வேலை கொடுக்காமல் நீக்கப் பட்டதைத் தெரிவிக்கப் பிரியப்படுகிறேன். தொழிலாளிகள் “நீங்கள் செய்வது அக்கிரமம் எங்களுக்குப் பல இடங்களிலே கூலி சரியாகக் கொடுக்கவில்லை இங்கு 9 ரூபாய் கொடுப்பது தப்பு” என்று கேட்ட மாதிரத்தில் விட்டைப் பூட்டிவிட்டு வெளியே போ என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள், அது மாதிரமல்ல; மரத்திலே கட்டிவைத்து அடித்துமிருக்கிறார்கள், இதையும் ரிப்போர்ட்டு செய்திருக்கிறது. நேற்றுப்போய் 100 பேர்களையும் வேலைக்கு வேண்டாம் வெளியே போ என்று சொல்ல, சென்னைக்கு வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். இந்தக் கொடுமையைப் போக்குவதற்கு நியாயம் எந்தப் பக்கத்தில் இருக்கிற தென்பதைப்பார்த்து அதை எடுத்துக் கொண்டு சத்தியத்தின் பேரால் கமிஷனரைக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன் நியாயம் வழங்கவேண்டும். உடனடியாக தொழிலாளிப் பிரச்சினையைத் தீர்த்து வைக்கவேண்டும். அது தான் தர்மம். இம்மாதிரியாக விரோதமாக, முதலாளிகளோடு சேர்ந்தவர்கள் அவர்கள் சொல்லுவதை மாதிரம் கேட்பது நியாயமில்லை. நியாயமான முறையில் நடக்கவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்கிறேன். அப்படி இருந்தால் தான் சரியான முறையில் நம் நாட்டில் வந்திருக்கும் துணி பஞ்சத்தை போக்க முடியுமென்று சொல்லுகிறோம். அந்த நிலைமை உடனடியாகத் தீர்ப்பது தொழிலாளிகளைப் பொறுத்தது. அந்த தொழிலாளிகளுக்கு நன்மை செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொண்டு அப்படிச் செய்தால் தான் நாம் உண்மையில் நல்லது செய்தவர்களாவோமென்று தெரிவித்துக்கொள்கிறேன்.”

SRI R. RAGHAVA MENON:—“Sir, at the end of a lengthy debate there is very little left for anyone to make any constructive suggestion. It seems to me that this cloth shortage is the just punishment to us for our indifference to hand-weaving and hand-spinning. There is no use of repenting now. We have been for a long time threatened with the Defence of India Rules for doing this and that by officers drawing fat salaries. If these officers had controlled the departments entrusted to their care and did nothing else, they would not be cutting a sorry figure now. Speaking subject to correction, I understand that a lot of yarn was given to special licensees. What was the need for it, we cannot understand. A lot of complaint is also heard about the quota for wholesalers, sub-wholesalers and dealers. When 5 per cent profit was enough for them they were allowed 20 per cent. Is it for this purpose that control is exercised? I am not here to find fault with all the activities of the department. It has miserably failed. I know that one gentleman is exporting all the mill cloth to Bombay. Why has not his licence been cancelled? Is it not the duty of the Government, in these abnormal times, to stop such sales? Sir, the callousness and the irresponsibility of the British Government under the I.C.S. officers are responsible for these evils. If they had done their duty properly, this famine in food and cloth could have easily been got over.”

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[Sri R. Raghava Menon]

“To meet the present emergency, the Government must subsidize the weavers and also train some of them in weaving. I request the Government to exercise a fuller control over mills. They should put a stop to handloom weavers producing table cloths, window curtains and other things.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“The hon. Member's time is up.”

MR. J. M. WILSON:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, the problem that confronts us to-day is firstly the limited supply of cloth that is available, secondly, the sky-high rises in the price of cloth and thirdly the difficulty of the cloth reaching the common people. The reasons for these three are not far to seek. In the floor of this House several Members have spoken and several instances have been given. The first thing is the scarcity of cloth or limited supply of cloth referred to in the statement of the Textile Commissioner. He told us that more cloth cannot be produced in the mills in this Presidency and that it is absolutely impossible to think of producing more yarn. He wants us to believe that this is a fact and asks us to find a solution for the problem. Secondly, there are exports from this country to outside. These exports are there. These two things are responsible for the limited supply of cloth that is available to the people of this Province. The second aspect is the abnormal rise in prices. Of course instances have been given here. I congratulate the Textile Commissioner on his using the words ‘the chain of dealers’ in his statement. He has used the appropriate words. The chain begins with the mill-owner. He is the first link in the chain. Then comes the wholesaler, thereafter the stockholder, sub-wholesaler and so on. This chain of dealers is the one thing that is responsible for the rise in prices. It is a chain which has been created and reared and fed by the Textile department and by the late Government. To this chain is added the blackmarket, the blackmarket in yarn, the blackmarket in mill cloth and also in the handloom cloth. Blackmarket has been rampant but somehow it has escaped the notice or observations by the Hon. the Premier. I will tell you how he is responsible for the rise in prices. Before the cloth reaches the people, it has to pass through a chain of dealers. When the margin of profit allowed to the dealers is added to the cost price, it goes up to 25 per cent. To this added the blackmarket price. Not content with the profit margin allowed to them, these dealers send some of the cloth to the blackmarket and only the balance reaches the general public.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“The hon. Member's time is up.”

MR. J. M. WILSON:—“I request you, Mr. Speaker, to give me more time.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“I have allowed other Members only 5 minutes each. If he had been present day before yesterday, when I called upon him to move his amendment, he could have taken more time. He cannot take advantage of that now and claim more time.”

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Mr. J. M. WILSON:—"Then I am sorry."

*SRI K. SUBBA RAO:—"అధ్యక్షా! ఈ పదిరోజులలో ఆహార సమస్య, వస్త్ర సమస్యమీద చాలా చర్చ జరిగింది. ఆహార సమస్యకంటే వస్త్ర సమస్య ప్రాధాన్యమైనది కట్టడానికి గుడ్డదొరకడములేదు కాబట్టి ఇంతవరకు అవసరము అయింది. ఈ చర్చ సందర్భములో అనేక విషయములు తెలుపబడినవి. ముట్టమొదటిది అధికారుల మీద దండయాత్ర దీనిగురించి అంతగా చెప్ప అవసరంలేదు. ఎందుకంటే ఈ అధికారులను అదుపాజ్ఞలతో ఉంచే అధికారము ఇప్పుడు మనకు ఉంది. ఇప్పుడు ఈ అధికారవర్గమునకు వచ్చిన వారు అధికారుల చర్యలను తగినట్లుగా కంట్రోలు చేయవలయునని నేను ప్రార్థించుచున్నాను. రైస్ ను ఎవరికివ్వవచ్చును, ఎవరి కివ్వకూడదనే విషయములో (Non-official Committee) లకు ఒప్పచ్చెప్పడం మంచిది.

"ఇక మిల్లుబట్టల విషయం సాధ్యమైనంతమట్టుకు మిల్లుబట్టల వ్యాపారం ప్రచారం తగ్గించవలయును. ఇంత అందోళన ఆ విషయంలో అనవసరం (Textile officer) గారి నేతృత్వమెట్లు ప్రకారము నూలు మద్రాసు రాష్ట్రములో కావలసినంతమందిగాని దానిని ఇతర రాష్ట్రాలకు పంపడంచేత మన రాష్ట్రంలో చాలకుండా ఉన్నది. మన మంత్రి గారికి అధికారం ఉంటే మన నూలు ఇతర రాష్ట్రాలకు పంపకుండా చెయ్యవలసిన మంత్రివర్గంవారిని కోరుచున్నాను.

"మా ప్రాంతములో చేనేత పనివారికి తగిన సహాయముచెయ్యవలెను. ఇప్పుడు నేతవారికి 10 దినములకు మాత్రం నూలు ఉంది. (Black Marketting) ఏ విధముగా జరుగుతుంది అంటే నూలు తీసుకున్నవారుకూడా (Black Market) లో ఆమ్ముతున్నారు. అలాగైతే వానికి ఎక్కువ లాభము వస్తుంది. బట్టలు నేతవలన కిట్టుకొంటుంటే. చేనేత బట్టలను కంట్రోలు చేసి ప్రజలందుకొంటుంటే ఉండేట్లు చెయ్యవలసిన నా విన్నపము. ధరలనుకూడా నిర్ణయించవలయును.

"ఇక ఖద్దరు విషయంలో మన మంత్రిగారికి అధిమానము ఉత్సాహము ఉన్నదని మనకు తెలుసును. వెంటనే ఈ ఖద్దరు ఉత్పత్తి అధికముచేసి స్వయంసహక విధానమునై గ్రామాలలో ఉత్పత్తి చేయించవలయును. అప్పుడు మన దేశములో గుడ్డకరువు ఉండదు అని చెబుతు నేను విరమించుచున్నాను."

SRI G. RAJAMANNAR CHETTI:—"Mr. Speaker, I come from a part of the City which is inhabited mainly by weavers and my experience is that a number of them are without work. I understand that the master-weavers who receive their quota do not use the yarn wholly for their loom. It is said that only a part of their quota is used on the looms, the other part being sold at higher price as yarn. In consequence, hundreds of weavers are without work. If there is any control or check on this activity of the master-weavers, the sufferings of the weavers could be relieved.

"I am not here going to repeat the several points that were raised by other hon. Members.

"Mr. Town, I am sorry, my hon. Friend Mr. Town (laughter) said that the 48-hour week will be disadvantageous and will result in underproduction by several million yards of yarn or cloth. I will suggest to him—and he knows it—that even if the hours of work are reduced, the machines can run all the time. What will have to be done is more workers will have to be engaged.

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"I would suggest that the Choolai Mill which is now lying idle might be taken on lease by the Government and work started. It has got 775 looms and 40,000 spindles. In one shift it can produce 35,000 yards of cloth."

Mr. SPEAKER:—"Already the Premier has promised to consider the question of the reopening of the Choolai Mills. The hon. Member might refer to some other point."

SRI G. RAJAMANNAR CHETTI:—"I am thankful to you for this suggestion, Sir. It is the general complaint of both the consumers and others that the distribution of yarn and cloth is in a miserable state. I hope the Hon. the Premier will set right these things and give us relief.

"My next remark has reference to the queues formed in front of shops waiting for cloth in the streets of Madras. I understand, Sir, that you will not permit me to talk about the blackmarket. If so, I must use some other word for it. Cloths are purchased by others and sold at higher cost. I think the Police might make it an item of duty to check these unsocial elements.

"Finally, I should like to say that we are in the midst of realities and are not going to be guided by high-sounding words and idealists like Mr. N. S. Varadachari."

*SRI G. NARASIMHA RAO:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, with regard to the supply of yarn to the handlooms it must be remembered that our mills are producing yarn from 20 to 120 counts. 3-15 p.m.
For higher counts of yarn cotton has to be imported from Egypt and Karachi. If the mills are asked to confine themselves to producing 20 counts only there will be no need to import cotton from outside. The local cotton will be sufficient. More bales of yarn could be produced and more yarn could be supplied to the handloom weavers; it helps to relieve the shortage of cloth.

"There have been complaints from many quarters in this House that the wholesalers were making huge profits. But considering the number of licences issued by the Textile Department it will be found that the wholesaler and the retailer are not in a position even to meet their establishment charges (Cries of Oh, oh, and laughter). If this state of affairs prevails many of them will have to close down their shops and become unemployed. and the Government will have to open another Employment Bureau for these people. They have been for several centuries in this trade and still they are not able to get even 1 per cent profit. Some of them are not able to get even ten bales a month. I am prepared if the Hon. Prime Minister wants it to show what profit the merchants in the yarn trade were making before the war and what they are making now. There is no use entrusting the work to co-operative societies and eliminating the wholesalers and the retailers and creating unemployment.

"With regard to handloom cloth the wages of weavers have increased 400 per cent, from 6 annas a yard to Rs. 1-8-0 per yard. Unless there is some sort of control the price of handloom cloth

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will be increased enormously even at the source. It is stated that 15 per cent is allowed over the manufacturing cost. To whom does it go? Is it to the wholesaler or to the retailer or to the weaver? This should be explained.

"Then with regard to the licensing system I am told that the quotas and licences are granted according to the previous turnover of the applicant. Now I find that licences are given by the Department to people irrespective of whether they have been in the trade or not. In the Textile Control Order there is a rule, rule No. 14, under which licences could be cancelled without assigning any reason. This is a great hardship as there is no appeal over the order of the Textile Controller. If there is any contravention of control orders there should be a judicial enquiry before the licence is cancelled. The present rule 14 is worthy of a Nazi Government and not of a democratic, popular Government like ours. Justice should be done to the people and an opportunity given to them to explain matters before their licence is cancelled and if it has to be cancelled, it should be for good and sufficient reasons.

"With regard to the grant of licences for the export of handloom cloth I should like to state that they are given indiscriminately to people whether they have been in the trade or not. I should like the proceedings of the Textile Commissioner and the District Textile Officers published month to month in the form of a booklet showing how many bales were received, to whom they were delivered, to whom the licences were given and so on."

SRI S. NAGAPPA:—"Mr. Speaker, I thank you for having given me a chance of expressing myself. First of all, I should like to say something regarding the composition of the village committees. It is stated that there will be two local dealers on the committee. I should like to know from the Hon. the Premier, through you, Sir, who are these dealers in the village. They are generally the richest men in the village. If the rich people are given such representation on the committee what is to happen to the consumer and the producer? The members of my community are all producers, though they do not consume as much as they produce. I want to know whether there will be any representative of the people who produce the cloth. Now, Sir, I should like to refer to the Nandval incident. Most of the people there who went to get the cloth could not get it at all. But some cases were instituted against them and they were put in prison. Is this the way in which cloth will be supplied to the poor people, Sir? I can understand the reason for the formation of village committees by the Premier; he has given a sort of village autonomy, but I want an assurance from him regarding how many seats will be given to the producers, to the consumers and to the weavers. These things should be defined clearly.

"Then again, what are the powers of these committees? Are their functions merely advisory or recommendatory or are they mandatory? When these committees are given certain functions

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it is necessary that they should also be given some powers. In the working of these committees, if anything goes wrong what power have they to set matters right? Are they to go to the Tahsildar or the Deputy Collector or whoever may be the big boss? I urge, Sir, that the Members of the Committee must have enough power to check matters. We should not allow the red tapism that was allowed by the Advisers' Government. We are not here to follow the footsteps of people who have left us.

"With regard to the yarn position, I was told that our Province is a surplus one. If that is so, I fail to see why there should be a shortage. Yarn is sent to some other provinces like Bombay and Sind. But have we taken any guarantee from those provinces that they will give us their surplus cloth in return for the yarn taken from us? Sir, I am interested in hand-spinning and hand-weaving. We might have solved this problem then and there if we had taken steps from the very beginning, instead of sitting here for years doing nothing. What is the subsidy you are going to give to the spinners and weavers? Most of these people have been suffering for want of charkas and slivers. I would request the Government to see that every spinner and weaver is supplied with a charka and a loom so that he can produce more and more cloth.

"As regards licences I do not find that even a single Harijan has been given a licence. Do you mean to say, Mr. Speaker, that there is not even a single Harijan dealing in cloth. There are a good number. What injustice has been done to my community particularly! I hope such injustice will not be carried further."

***SRI R. KUPPUSWAMI:**—"அன்புமிக்க தலைவரவர்களே, கோயம்புத்தூரில் சுமார் 32 மில்கள் இருக்கின்றன. அதில், 22½ மணி நேரம் ஒடக்கூடிய மில்லும் 18 மணி நேரம் ஒடக்கூடிய மில்லும் இருக்கின்றன. நாங்கள் மில் முதலாளிகளைச் சந்தித்துப் பேசிய போது, 24 மணி நேரம் மில்கள் ஏன் ஒடக்கூடாதென்று கேட்டபோது பாயின் கிடையாது **Spare parts** கிடையாதென்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். அதற்கு கவர்ன்மென்ட் டாரவர்கள் வேண்டிய **Spare parts** எல்லாம் சீக்கிரத்தில் தருவித்துக் கொடுத்தால் அந்த மில்களை 24 மணி நேரம் ஒட்ட முடியும். அதனால் அங்கு நூல் உற்பத்தியை நீட்ட முடியும். கோயம்புத்தூர் மில்களில் இன்றைய தினம் **Textile** கமிஷனுக்கு என்று ஒரு கணக்கு வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். தங்களுக்கு என்று தனியாக ஒரு கணக்கு வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள், மில் முதலாளிகள் இரண்டு கணக்குகளை வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். கவர்ன்மென்ட்டுக்குக் காட்ட ஒரு கணக்கு தங்களுக்கு ஒரு கணக்கு. அப்படி இருக்கும்போது மில்லில் உற்பத்தியாகும் நூல் குறைவாக எடுப்பதைத் தவிர பாக்கி இராக் காலங்களில் மில்களிலிருந்து மோட்டார் கார் களிலே நூல் பேலை ஏற்றிக்கொண்டு **Blackmarket** காரர்கள் ரகசியமாக விற்கிறார்கள். இதை யெல்லாம் தடுக்கவேண்டும். இதை நேரில் பார்த்திருக்கின்றோம். அதிகாரம் இருந்திருந்தால், போலீசுக்கும் கைப் பிடியாகப் பிடித்துக் கொடுத்திருப்போம். கோயம்புத்தூர் டிஸ்ட்ரிக்ட் டெக்ஸ்டைல் ஆபீசுக்கும் நாங்கள் எழுதினோம். அங்கிருக்கும் காங்கிரஸ் கமிட்டிக்கும் பிரதம, மந்திரியவர்களுக்கும் அந்த அதிகாரிகளை மாற்றினால் 24 மணி நேரத்தில் 34 மில்லிலும் இருக்கும் **Blackmarket**-ஐ ஒழிக்க முடியுமென்று சொல்லுவேன். சென்ற அட்வைசர் கவர்ன்மென்ட்டு இருந்த காலத்தில் அவர்கள் சரியாக நூல் விநியோகம் செய்யத் தவறியதால்தான் இந்தப் பஞ்சம் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. நம் கவர்ன்மெண்டிலே இந்த **Black market**-ஐ ஒழிப்பதற்கு தகுந்த திட்டங்கள் செய்யமுடியுமென்று உறுதி

[Sri R. Kuppuswami]

[3rd June 1946]

சுறமுடியும். இன்றைய தினம் நெசவுத் தொழிலாளர்களுக்கு மாதத் திற்குக் கொடுக்கும் நூலை ஒரு வாரத்தில் அந்த நூலை நெய்துவகிறார்கள், பாக்கி மூன்று வாரத்துக்கு அவர்களுக்கு நூல் கிடையாது. இந்த நெய்து வாரத்துக்கான நூலையும் அவர்கள் Blackmarket-ல் வாங்கி நெய்கிறார்கள். அது மில்லிலேயே உற்பத்தியாகிறது. அதில் ரகசியம் எத்தனையோ இருக்கிறது. இருபதாம் நெம்பர் நூல் Control விலை ரூ. 12. அதை ரூ. 25-க்கு விற்கிறார்கள், 60, 80-ம் நெம்பர் ரூ. 24, Black-market-ல் ரூ. 60, ரூ. 120, 32-ம் நெம்பர் Blackmarket-ல் ரூ. 80-க்கு விற்கிறார்கள். இன்றைய தினம் கோயம்பத்தூரிலே இதைப் பிடித்துக் கொடுக்க முடியும். இப்பொழுது கோண்டாஸ் பஞ்ச சதேசி கதர் நெய்யும் கைராட்டைக்காரர்கள் வாங்குகிறார்கள். கோண்டாஸ் பஞ்ச மில் முதலாளிகளுக்குத்தான் லைசென்ஸ் இருக்கிறது. அதனால் கிராமங்களிலிருந்து வாங்கவேண்டுமானால் மில் முதலாளிகள் மூலமாகத்தான் கைத்தரி நெசவுத் தொழிலாளிகள் வாங்கிக் கைராட்டையில் நூற்கலாம். திருப்பூரில் இரண்டாயிரம் கைராட்டைகள் ஒடுகின்றன. ஆயிரம் தரிகள் ஒடுகின்றன. 1935-ம் ஆண்டுத்திலே 150 ரூபாய்க்கு விற்பனை இன்றைய தினம் மில் முதலாளிக்கு ஏகபோக உரிமை இருப்பதால் ரூ. 500-க்கு விற்கிறது. அதனால் அவர்கள் அதிகமான விலைக்கு வாங்கும்போது துணி விலை ஏராளமாக ஏறிக்கொண்டிருக்கிறது. ஆகையால் அதையெல்லாம் ஸர்க்கார் இன்று மற்றப் பஞ்சுக்கு எப்படி Control செய்திருக்கிறார்களோ அதே மாதிரி கோண்டாஸ் பஞ்சுக்கும் Control விலை வைத்து கோவாப்பேரடியில் சொலையிடயிலே அந்த கோண்டாஸ் பஞ்சை வாங்க உதவி யளித்தால் துணியை லஞ்சாக உற்பத்தி செய்யமுடியுமென்று தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

3-30 * Sri V. PONNUSWAMI GOUNDER :—“தலைவரவர்களே, இன்றைக்கு P.M. நாமெல்லோரும் உடுத்தவேண்டியது உடை. ஆடைப் பிரச்சனையைப்பற்றிய விவாதங்களை அதிகமான அங்கத்தினர்கள் இந்த இடத்தில் விவரித்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் கனம் நமது பிரதம மந்திரியவர்கள் ஏற்பாடுசெய்திருக்கும் முறையானது நாம் வரவேற்கவேண்டிய விஷயம்தான். ஏனென்றால் அட்வைசர் ஸர்க்கார் அவர்கள் விலை நிர்ணயம் செய்துவந்த மாதிரி பங்கீடு நிர்ணயம் செய்யாமல் விட்டதால் ஒரு கெஜங்கூடக் கிடைக்காத மனிதரும் இந்த மாகாணத்தில் இருக்கிறார்களென்பதைக் கருத்தில் கொண்டுதான் பிரதம மந்திரியார் அவர்கள் இதைக் கொண்டுவந்திருக்கிறார்களென்று நினைக்கிறேன். இருப்பினும் இன்னும் சிலவற்றை ஸர்க்காருக்கு நான் எடுத்துச் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். கிராமத்திலுள்ள ஏழை மக்களெல்லாம் அவர்களுக்கு வேண்டிய துணிகளை அடைவதற்கு இவ்விதமாக விலை நிர்ணயம் செய்தாலும் பங்கீடு முறை இருந்தால் கூட கிடைப்பது துர்லபமாகிவிடும். நகர புறங்களிலே இருக்கக்கூடிய வியாபாரிகள் அவர்களுக்குக் கொடுப்பதில்லை. அந்த ஜவுளி மூட்டைகள் வரும் போதே அதைப் பிரித்து வேண்டியவர்களுக்குப் பங்கிட்டுவிடுகிறார்கள். கிராமத்து ஜனங்களுக்குக் கொடுப்பதில்லை. இந்த பங்கீடு முறை இருந்தாலுங்கூட கிராமங்களில் விசேஷமாகப் பழைய வியாபாரிகள் இல்லாவிட்டாலுங்கூட புதிய வியாபாரிகளாயிருந்தபோதிலும் அவர்களுக்கு ஸர்க்கார் லைசென்ஸ் தந்து கிராமத்தில் கடை வைத்துக்கொள்ள உரிமை இருக்கவேண்டும். துணி உற்பத்தி அதிகமாகும்போது அவர்களுக்கு அதிகமாகத் தரப்படவேண்டுமென்ற அவசியத்தையும் சொல்லுகிறேன். துணியை எந்த விதமாக அதிகப்படுத்தலாமென்பது பற்றி ரொம்பப் பேர் தெரிவித்திருக்கிறார்கள். நம் தேசத்திலிருக்கிற கேவலமான ஒரு வழக்கமும் இந்தத் துணிப் பஞ்சத்திற்கு ஒரு காரணமாயிருக்கிறது. அதாவது கடையை வைத்துக்கொண்டு துணி அடகு வாங்கி அவர்களை நிர்வாணமாக்கிவிடுகிறார்கள் சில வியாபாரிகள். இதை ஸர்க்கார் முதலாவதாகக் கட்டுப்படுத்தவேண்டும். இரண்டாவதாக நூற்றுக்கு 20, 30 பேர்கள் தங்களுடைய துணிகளைத் தங்களுக்கு வேண்டிய குடிவகை ராக்களுக்காக தனிப்பட்ட ஆட்களுக்கு விற்பனைப்போய் குடித்துவிடுகிறார்களென்பதை கிராமங்களிலிருந்து நான் நன்றாகத் தெரிந்துகொண்டிருக்கிறேன். ஆகையால் மதுவிலக்கு அவசியம் வேண்டும். நூல் வாங்குமிடத்தில் நெசவுக்காரர்கள் அவர்கள் நெய்த துணியை நூல் வாங்கிய

3rd June 1946] [Sri V. Ponnuswami Gounder]

இடத்திலேயே கொடுத்துவிடவேண்டும். அப்படி இல்லையானால் அது கள்ள வியாபாரம் மூலமாய்ப் போய்விடுகிறது. துணி நெசவு செய்கிறவர்களெல்லாம் ரொம்பப்பேர் ஏழைகளாகத்தான் இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுடைய வருமானம் ரொம்பக் குறைவு, அதற்காக சர்க்கார் நெசவாளர்களைத் தங்கள் முன் வைத்து அவர்கள் கூலியையும் நிர்ணயித்து அவர்கள் நெய்த துணியை நூல்வாங்கியவர்களுக்கு ஒப்படைக்கும் உத்தரவை ஸர்க்கார் கொண்டுவரவேண்டுமென்று கனம் பிரதம மந்திரியவர்களைக் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

Sri P. S. VELUSWAMI GOUNDER :—“சபா நாயகர் அவர்களே, இப்பொழுது நாமெல்லோரும் துணிந்துவிட்டோம் துணிப் பஞ்சத்தைப் போக்க. ஆனால் துணி யென்று பேசுகிறோம், பருத்தி விளைகிறது இடையிலே உள்ள விஷயத்தை மறந்துவிட்டோம். அதாவது நூல் ஸ்பின்னா. நூல் இல்லாவிட்டால் அதனால் பாதிக்கக்கூடிய துணிப் பஞ்சத்தைப் போக்கமுடியாது. இப்பொழுது சுவரைவைத்து சித்திரம் எழுதவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லுகிற மாதிரி நாம் இந்த நூலை அதிகரிக்கச் செய்யவேண்டும். காந்திஜி சொன்ன வார்த்தைகளை கிராமவாசிகள் கவனிக்கவேண்டிய காலம் வந்துவிட்டது. ராட்டினத்தில் நூற்பதை மறந்துவிட்டோம். இப்பொழுது அதைப் புதுப்பிக்கவேண்டும். நூல் நூற்கும் சங்கத்தை வைத்து அதனால் வாழ்பவர்கள் நஷ்டமடைந்திருக்கிறார்கள். அதைக் கூட்டுறவு இயக்கங்களில் சம்பந்தப்படுத்தி நூலை அதிகரிக்கச் செய்யவேண்டும். பள்ளிக்கூடங்களிலே பிள்ளைகளுக்கு தொழில் கல் கூட கற்பிப்பது போன்று விளையாடுவது போன்று நூற்கும் வேலையையும் ஒரு மணி நேரமோ அரை மணி நேரமோ கற்றுக்கொடுத்தால் அதனால் அவர்களும் நன்மை பெறக்கூடும். ஜவுளி வாங்குகிறவர்கள் 10, 15 ரூபாய்க்கும் 20, 25 ரூபாய்க்கும் வாங்குகிறவர்கள் ஒரு சீட்டம் நூலை நூற்றுக்கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று விதி ஏற்படுத்தினால் இந்த மாகாணத்திலே ஏராளமான நூல் கிடைக்கும். இந்த நூல் நூற்கும் வேலையை கிராமக் கூட்டுறவு சங்கங்கள் மூலம் ஏற்பாடு செய்து நூலை அதிகரிக்கச் செய்யவேண்டும். நூல் உற்பத்தியானால் தான் துணிப் பஞ்சம் ஒழியும். துணிப் பஞ்சத்தை ஒழிக்க நாமெல்லாம் துணிவு கொண்டதனால் துணிப் பஞ்சம் சீக்கிரமாகத் தீரும். ஆனால் இன்று பஞ்சப் பேயும் லஞ்சப் பேயும் இப்பொழுது தலைவிரித்தாடுகின்றது (Black-market)-லே. பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் வந்த பிறகும் Black-market என்ற அயாவாசை இருப்பது ஆச்சரியப்படத்தக்கவிஷயம், இவைகள் எல்லாவற்றையும் குழி தோண்டிப் புதைக்க நாமெல்லோரும் ஒற்றுமையாக இருந்து வாழ கடவுள்கிருபை புரிவாராக.”

Dr. D. S. RAMACHANDRA RAO :—“Sir, the debate has gone on now for some days and I have not got very much to add to what has already been said. Considerable factual information has been placed before the House, and it is gratifying to find that every effort will be made to solve the problem of scarcity of cloth. The difficulties that are suffered by the poor and the lower middle classes in this country are most heart-rending. With regard to Khaddar, some hon. Members in the Opposition have been trying to show that it has been a failure. I wish them to remember that Khaddar has never had a fair chance as yet. Since the movement began, it has had to struggle against all kinds of discouragement, against invidious distinctions and against all kinds of opposition with the connivance of the Government official and find its way. It was only when the local Government came under the control of the Congress that some encouragement was given to Khaddar propaganda. It was only during the last Congress regime that Khaddar was given a chance. Then it went down. A decade ago I happened to be in Germany and I

[Dr. D. S. Ramachandra Rao] [3rd June 1946]

was introduced to the wife of a tin-magnate. She said: 'We are following the dictates of your great Leader Mahatma Gandhi.' 'What do you mean by that?' I asked her. She replied that they in Germany were taking to hand-spinning again. Khaddar has had a chance elsewhere, but not so much in this country, but my belief remains that an honest attempt will be made to encourage Khaddar, not so much because it should come into the markets and compete with other goods, but as it was originally intended, it should find a place in every home in the village to make it self-supporting. It is only then that the problem could be solved.

It has been said, Sir, that rationing of mill-cloth would lead to the cloth being driven into the blackmarket. I know, Sir, from my experience that mill-cloth is being rationed in the cities of Bangalore and Mysore and there is no tendency there for the mill-cloth to go into the blackmarket. Anyhow, Sir, the poor people get the cloth that they want, at least the cloth that they need. This war has shown the bankruptcy of the mills to produce enough to meet the demands of the country. On the other hand, we know full well that in China during the war people got their clothing not through the production of mills but by handspinning and handweaving. I suppose, Sir, in the eventuality of another war coming, unless we develop a civilisation in which all war will be completely taboo, it is safe to decentralise all manufactures, particularly of cloth, so that each village and each cottage home in the village would be in a position to make its own cloth. However ridiculous it may seem from one point of view, this is the only way by which a huge country like India can always clothe itself. Therefore every attempt should be made to spread khaddar as much as possible, especially as that alone will meet the vital needs of the country at a time when the whole country will be feeling scarcity of cloth.

"The handloom cloth is, as it were, a half way house between khaddar and mill-cloth. Attempts have no doubt been made to make handloom cloth meet the needs of the country. I had the opportunity of running for sometime one of the largest khadi banders of the province. The handloom weavers I have always found to be not easily satisfied with khadi yarn. They have been in a way spoiled by mill yarn. They do not realise their responsibility to the country. Unless a particular type of yarn is supplied to them, they do not come forward to weave. We must appeal to their patriotism. The Government should take courage in both hands and determine to bring the country to a state of self-sufficiency with regard to its needs of cloth. Every necessary step should be taken by the Government for this purpose and they ought not to be afraid of any opposition. . . ."

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p.m.

SRI R. RAMAMURTI:—“అధ్యక్షా! ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఆచార విషయములలో ఆయితే నేమి బట్టల విషయములలో ఆయితే నేమి సౌకర్యపంపకం విధానములను విర్వర్ధింపన రాష్ట్రములలో ఇకముందు ముందు ఈ ఉద్యోగస్తుల దౌర్జన్యములకు, ఈ ఉద్యోగ

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[Sri Ramamurti]

స్తుల లంచగొండి తనమునకు ఆవకాశము ఉండదు అని ప్రజలుగట్టి నమ్మకముతో ఉన్నారు. అయితే ఈ పద్ధతులలో గ్రామ జీవితము, గ్రామ సౌభాగ్యము, అసలు గ్రామ స్థులకు స్వయంసహకముగా ఉండడం అనే విధానము ఇకమీదట రాగలదు అను నమ్మకముతోయూర్పాడు ప్రజలందఱు. తమ నివేదికలోయూర్పాడు కార్యక్రమము సక్రమముగా జరిగితే మద్రాసు రాజధానికే కాదు నిజముగా భారతదేశానికి అంతకూకూడా ఒక నూతన యుగారంభమునకు కారణము కాగలదని భావించవలసియున్నది. ఇందులో గ్రామ స్వపరిపాలనా సూత్రములు చక్కగా ఇమిడి ఉన్నవి. ఇవి ముందుముందు గ్రామాలకు రావలసిన విధానానికి పునాదులు అని చెప్పడానికి అవకాశం ఉంది.

“ఇకను ఖద్దరు విషయములలో ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఒక చక్కని విధానము విర్వర్ధింపచేసి మన దేశములో సుమారు 100 సంవత్సరములకిందట మహానష్టతస్థితిలో ఉన్న ఖద్దరు నేడు పునరుద్ధరించడానికి ఒక చక్కని అవకాశం చిక్కింది. నేడు ఇది మద్రాసు ప్రభుత్వానికేకాదు అన్ని దేశాలకుకూడా మార్గదర్శకముకాగలదు.

“ఇప్పుడు మన రాష్ట్రములలో ప్రతి తగినంతగాలేదు. అందుచేత ప్రభుత్వంవారు ప్రతిని తెప్పించి సరఫరా చెయ్యవలసిన కోరుచున్నాను. ఏదో ఫిర్కాలోకాదు, అన్ని ఫిర్కాలలోను కూడా ప్రతి పండించే అవకాశములను కల్పించాలి. తప్పకుండా ప్రజల చక్కా స్వీకరించి ఎవరి బట్టను వారు తయారుచేసుకుంటే బట్టల కరువురాదు. నూలు నడుకుటకు మంచి అవకాశము ఏర్పడింది. శ్రీకాకుళం ఆ ప్రాంతములలో సన్ననూలు వడికి బట్ట తయారుచేసి బొంబాయి షెడ్యూల్లెడ్ ముఖ్య పట్టణములకు పంపించి మంచి ప్రఖ్యాతిని గడించినారు. అందుచేత ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఖద్దరును ప్రోత్సహించవలయునని నేను కోరుచున్నాను.”

* SRI G. KUMARASWAMI:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, to-day our province is on the threshold of a terrible economic crisis, as terrible a crisis as that of food, a crisis for which the present ministry which took office only on the 30th of April last is not responsible and which we look up to for giving relief. I do not want to blame the Advisers' Government. Whatever it be, I hold that Government responsible for the present situation, that Government which has been ruling over us for the last 175 years and that Government which has made us dependent for our very clothing on that little island which is 6,000 miles away from us. However, the present Government has to successfully tackle this problem. And for any Government to tackle such problems as these, certain conditions are necessary. The first is a sound planning and to-day the Hon. Premier has laid down a policy which is as sound as soundness could be. The second condition is, time to implement such requisite essentials; and the third is the necessary machinery to put it into action. Now, Sir, I must tell you that the policy that has been adopted by the previous Government is not at all satisfactory. That policy is one which is attendant with many dangers. My words will not be liked, but the distribution of the goods was such that goods were not made available in the open and public market, but they made their simultaneous appearance in that bloody market, the blackmarket. This is what control and rationing meant in the previous regime. Control of prices was the only thing adopted in those days but actual rationing was not introduced. Even now, rationing is not properly working. Many

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schemes were introduced, such as the All-India Cloth Distribution scheme, the Cotton Control scheme, etc. Whatever it be, the net result was that ten or twenty out of thirty weavers are to-day going without yarn. I may tell you, Sir, that in the days of 1942 and 1943, when there was cloth shortage and when any number of mills were brought into existence in this country, people could still clothe themselves with hand-spun and hand-woven cloth. I am proud, Sir, that in my district, the Vizagapatam district, the industry of hand-spinning is at its height and I may say that in the whole world there is no such industry at all. We can have thirty counts, forty counts, eighty counts and even hundred counts fine cloth produced. The beautiful Pondaru the beautiful Chicacole and the beautiful Bonthola Koduru are there. What is required is, the Government should take the initiative; they must have the courage to introduce any number of charkas in each district and see that the people are clothed with hand-spun and hand-woven cloth. I am glad, Sir, that the opposition group also are one with us to-day in this respect. They share our view in the solution of this problem; they said: "We extend our hand of co-operation, goodwill and support"; and so, with the support of so many honourable members of this House, the Hon. the Premier can certainly introduce, with that great courage which is not lacking in him and with that initiative which is not lacking in him, a measure by which the people of our province can be clothed with hand-spun and hand-woven cloth."

SRI W. S. SREENIVASA RAO:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, the time is very short. I shall get into the subject direct. As for the bullock-cart policy which members have been criticizing, I only want to say that so long as there are large tracts of land in this province which are ploughed with bullocks and for the cultivation of which bullock carts are necessary, we cannot condemn it. Apart from that, Sir, there are many poor people who cannot get mill yarn for weaving clothes. Therefore, khaddar is a very important item and it should be encouraged by this Government, especially the Congress Government that has come into power.

"Then, Sir, as regards mill cloth, it has to be rationed throughout. If not, the blackmarketeers will come into the picture and retailers will not be selling cloth uniformly to all the people. The blackmarket is omnipotent and omnipresent and we cannot but see it in all places.

"As for yarn, there is only one way for the present, before the proposed committees come into power and that is, for the yarn that is given, cloth should be returned. Then, Sir, the wages of the weavers should be fixed. The price of the cloth also should be fixed. There should be a restriction on the export of lungis, because there are only very few people in this province who use lungis. The proportion of lungi production in the province is a thousand times more than the quantity required by people who wear them. Wherever you go, you find lorry loads of lungis being exported to foreign countries. That is why you find stocks of

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local dhoti and other varieties of clothes are not available. If lungis are not exported from this province, we will at once be able to get as much cloth as is necessary for us. This is a very important point.

"Then, Sir, as regards corruption and blackmarket, there are still many honest officers in the Government departments. They did not get a place in the Advisers' regime; they did not collect sufficient money for the War Fund. They were thrown into the corners, in the districts. But now since the popular government has come into power, I suggest the Government may make use of these officers. They are very honest. They want to serve the public. They could not do it then and they can be now made use of. They may be substituted for all the corrupt officers who are now found to be in the department. As regards the Police Department also, there are some honest people who were sent away as Public Prosecutors or other District Officers because they could not do dishonest work under the previous regime. They could also be brought back and posted to frontier places. They should be given powers to book the people who are carrying on black-marketing. If this is done, we won't have famine in our province. That is why I think the Commissioner has said that there is no famine and others have also said so. There is famine more because of these blackmarketeers and the lorries which are carrying these blackmarket goods, not the bullock carts."

SRI B. S. MURTHI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, in his thought-provoking famous book called "China Builds for Democracy," Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has, in his inimitable way, said that India's requirements in cloth can be got from handloom cottage industry to the extent of 9/10. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sir, is not a hollow sentimentalist. He is the President of the National Planning Commission and he is trying to see that India is industrialized and that all the villages in India are rebuilt, buzzing with a new life, a new life that will bring happiness and prosperity, spreading its fragrance everywhere. I saw this, Sir, to show that not only Mahatma Gandhi has himself in an article in the *Harian* in the year 1940 said that the Madras Government's move to establish a textile mill in Ravalaseema was not in consonance with the spirit of the Congress manifesto; but men like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru are also trying to make the handloom and khaddar a living industry in India, so that side by side with the key industries, this handloom and khaddar, the music of the charka can be heard in our villages.

"In this connexion, Sir, I would like to remind this House that recently the Travancore Government has passed an order prohibiting the establishment of textile mills. In a country like India we cannot depend upon textile mills, because India is not fully developed as far as industrialization is concerned. So, it has to develop its villages: the Indian villages have to be rebuilt in a new Gandhian social order. The Gandhian social order is that there should be no exploitation. The western civilization

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"I do not like, Sir, to take much of the time of the House at this fag end of the day but I would like to place before you one or two difficulties and hardships that are confronting my community, the Harijan community. Whatever may be said, whatever may be the attitude of Gandhiji, the caste system is prevailing to-day. If you go to the villages, you find that the untouchable is still an untouchable. He is not allowed to come near the caste Hindus. He has to stand at a distance of a few yards if the caste Hindus in that locality are sympathetic or at a distance of a furlong if they are caste-ridden. In many places, the caste Hindus take away all the cloth that is given to a shop with the result that hundreds of thousands of Harijans in a number of villages are not having even a yard of cloth. In the districts of West Godavari, Kistna and East Godavari, I came across a number of Harijan friends who made complaints. I did see the Minister in charge of Harijan uplift, Mr. Giri, and placed this matter before him and the Hon. Minister has promised to see that separate shops were brought into being and Harijans were supplied cloth squarely. Sir, in this connection, I appeal to the Prime Minister to see that sufficient care is taken to ensure that real representatives of the Harijan community are given a place in the committees that are coming into existence, so that whatever cloth or yarn is available for distribution by these committees, may be distributed properly to the people who are in actual need of such cloth and yarn."

“ఇప్పుడు ముఖ్యముగా దర్శిచానికి కారణమైనట్టి కొన్ని దుర్భాసములనుకుండు తొలగించాలి. అలవాటువలన ఆహారంవల్ల ఆక్సీడముగాను శారాంతముగాను చాలా నష్టము కలుగుచు ఉంది. ఆ దుర్భాసములు వివరము మధ్యపానము (Smoking and Drinking) పాగాకు త్యాజము ఈ రెండూ కుండు లేకుండా

[Sri S. Guruvulu]

*SRIMATHI ANJALAI AMMAL:—தலைவரவர்களே, இப்பொழுது நாமெல்லாம் காங்கிரசில் சேர்ச்சொல்லி பேசிவந்திருக்கிறோம். பொது ஜனங்களுக்கு இப்பொழுது இருக்கிற கஷ்டம் அத்தனையும் ஒரு பக்கம் இருந்தாலும் நமமுடைய அரிசி சாப்பாடு விஷயத்திலே அவர்களுக்கு என்ன ஏற்படுகிறதென்றால் நமக்கு 12 அவுன்சு இல்லை 10 அவுன்சுதான் என்று எண்ணக்கூடிய நிலையில் அந்த இரண்டு அவுன்சும் பிடிக்கப் போவதில்லையென்று சொல்லியிருக்கிறேன். கிராமங்களில் போய் நாம் முதலில் சொல்லவேண்டியதாயிருக்கிறது. கிராமத்து ஜனங்களுக்கு எடுத்துச் சொல்லி அங்கு அரிசி யெல்லாம், கம்பு கேழ்வரகு எல்லாம் விளையும் உங்களுக்குப் பசியாற எது வேண்டுமோ அதைக்கொடுக்கக்கூடிய நிலையில் இருக்கிறதென்று நாம் சொல்லுகிறோம். சொல்லுவதற்குப்பொறுப்பு மெம்பர்களிடம் இருக்கிறது. கடர் என்று மகாத்மாஜி கொண்டு வந்தார். கிராமங்களிலே நூறாய் ஒரு சிட்டம் 2½ அணு விற்கிறது. இதை நாம் பலப்படுத்தி பஞ்சு வெளியிலே போக்க கூடாது, கிராமங்களிலேயே வைத்து நூற்கவேண்டுமென்று கவர்ன்மெண்டிலே சட்டம் பால் பண்ணிவிட்டால் துணிப்பஞ்சும் இல்லாமல் சேஷமமாயிருப்போம். லண்டனில் ரேஷன், கணக்காய் சாப்பிடுவார்கள். நம் தேசத்தில் ஆஸ்பத்திரியில் அப்படி, இப்பொழுது வீட்டிலே கூட வந்து விட்டது, கிராமத்தில் பயிரிடுவோர்கள் காலையில் எழுந்து வயலுக்குப் போய் விடுவார்கள். 10 மணிக்கு அவர்களுக்குச் சாதம் கொண்டு போவார்கள். அதைச்சாப்பிட்டுவிட்டு சாயந்திரம் 3 மணிக்கு வீட்டுக்கு வருவார்கள். நாம் 3 வேளை சாப்பிட்டுவிட்டு டாக்டரைப் போய்க்கூப்பிடச் சொல்லுகிறோம். அவர்களுக்கு உணவில்லை, துணி இல்லை, இங்கே ஒரு கோட்டு, இரண்டு கோட்டுப் போட்டுக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள், டவுனிலே பஞ்சுமில்லை. கிராமத்திலே கோமணம் கட்டிக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு வேண்டிய துணி கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

“ Sir, more yarn must be found to supply the 496,000 looms in the province unemployed for twenty days in a month. The handloom industry has survived the onslaughts of many mills that had come into existence and flourished in the latter period of the last war. I think it is time now to make some mutual adjustment between the mill products and the handloom products. It would be to the advantage and benefit of both if a certain article of manufacture is prescribed for the mills and something else for the handlooms. A more favourable thing would be to supply

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yarn to the handloom weavers to manufacture sarees, solid border cloths and various other designs which are not possible for the mills to produce. In the words of the Textile Commissioner, scramble is for one or more of the varieties of coveted designs, viz., shirtings, coatings, suits, drills and certain other articles and these articles may be limited to be manufactured by the mills. This would solve partially the cloth problem to an extent and afford also more yarn for the handlooms and would secure for us a good market for handloom products as well as for mill products, but I am not in favour, at present, of capturing foreign markets and of exporting mill goods outside India. According to the statistics of the Textile Commissioner, we find that as much as 5,200 bales of cloth were sent out for capturing the markets elsewhere. The export is made. At what cost, Sir, I ask? Is it at the cost of the internal requirements? I cannot understand such arguments put forward when our own needs are not met. On the other hand, our needs are being handicapped on this account and as a matter of fact, our handloom weavers are going without employment and they do not get work even for one-third of the month. Under these circumstances, Sir, I do not find any reason for exporting textile goods outside India and it must not be allowed.

"In regard to the other argument of Mr. Town, viz., that we could not get coal or some other things that are required for the textile industry, I would ask him, is the export under the barter system? Does he get coal for yarn or cloth? No, Sir. If such is the argument, I can certainly agree to export only such quantity as is necessary for the amount of coal or other articles required for the textile industry. We have another organisation which must be utilised for production of yarn and cloth, viz., jails in the province. This is a question which must be seriously considered. I am afraid it has not yet caught the imagination of the Hon. Minister, Sir. There are a large number of jails in this presidency and if we can only make an honest attempt in respect of spinning and weaving in the jails, and open textile mills, we can certainly increase production of both khaddar and yarn. In the circumstances obtaining at present, it is worth making an attempt and it will really be to our advantage. It will also be advantageous if these institutions are utilised under the management of the All-India Spinners' Association to produce and supply khaddar to practically every one of our staff. When and if textile mills are opened in the jails, more yarn will be available for handlooms.

"Again, Sir, as I understand it, not from the report of the Textile Commissioner, but from private sources, all the yarn that is actually produced by the textile mills have not come into the account given by the Textile Commissioner.

"Then, Sir, the statement of the Textile Commissioner in regard to the sale of cloth in the market is not correct, in view of the fact that more cloth is sold in the market than what the

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mills actually supply to them. It is really a surprise, and unless it be that there has been underground yarn, how can there be more cloth in the market than what is supplied to them under the quota system by the Textile Commissioner?

"Again, Sir, arguments were advanced for control of prices in respect of handloom produce. The Textile Commissioner also wants the handloom products to be brought under control as if the price of handloom produce is disadvantageous for want of control.

"I will be failing in my knowledge if I do not come to the following conclusion: Firstly, prices are mostly dependent on the number of middlemen employed and that argument had been put forward by many hon. Members. Secondly, regularity of employment to the handloom weavers and thirdly, durability of the product. Marketing is also responsible. When compared with the handloom cloth, mill cloth is nothing; especially to the agricultural classes, durability is all they consider. It is high time that all these handlooms are brought under one control, that is, under the Handloom Weavers' Co-operative Society. The advantages in favour of handloom industry are these. Practically, there will be no cost of repairs for many years; free of factory conditions; ready assistance of the inmates of the house; the durability of the cloth so far as the cultivating classes are concerned; variety of designs and natural economy of the industry. These, Sir, are absolutely the advantages in favour of the handloom industry and these must be certainly taken into consideration before any plan is put in action.

"Lastly, as regards the situation in the Salem district, which is the premier district in this province, possessing as many as 75,000 looms, the proportion in employment is falling and the number of idle looms is really appalling."

SRI A. DEVANAYAKAYYA—“கனம் தலைவரவர்களே, இன்றைய தினம் நாம் துணியைப்பற்றிப் பேசிக்கொண்டிருக்கிறோம். ஏதோ இது தும் பைலிட்டு வாலைப்பிடிப்பதைப்போல் இருக்கிறது. இந்தக் காரியம் இதுவரையில் அரசாங்கத்தார் செய்திருக்கவேண்டியது. அவர்கள் இன்றையதினம் உற்பத்தியின் காரணமாக நெறுக்கடி ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அதனை நிவர்த்தி செய்வதற்கு வழியென்ன. பஞ்சத்தைப் போக்குவதற்கு வழியென்ன என்று யோசித்துக்கொண்டிருப்பதோடு இன்மேல் அப்படி வராமலிருப்பதற்கு ஒரு வழியைக் கண்டுபிடிப்பார்களென்று நினைக்கிறேன். இதுவரையில் அவர்கள் இந்த தேசத்தில் கைத்தொழில் விருத்திசெய்யவேண்டுமென்னும் எண்ணத்தோடு அவ்வாறு செய்திருப்பார்களானால் இன்றைய தினம் இந்த பஞ்சம் ஏற்படுவதற்கு வழி இல்லை. அவர்கள் அன்னியருடன் ஒப்பந்தம் செய்கிறார்கள். தங்கள் நாட்டினரும் மற்ற நாட்டினரும் இந்த நாட்டில் ஒரு மார்க்கெட்டை ஏற்படுத்திக்கொள்ளுவதற்கே இதுவரையில் ஆசையைநடத்திக்கொண்டுவந்தார்கள். ஆகையால் கைத்தொழிலை விருத்திசெய்வதிலே தங்களுடைய கவனத்தைச் செலுத்துவதற்கில்லாமல் போய்விட்டது. இந்த சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் நம்முடைய மாகாணத்தில் காங்கிரஸ் ஆசை ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. மத்தியிலும் ஒரு ஆசை ஏற்படுவதற்கான ஹேஷ்யங்கள் காணப்படுகின்றன. இந்த சந்தர்ப்பத்திலாவது இந்த நாட்டுக்குவேண்டிய உடைகளைத் தயாரித்துக்கொள்ளுவதற்கு. கூடுமானவரையில் ஒரு வழியைக்கண்டுபிடித்தாகவேண்டுமென்பதை ரூபகத்தில் வைத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். இந்த சந்தர்ப்பத்தை நழுவவிடுவோமானால் இதற்குப் பிறகு பல வருஷங்களுக்கு காரியத்தைச் செய்வதற்கில்லாமல்

[Sri A. Devanayakayya]

[3rd June 1946]

போய்விடும். ஏதோ சதந்திரம்தான் வந்துவிடப்போகிறதென்று நினைக்காமல் இந்தக்காலத்தில் பெரிய காரியங்களைச் சாதிக்காமல் இருந்துவிடக் கூடாது. இந்த தேசத்திலே கைத்தொழில் விருத்தியாவதற்கான வழிகளை நாம் மேற்கொள்ளவேண்டும். இன்றைய தினம் இந்த மாகாணத்தில் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கும் இந்தப் பஞ்சத்தைப் போக்க வேண்டும். அதற்குச் சில விஷயங்களைச் செய்யமுடியும். இப்பொழுது யந்திர சாலைகளிலே இருக்கும் ஆட்கள் குறைவு. அதிகமான ஆட்களை வைத்து வேலை செய்தால் அதிகமான துணிகளைத் தயாரிக்கமுடியுமென்பது என்னுடைய அபிப்பிராயம். அதிக நேரம் வேலைவாங்குவதால் தொழிலாளிகள் இந்த வேலையைச் செய்வதில் கொஞ்சம் சோம்பலாக இருக்கிறார்கள். வேலை செய்ய பின் வாங்குகிறார்கள். அதிக நேரம் இருக்கும்படியான வேலை நேரத்தைக் குறைத்து ஆட்களை தற்காலிகமாகவாவது பெருக்கினால் உற்பத்தியைப் பெருக்கமுடியுமென்று நான் சொல்லவிரும்புகின்றேன். தவிர நூலை நெசவு செய்கிறவர்களுக்கு நேரில் கொடுக்காமல் மத்தியில் இருக்கின்றவர்களிடத்திலே கொடுப்பதினால் வியாபாரிகள் கொஞ்சம் பணத்தைக்கொடுத்து இந்த நெசவுக்காரர்களை விலக்கு வாங்கிவிடுகிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்குச் சொந்தமாக நெசவு செய்யவேண்டுமென்று நூல் கேட்டால் தங்களிடத்தில் வாங்கியிருக்கும் பணத்தை கொடுத்துவிடும்படி வற்புறுத்துகிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு வேண்டிய நூலை வாங்குவதற்கு வழியில்லாமல் இருக்கிறார்கள். கண்ட்ரோல் ஆபீசர்கள் ஜில்லாக்களிலே நூல் கொடுப்பதில் பல தவறுகள் ஏற்படுகின்றன. திருட்டு வியாபாரம் நடக்கிறதென்று கண்டுபிடித்து அதிகாரிகளிடத்தில் ஒப்புவித்தாலும் கூட அதைப்பற்றி நடவடிக்கை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளுவதில்லை. எங்கள் ஜில்லாவில் 2, 3 கேசுகளைப் பிடித்துக்கொடுத்தோம். நானாவரையில் எவ்வித நடவடிக்கையும் எடுக்கவில்லை. மேலதிகாரிகளுக்கும் இது சம்பந்தமாக ரிப்போர்ட்டு அனுப்பியிருக்கிறோம். அங்கிருக்கும் அதிகாரியை வேறிடத்திற்கு மாற்றவேண்டுமென்று போட்ட உத்திரவைக்கூட மாற்றி அவரை அங்கேயே வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். திருட்டுத்தனமாக வியாபாரம் நடக்க துணைபுரியும் அதிகாரிகள் பேரில் தகுந்த நடவடிக்கை எடுக்கவேண்டும். அதிகாரிகளுக்கு இதற்கு முன்னால் எவ்வளவு சொத்து இருந்தது, இன்று இருக்கிற சொத்தென்ன என்பதையும் கணக்கெடுத்துப் பார்க்க வேண்டுமென்று ஞாபகப்படுத்துகின்றேன். அவர்கள் அநேகர் தங்கள் மனைவிபேரில் சொத்தையும் நிலத்தையும் வாங்கி பாங்கியில் பணத்தைப் போட்டுவைத்து வேலையிலிருந்து விலகிவிட்டால் சகமாகக் காலம் கடத்த வசதிசெய்து கொண்டிருக்கிறார்களென்பதை ஞாபகப்படுத்துகிறேன். அவர்கள் பேரில் நடவடிக்கை எடுத்து அவர்கள் பணத்தைப் பறிமுதல் செய்வார்களானால் மற்றவர்களுக்காவது பயமிருக்கும். நூல் விநியோகிப்பதை அரசியல் கஷ்டியைச் சேர்ந்தவர்களிடத்தில் கொடுக்கப்படாது. தங்கள் கஷ்டியில் சேர்ந்தவர்களுக்குத்தான் நூல் கொடுக்கப்படுமென்று பலவந்தம் செய்துசேர்த்துக்கொள்வது இருக்கிறது. அதனால் ஏழைத் தொழிலாளிகள் கஷ்டங்களை அடைய வேண்டியதாயிருக்கிறது. ஆகையால் ஏற்படவிருக்கும் கமிட்டிகள் இதை விநியோகிக்கும் வேலையைச் செய்யவேண்டுமென்பது என்னுடைய அபிப்பிராயம். நாம் இன்றைய தினம்கூட துணிகளின் செலவைக் குறைக்க வில்லை. இன்றைய தினம் மந்திரிகளுக்குக் கொடுக்கப் பட்டிருக்கின்ற பியூன்களுக்குக் கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்ற துணி அதிகமாகக் காணப்படுகிறது என்று தெரிவிக்க ஆசைப்படுகின்றேன். அவர்கள் சாதாரணமாக உடை உடுத்திக்கொண்டிருப்பதுபோலவே உடுத்திக்கொள்ளச் சொன்னால் துணி வீண் செலவு குறையும். இந்த மாதிரியாகப் பல வழிகளிலும் இன்னும் நூல் சரியான வழியில் விநியோகிப்பதற்கும் உடைச் செலவைக்குறைப்பதற்கும் வேண்டிய முறைகளைக் கையாண்டால் இந்த தேசத்திலிருக்கும் இந்த நெருக்கடியைப் போக்கிவிடமுடியும்.”

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the members of this House irrespective of party has tried his best to make his own contribution to the debate. Sixty-two members took part in the food discussion and 61 in the debate on cloth. It is a matter for congratulation for every one who took part in the debate; for it has not been a debate made at random simply for the sake of making a speech. Every one, whether he or she who spoke in English or in vernacular, made his or her contribution. The voice of the millions, I should say, has been expressed in this House. Now, Sir, to reply to all the points is not simple or easy, but I have to do my duty.

“Soon after assuming office, I received a letter of congratulation and offer of hearty co-operation from Mr. Town, the Leader of the European Group. The words he used in that letter are very significant. The words are—I am not using the exact language of the letter—“myself and my party offer our congratulations and offer our co-operation to you and to your friends at this juncture when you are establishing your provincial freedom and when you are endeavouring to reach your goal.” I could never forget these words, very significant words, used at a psychological moment, having due regard to the struggles in this country for freedom carried on by all, primarily by the Congress and by all the rest in their own way. Although some of my friends were not in agreement with me when I said that we had reached a definite stage after 25 years of struggle, I always believed that we did reach a definite stage. I believe that plan has been working until now even though agreement has not been reached in all essentials on the top between the leaders of different sections. Agreement is bound to be reached; disagreements cannot go on for ever; even my good friend Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League, has given expression to words to the effect, that we cannot be quarrelling for ever; so that the day will not be far off when we shall be bound to establish freedom in this country ourselves. British statesmen including the Cabinet Mission have always been telling us ‘It is a matter of self-determination with you; make your own constitution; establish your own freedom. When we come here, it is only to help you out of any difficulties and to make up differences if possible.’ That has been the correct attitude for Britain and it is for that purpose that we have been struggling, not for a short space of time but for a long period of years. When we were fighting politically or economically, we were not always, including the best amongst us, aware of the difficulties and troubles in which we got involved during the last 150 years of British administration in this country. When the Act of 1935 was passed and when we were called upon to accept office and form ministries, the Congress did not agree until there was a convention created to the effect that the Governors in the provinces would not exercise their special powers—powers of individual discretion or powers of that kind. It was only after the statement was made by the Secretary of State for India and the same was repeated by the Viceroy and the Governors in the provinces that the Congress accepted office. They accepted office and continued to work for two years and four months and then they were obliged to lay down

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office because of the declaration of war and the declaration was made against the advice given by the Ministers and also by the Congress and the country here. All that has become a matter of past history now; seven years have passed since the Ministry resigned. In between, there have been non-violent battles; we were called once, twice, thrice to perform individual satyagraha. Immediately after the resignation of the Ministry when direction was given by the Congress to offer individual satyagraha, Ministers also joined in it and went to jail. You will not find anywhere in the history of the world such things happening. There might have been small mistakes on this side or that but the fight went on. Now, Sir, after the last release, this Government has been formed with the blessing of all and with the offer of co-operation of all in the country. We have taken up office on behalf of not merely the Congress but on behalf of all the people of the country. Even though some of you may disclaim it altogether, with all respect to them, I would submit that any Government that comes into office will be the Government not only of the party to which the Government members belong but of the people over whom the Government has to be carried on.

"Now, Sir, I am coming to the question of cloth. Food and cloth famine has overtaken us immediately after the close of the war. In this world, since its creation, human struggle has been going on only for the sake of food and cloth. If battles have been fought, it was only for securing food and cloth to the belligerent ruling powers that declared war. If business is carried on, it is only for earning food and cloth and enabling people to live. When a Government assumes office, it is the primary duty of that Government to make all necessary arrangements for the collection of taxes from the people and at the same time make all necessary arrangements so that every facility will be given to the people in the matter of bread and cloth. As a primary duty of the State, it was the primary duty of the British Government which had been ruling over this country for such a long period to see that the people of every province, of every area, got enough of food and cloth.

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"The Government, the British Government, was established here primarily as a mercantile power and it was its business to see that its business was not in any way jeopardised. Therefore it was that the whole system, the British system, had been built up in such a manner that to-day even after Provincial Autonomy is established and to-morrow or the day after, after India's full independence is established, it becomes the duty of the new Government to find out, whether it is in a province, whether it is in the whole of India or the world as a whole, as to how to solve the problem. Let me tell you, I myself did not know, when the zamindari enquiry was made by me and by other friends, all the implications of that system, and then I got to the very bottom of it through the help of the records preserved in the *Fort St. George* dating back to a period of about 150 years. Similarly, to-day with regard to the cloth and food situation every individual in this land, whether he is a member of the

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Assembly or a member of the Council or any other human being, every one ought to have known these two things in the history that he was studying in the schools and colleges; it is the duty of every one to know what was the position of food and cloth in the country, whether it was the food of the Muslims, the Christians, or the Harijan community—which term I do not wish to use—for others. I do not like to hear this community aspect of things from our friends on this side. That community distinction must cease to exist, if not to-day, at least to-morrow. There must be no distinction of a community being called Harijan. Harijan is a name for the transition period, and I am longing to see that period to be as short as possible. Therefore, Sir, about food and cloth, it has become the duty of everyone to know. Let me confess to you, Sir, and to all the hon. Members that, although I have studied so many subjects and the departmental notes during the last 10 years, I myself did not know the extent and the magnitude of the business regarding food and cloth, because I have not had an opportunity of serving in this province or in the Centre. Now, Sir, I have found out for the last one month and odd that the whole thing is so serious and so much entangled that it has not been an easy matter to get relief either in the matter of food or cloth for the country and the people who have been making cloth hitherto and growing food. Now, it has been the most impossible matter to get the required sympathy from other countries, to get full sympathy and full support even from the Government of India. We have seen during the last few years, how lakhs of people died in Bengal for want of food. That is a most tragic period in history. Here when we have suddenly got upon the verge of famine in food and cloth, everybody woke up, including the Government. Everybody woke up—I do not say people on this side or that—everybody woke up including the Government. But the Government of India was not able to get out of the fetters forged by itself round its own body, round the body of the Provincial Governments and round everybody's body. That has been the position. Now let me come to the point straightaway, namely, the policy of the Government of India and the policy of the Government in the provinces, in regard to food and cloth. With regard to cloth, I spoke enough on the food question; let us see how the questions became involved. We have been in a tangle as it were. Sir Theodore Gregory, the Economic Adviser in the Centre, spoke yesterday or the day before—if you read this morning's paper, you will see it—and said that with regard to this food and cloth business, there must be self-sufficiency. His idea of self-sufficiency is different from our idea of self-sufficiency. His self-sufficiency doctrine applied to the Government of India as a whole, and he said the self-sufficiency doctrine must be applied to India treating India as a whole. I am submitting to the Government, to Lord Wavell, and even to the Secretary of State who is here in this country on a special mission, that the policy of this Government exercising its own powers and its own duties is that this province must be self-sufficient with regard to food and cloth. This province should not be tied down to the Government of India in its policy of self-sufficiency for the whole of India. Already,

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it was wrong on the part of the Government of India and of the Secretary of State who approved the policy to have stated that the Government of India is one unit and still to be declaring the policy with regard to the provinces and regulating the food and cloth of the peoples of the provinces. This should have been objected to on the spot. It should have been prevented on the spot. But that could not be. As you all know and we all know, even the ordinary politicians and the Congress have been fighting for the freedom of this country. The policy of food and cloth does not relate to the Government of India that rules from Delhi. Government of India, having nominated members on its Executive Council, cannot be expected to know how to regulate the food and cloth of the different provinces. Out of sheer mercy, if not anything, the Government should have allowed the policy to be regulated by the provinces. (Hear, hear.) You have seen in the literature that I have placed before you, that in spite of the protests of the Provincial Government of Madras, not the Provincial Government that has come into existence a month back, but the Provincial Government that came into existence a few years ago, that Provincial Government that was functioning at a critical period, that it should not be tied down to the policy of the Government of India, but should be given freedom to get along, that has been denied. Every one of the hon. Members here who have followed the whole subject protested against the discrimination shown by the Government of India with regard to the application of the differential values between Bombay and Madras. So much trouble had arisen on account of one report. I am trying to place before you these words so that they may reach the highest authorities who have been responsible for all the trouble that has been going on here during the last two months. They made the original mistake of taking the policy on hand, of regulating the food and cloth of the various provinces, directing the food of one province to go to another province, and that way it became a gambling chance. Things were going on that way. Suddenly we have been caught in the net soon after the war closed. But for it, this trouble would not have arisen. Having mastered the facts and figures so far as this province is concerned, I must say that this trouble would not have arisen if this province had been left to itself. The Government here were labouring hard and I have been criticised by some friends outside for having stated that the Government have laboured hard. I have to give expression to my feeling when I refer to facts, having regard to the position which we are facing to-day. They laboured hard asking the Government of India to let them have some freedom. Those requests were not complied with, and even in the latest question with regard to the further reduction of the ration, whether it should ever go from 10 ounces to 8 ounces, we fared no better. What on earth is going to happen, God alone knows. But I am hoping that that thing would not happen now. The conditions have changed within a few days. The weather has changed. The rain has come in the monsoon area, if not exactly in the middle of May, at least a few days later. We are also getting the necessary stuff for our existence from outside India. From America a more hopeful view was given by Mr. Morrison who

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spoke in the House of Commons the other day after returning from America. They expected the very statement which held out the quantities of grains. . . .

N. MUHAMMAD ANWAR SAHIB BAHADUR:—"It is only rough."

* THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"My friend would not be patient even for one second. I only mentioned Mr. Morrison's name and my friend could not contain it. There are commentators and commentators in this country of ours, wonderful commentators. Mr. Morrison spoke only a short while ago. One commentator said that he made a positive statement. There was another commentator, who said—I do not remember his name—that it was only a surmise. Mr. Morrison having returned from the place and having said everything as it occurred makes a positive statement, and some gentleman—of course, I do not know whether he has correctly stated—says it is only a surmise. You may say that my standing here and speaking here is a surmise and not an actual fact. We will presume that statements like that are true, and that they even have to be worked out also. When we see things are changing, there might be a ground for us to say that we might be able to tide over this crisis with regard to cloth and also food. That is the position. Now, Sir, when I say that the provinces must have been left to follow the rule of self-sufficiency, I will not stop there, because Sir Theodore Gregory said that his doctrine of self-sufficiency should be applied to India as a unit. I say that doctrine must apply to the province as a province. I go further and say—I have been labouring the point before you all in the hope that whatever might be the prejudice in your minds against the bullock-cart from out of which you are born in those villages wherefrom you shifted on to towns and cities for some profession or other or for some studies, we must all have come from the bullock-cart country, without any exception; this does not apply to Mr. Town—that this self-sufficiency will lead to most serious mistakes if you say that this self-sufficiency rule must apply to Madras City, Bombay City, Calcutta City and a few towns, where we fashionable men learning English education which the English Government was good enough to give us, have shifted for the sake of our professions. We have built up some of these cities ourselves, having come from the villages. Even after retirement, some of our hon. gentlemen would not be willing to go back to the villages. These hon. gentlemen will go to places like Bangalore and stick up there to spend the rest of their lives. That is the condition to which we have been reduced in this country of ours. Therefore I say this self-sufficiency doctrine has to be applied to the masses of this country, to the people of this country 90 per cent of whom are living in villages, and not to Mr. Salam. Mr. Pocker worked himself into a fury the other day. I always took him to be a mild Mussalman. I have known him for a long time as an advocate. I did not take him for a Moplah when he was living as an ordinary advocate. The other day he got so furious when he was dealing with the question of village committees.

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I have seen Moplah ladies, Moplah children, young and old, in colleges and outside in Malabar. It is not a thing over which Mr. Pocker should have become so furious. We are all here for those people. I do not mind any harsh language being used in righteous indignation, though I am bound to check it up if it goes beyond the limit. (Mr. B. Pocker Sahib Bahadur: 'No harsh language was used'.) No, it was not. This is the first session of this Assembly when we poor fellows are in charge of this Government. It has become our duty to place before the House how best this trouble can be solved. Can this food and cloth trouble be solved by any other means or by the means applied by Britain in 1929-31 when it became impossible for the British people, men and women, to carry on their business and to live in their own country, with every article made by them not being able to be sold in their own market, and when Russian articles would come there and capture the whole market and when everything could be got for a song? That is what has happened, Russia coming and capturing the English market in the struggle. I may tell you what the English merchants and traders, the biggest men of Britain, did. They sent a Commission to Russia to find out what was the cause of this trouble with Russia, how could they have made the same goods which we are making in our own countries, for cheaper prices; the same manufactured there, brought all the way to London, and put in the market and undersold? I have made a special study of this. Some of you might have forgotten it. The Commission returned and said in their report 'We cannot compete with Russia. Russia has manufactured all the goods at the lowest of wages in the world. Because it was Russia, it could do it. It was not possible for Britain to do that. Therefore it was that Great Britain at once decided. 'This is the cause, this is the mischief that has been done to us. We have been advocating free trade for ourselves, India and other places. No more free trade. Let us not allow free trade. Let us not allow Russian goods. Prohibit all the Russian goods.' They put their points, and they succeeded in developing their trade and their business in every aspect and they tided over it. Now, Sir, some years ago I had to go to overseas countries. I happened to go to that French Colony called Indo-China. What was the position there with regard to cloth? For every man and woman—please note it—cloth was made in Gujerat. The cloth was sent from here, from India and China, and money was brought in exchange for it. Just then I happened to be in that area. They said "Why is the cloth coming from India? Why not we put a stop to these things?" In one minute they passed a law imposing a tariff rate of 85 per cent for every article that comes from Gujerat. The whole thing was done in twelve months, and they were able to sell from Paris and other places. That is the position in which we people in India are situated. We want freedom, not that Mr. Town's business should go out of Madras. I do not wish that. We want freedom for ourselves. How best can we do it? People would require not even two months to solve the food and cloth problem, if they were absolutely free in this country. If we had

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such a freedom as that, we could have straightaway dealt with the situation. We have been complaining here. The stock is there, the paddy is there hoarded somewhere which we have not been able to get. With all our powers we have not been able to get it. That was the condition in the country when we took up this office. If that was not possible and the crisis had come upon us, what is that we can possibly do? In the other House, one friend jocularly said, if a man had hoarded and does not respond, shoot him. (A voice: "No, he was".) (The Hon. Sri V. V. Giri: 'He had stated he was not serious after completing the speech'.) You should have been there to make him serious. Therefore he is hoarding somewhere. How are we to get it? The Co-operative Department I have studied not only in our country, but in other countries. The Co-operative Department has been there with so many links missing. We have not been in a position to call the department to get the whole thing and get the stock. It was only this morning after getting light from the speeches, from the wonderful contribution made in the speeches, that I requested Mr. Giri, the Member in charge of that portfolio, to call the departmental heads. This morning we met and came to know how certain mistakes were there. You would be surprised to learn after a few days more how what was not forthcoming in spite of persuasion and the methods employed, would be forthcoming. I am hoping now that the people have begun to understand. Even without going to them, I am able to tell you they have begun to understand how they would have to meet the situation. Realizing and recognizing that, it has been their duty to solve this problem because it is they that made us Ministers on behalf of the country. I hope that they will come very soon with the real help of the Co-operative Department. You suggest alterations to this principle. Let me tell you, Sir, if the conditions regarding the working of the Co-operative Department had been similar in all the districts, we should not have taken even one month to solve this problem and to get all the things. That is the position in which we are. Therefore, Sir, I say that the method that has to be applied now is a method that would serve not only for a month or six months or even six years. This method should endure for a long time, to solve the food and cloth problem for all time.

"My hon. Friends want to know where the village committees would work and whether these organizations would work well. The village committees would be functioning only in places where the co-operative movement is not able to start work immediately and would have to start from the very beginning. These committees would not interest themselves in political work or any such thing. They are not intended for political purposes. Some hon. Members have entertained such misgivings. These committees would be functioning like the co-operative organizations in places where the co-operative movement is not there now. Various objections have been raised by some Members to the formation of these committees and to the provision for appeals. I know the people of our country and I know my own mind. Although I have made,

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provision for appeals and other safeguards for convincing the people who doubt the soundness of the scheme, I always believe that once the people understand what the scheme aims at, they will not give much trouble. On the other hand, it is when the people were subjected to various controls and rules and restrictions that they exercised their minds as to how they could circumvent those rules and restrictions. It is in this way that things have been going on, having regard to the weaknesses of human nature. When once freedom is given to the people and when once they are told that it is their business and that it is their money that is involved, the village people, and the village officers too, will not conduct themselves in the manner they have been conducting themselves hitherto. The village officers will probably ask for increase of salaries. If the villages are reconstituted and they are made to develop the villages, the whole responsibility will be upon them. But this is a different matter altogether. What I want now to point out is that the villages are the basis for our future action, whatever it is. I have known some villages where the population is mainly Muslim. The villagers do not think in terms of communities. It is only at the top that there is some sort of fighting for places. For a very long time the villagers have been getting on in the manner I have described. Let there be no differences among them now, at any rate, in matters relating to food and cloth. I need not add that these are for the common good of all.

"My hon. Friend Mr. Town, forgetting what khaddar has done, what it is capable of doing and what troubles it had to endure, made some sceptic references to it. I know that khaddar has made a poor impression on him and his speech on the subject shows it. I leave it there. Mr. Town and other friends cannot be in agreement with me regarding the potentialities of khaddar. We know its utility and we are going to make khaddar a permanent factor in this country as far as possible, to provide food to all the poor people who cannot enjoy a higher standard of living and to prevent their rushing to the mills for the nice cloth made there. Perhaps at the present time I cannot say that without mill cloth people can get on. But you will see what is going to happen in this world. One world war was over and we never expected a second world war. We know how it started and how it went on and what happened to all the countries which had mills flourishing and making their own cloth. Why have they not been able to get cloth from Manchester? The present crisis would not have arisen if that cloth had been forthcoming. Do not make any mistake in supposing that this 'bullock-cart business' will not last and that mills and atomic bombs will last for ever. This world war has taught us a different lesson. Do not look with contempt upon the khaddar programme or the wheel programme or the method proposed for making the villagers have their own food in their own village. When the time comes, I will place before you schemes aiming at making the village the unit of Government and convince you how the village government can be constituted and made to function permanently with a budget of its own. The

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village budget will take into account the needs of all the men, women and children of the village and when these village budgets are received at the provincial headquarters, the provincial budget will be framed incorporating the main items of the village budgets. Therefore I say the village units should not be looked upon with contempt. The village as a unit has come to stay. It is the village unit each in its own way that has been fighting all these 25 years the battle of freedom.

"Now, coming to the remarks made by my hon. Friend Mr. Salam, I would like to invite him and his friends to go to a village with me and see the conditions there. In certain areas it will be difficult even for the bullock-cart to enter. I will not ask Mr. Salam to go in a bullock-cart. It is our duty to give all the villagers the facilities that Guntur possesses with the help of electricity. The Government are working in that direction. Now we have three hydro-electric systems such as (1) Pykara, (2) Mettur and (3) Papanasam, and these are serving 850 villages in the districts of Salem, Coimbatore, Madurai, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, North Arcot and South Arcot. These three systems have over 3,000 miles of high tension lines operating at voltages from 11,000 to 110,000 serving 45 towns. Many important industries are served by them. In course of time these villages which some of us intend to visit sometime later will be quite different from what they now are. I have asked Mr. Sundaram, the head of this department, to go with me to see how we can make more villages benefit from these systems. I had been longing, before assuming office, that electricity should be made available to every village as far as possible in this country. We are hundred years behind other countries in this respect. Our friends must note that. (A voice: 'Electricity was invented only 50 years ago.') I accept the correction. (Laughter.) We are some fifty years behind other countries. Electricity need not necessarily be generated from big rivers or from falls like those at Pykara. Even in this country, an engineer said several years ago that electricity could be generated even from the Kistna canal or the Kurnool-Cuddapah canal. We have not worked out those plans. But, if we all work together now, the face of the country will be changed before long. I am not suggesting this for the sake of holding office either as Minister or as somebody else, but for developing the country as a whole and for seeing that the country has plenty of food and cloth. You will be convinced of the benefit that electricity is capable of giving if you take a look at the yield in areas where electricity is available. With the help of electricity, agriculturists pump up water for their fields and they yield a rich harvest.

"Sir, one point which Mr. Town made against the proposed committees is this—he is under the mistaken impression that these committees will be torn with faction. He stated that the village panchayats and other local bodies have not been a conspicuous success and that therefore it was unwise to set up such committees and give them power on behalf of the Government. The village

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panchayats and other local bodies were introduced by Lord Ripon with the best of intentions to enable the people to learn the art of Government. They were functioning with a Democles' sword hanging over their head. Everything failed because there was no incentive to the people to work them and there was no inclination on the part of the authorities to give these committees any useful power to carry on the administration. Now it is up to us to decide what we should do with these local bodies, whether they should work in the manner in which they have been working, whether they should turn a new leaf altogether and become autonomous bodies. We will decide this matter later. The failure of the old local administrations will not deter us from going forward with our schemes. The new committees will have a new job and they will make a new beginning altogether. Our people will give these committees new life.

"Then Mr. Town argued that we would be creating a large number of petty officers and extra expenditure will have to be incurred for working this scheme of cloth distribution. He is labouring under a mistake. He is under the impression that the Government's draft proposals would involve these committees in buying and selling activities in the matter of cloth. I would invite his attention to paragraph 2 of the draft proposals which says that the village committees will only give instructions specifying the families to whom the consignment should be distributed and the quantity in each of the available varieties to be sold to each such family. The sub-committee which each village committee will appoint is, however, being given power to visit shops and look into the cash receipts or credit notes evidencing the sales made by the dealer in order to see that the distribution has been in accordance with the rules. These provisions have probably created the misapprehension in the minds of those who always suspect the dealers and others. It is to put heart into the members of the sub-committee that they have been given this power to verify on the spot. No petty officers or additional expenditure would be required for working the Government scheme regarding the distribution of cloth. On the other hand, these committees will enable the Government to avoid the additional expenditure that will always be necessary for enforcing the proposed arrangement.

"Next, Sir, I have to make an observation about another point. Sometimes, when hon. Members make speeches, they do not verify the facts they allege. We have been all these days discussing the question of food and cloth with a view to finding ways and means of solving the problem. Our immediate task is to get more food to tide over the critical three months ahead. When we started this debate, the conditions did not appear to be as favourable as they are to-day. We, therefore, concentrated our attention on the needs of the next three months. Incidentally, hon. Members themselves introduced the question of 'grow more food' and referred also to a long range programme. Truly these are connected subjects and one cannot confine himself exclusively to one subject.

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"Sir, some of my friends are reported to have stated, they took the liberty of saying, that we were beside the mark, that we did not touch upon the 'grow more food' programme, that we did not think of bringing more lands under cultivation and producing more food, etc. If such criticisms appear in newspapers, the readers in Bombay for instance will flash back saying 'Here are these criticisms.' I appeal to hon. Friends and to critics outside to note how other provinces will interpret their criticisms. We might have made mistakes. Mistakes are bound to occur and when they are noticed or when they are brought to notice by hon. Members, they are immediately corrected. It is only as a result of the discussions that we are trying to formulate finally our programme. I therefore appeal to hon. Members not to base their criticisms on what they hear without verifying the facts. The concrete fact is the crisis facing us and the need for taking steps to overcome it. This necessitates our confining ourselves to the true facts of the situation. We must procure food from wherever it is available. There is a general impression that it is secreted and that it should be brought out. That is our first duty. And what is our second duty? The second method of meeting the present crisis is to appeal to the Government of India to withdraw the present control policy. The whole control policy is in their hands and it is this thing that has brought us into this trouble. Everybody was trying to get as much as possible for himself although those who promised food failed for some reason or other. We were obliged to get food from outside. Every effort was made to get as much as possible from outside. These are the two methods we adopted to meet the present crisis.

"In this situation, we are advised to leave these two methods alone and concert measures to bring more lands under cultivation immediately. Supposing I take steps to bring more lands under cultivation immediately by applying for tractors and ploughs, will I get food out of them? I must ask my friends to discharge their duties in a less hurried manner. In this respect they are behind, far behind their leaders. Unknowingly and without taking particular care, let them not do any harm to us.

"One hon. Member stated in his speech that licence was given to a dealer for the first time. Here is what he said: 'The Textile Control Department have given an export permit for handloom cloth to one Mr. T. Sadasivam who had never done any cloth business till then.' The Provincial Textile Commissioner says that this allegation is completely untrue and unwarranted. Mr. Venkateswarlu alleged that permit had been given to Mr. Sadasivam for exporting handloom cloth to Ceylon. As a matter of fact, the Textile Control Department in this province has nothing to do with exports to Ceylon. These are regulated entirely by the Export Trade Controller, Madras, who is an officer working directly under the Commerce Department of the Government of India. The hon. Member who made that charge against the officer here should have taken some little care to verify whether this

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Government had any jurisdiction over export trade at all and whether this Government was doing any business with regard to export of cloth.

"Then, as regards blackmarkets, all are agreed that the blackmarkets must cease to exist and that corruption should cease to exist. Every member laid stress on this and made it very clear that unless these two institutions cease to exist, this country cannot prosper. Many would not have known, even after 150 years, what has been going on in the departments controlling the destinies of the people of this country.

5-45 P.M. "The hon. Member Mr. Town said that there was no civil consciousness in the people. To a great extent this is due to the system of Government that has prevailed in this country. This civic consciousness has been absent even in responsible Government officials who have refused to act upon known facts and put down corruption. That being so, the ordinary common man has not the necessary courage to expose corruption, for he is afraid that he may be proceeded against on some count or other. I have known the people of this country and I know how things are working. I have seen it from all sides. Corruption has regulated itself in certain departments as perjury has become a profession with some people who deal with the courts. It will be our endeavour to remove this corruption by educating the people. The Penal Code says that the giver of the bribe as well as the taker of the bribe will both be equally guilty. But what is it that happens in actual practice? (Interruption.) If I am not correct in what I say, if there is the slightest untruth in it, I shall correct myself. We shall have to put courage into the mind of the common man, the man who will have to give us the necessary information. I am trying to see what is the best way of getting at the truth of the whole matter and at the same time serve the purpose we have in view, namely, the getting out of the goods that are not now coming out. I hope that my hon. Friends in this House will help the Government in bringing out the goods which have not been forthcoming hitherto. I do not suggest the taking of police officers and magistrates, but certain other methods which this Government are already trying, by making some alterations in the rules which will enable us to get at the goods. I may be a bit slow, Sir, but I am not altogether slow and forgetful. I may assure hon. Members that blackmarketing will be destroyed in no time; in less than six months you will not be hearing of blackmarketing. (Hear, hear.) In less than six months, no public servant will take any bribe for doing a public duty. Anyone who has been systematically taking bribes will know it to his cost and he will not and dare not take it even though it is forced upon him.

"I have taken more time than I expected, but I am glad I have secured the fullest co-operation of this House in the efforts we are making. My hon. Friend, Mr. Gopala Reddi asked me why we should not appoint a senior Civilian Officer. Sir, nothing will be left undone; we shall consider all the suggestions that have

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been made. Just as we have taken into consideration all the suggestions made with regard to food, so also with regard to cloth we shall try our best to consider and give effect to all the suggestions which will prove useful. But one thing is certain with regard to the question of cloth. Hon. Members of this House, especially those who spoke in the Indian languages, have described the tragic condition of the people in regard to cloth and it has gone home to everybody. The best way in which the people of this country can solve the cloth problem is for them to take to handspinning. It is not a compulsory matter. Those who are not spinners cannot be compelled to become spinners. I was not myself a spinner for a very long time. Nobody compelled me to become a spinner though there are rules in our organization with regard to spinning. (Mr. H. S. Town: 'Are you a good spinner, Sir?') Whatever I am, there are other friends here who can spin 60, 80 and 100 counts from which very fine cloth can be woven. We have all got faith in it. I have gone through the villages where women are spinning and getting one anna for spinning. That is the stage of the country which we are trying to develop. I ask you to help us in the best possible manner. Mahatma Gandhi started this khaddar movement long ago and the charka is the symbol put on the national flag. When some of his co-workers abandoned it, he did not mind, he was himself carrying it on through the All India Spinners Association. If we are absolutely faithful to this, if the country has responded with one voice to Mahatma Gandhi's call in regard to khaddar, even without going to jail and without putting ourselves to all these troubles, we will have earned the freedom of the country and provided for sufficient food and cloth for the people.

"After I became Minister I went to a village to find out the extent to which the people can develop that village by co-operating among themselves. Reference was made to the bullock-cart. But I would ask the hon. Member to go to that village which is not very far off from here. Though other villages are complaining and crying for food, people of this village are not complaining about food. They are in a position to produce their requirements. They use their bullocks not for carrying goods on the roads for which they were using them formerly, but for the purpose of increasing the food production. I was one of those who were helping those villages for some time. Then some of us went to jail. That retarded their progress. These villages have unknown potentialities and these people who have been responsible for the country's progress and prosperity for ages and ages must be helped.

"So far as these committees are concerned, I give my assurance to hon. Members that there is nothing political in them. I am a man who will try bit by bit. If people come together on one matter on this occasion, it will pave the way for them to come together in another matter. Most of the things are common to us all. There is no quarrel about them. It is only on some top matters that there are differences.

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"With these observations, Sir, I should like to close. I offer my thanks to every one of you for the splendid manner in which you opened not only my eyes on certain matters but opened the eyes of millions of the people of the country. This discussion for seven days has had more propaganda value than the propaganda of the last two or three years. The way in which the consciousness of the people of this country has been roused has been such that it is certain that nothing but good will come out of it. (Applause.) Before we adjourn, I want to make one statement regarding"

MR. SPEAKER:—"The Hon. the Premier has not indicated the attitude of the Government towards the five amendments which have been moved. They have all to be put to the vote of the House before we proceed to the next business."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"I was myself feeling that I had omitted something. With regard to the five amendments I have no objection to the amendment of Kumararaja Sir Muthiah Chettiyar. The other amendments, that is, those of Mr. Majeed, Mr. P. Venkateswarlu, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Pocker Sahib, I am sorry I cannot accept them."

*M. S. ABDUL MAJEED SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Add the following at the end:—

"and on such consideration, the House is of opinion that the draft proposals presented by the Government to the House with regard to the cloth administration are impracticable and unworkable and ineffective to tackle the impending crisis in cloth; and giving effect to the said proposals is fraught with dangerous results; and

such defects as are existing in the present system are remediable without the necessity of substituting the present system by a completely new system as adumbrated by the draft proposals; and the present crisis in the cloth situation requires immediate and special attention. It is necessary that a Board consisting of not more than 15 members and not less than 11 be constituted for the province consisting of representatives of the major political parties of the Provincial Legislature with plenary powers to deal with all questions relating to cloth in the province, that the Board shall elect its chairman and that the Board shall constitute advisory committees in the districts and in taluks consisting of the representatives of major political parties."

KUMARARAJA SIR M. A. MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD:—"Add the following at the end:—

"and on such consideration this House is of opinion—

I. that the scheme of differential cloth quotas now enforced by the Government of India is not based on any just and equitable principle and that a uniform per capita allotment for all areas in India should be introduced with immediate effect for the following reasons:—

- (1) in a hot climate like that of Madras more cotton cloth is required than in Northern India by reason of more rapid wear.
- (2) in the areas in Northern India, a large proportion of the clothing of the people has necessarily to be in wool and such supplies of woollen clothing are available to them.
- (3) the proportion of mill cloth to the total cloth quota of the area is now the lowest in Madras among the Provinces and States in India and it is but reasonable that there should be, as far as possible, equality of treatment in this respect as between all areas in India.

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MR. SPEAKER:—"Before I proceed to put the amendments to the vote of the House, I want to express my sincere hope that the Hon. the Premier will succeed in his endeavour to avert the food and cloth famine and I pray God to help him, so that the poor people may have enough of food and cloth."

The amendments of Mr. Majeed, Mr. P. Venkateswarlu, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Pocker Sahib were one by one put to the House and declared lost.

The amendment of Kumararaja Sir Muthiah Chettiyar was by leave of the House withdrawn.

The original motion that the cloth situation in the province be taken into consideration, was put and carried.

MUHAMMAD ABDUL SALAM SAHIB BAHADUR:—"With the permission of the Chair, may I ask for information on one point? The Hon. Premier the other day informed the other House that the Legislature would very soon have to reassemble for the purpose of election to the Constituent Assembly. We shall be obliged if he can give us some definite information."

II. (1) that the quota of yarn allocated to this province under the All-India Yarn Scheme is grossly inadequate and has been causing serious hardship to the handloom industry as it gives the handloom weavers numbering nearly half a million, work for only ten days in the month and this is the main reason for the serious disparity in prices between handloom cloth and corresponding mill cloth, resulting in prohibitive prices for handloom cloth far beyond the means of the ordinary consumer.

(2) that this allocation based upon estimates given by the Fact Finding Committee which have been proved to be very bad under-estimates should be revised on an equitable basis forthwith."

SRI P. VENKATESWARLU:—"Add the following at the end:—

"and on such consideration, the House is of opinion—

- (1) that the draft proposals are inadequate and ineffective to meet the situation;
- (2) that to ensure proper distribution of cloth, handloom cloth be also brought under rationing scheme;
- (3) that a thorough investigation be conducted into the working of the Madras Provincial Textile Department by a committee consisting of eleven members of this House as well as that of outside public opinion."

MR. T. J. M. WILSON:—"Add the following at the end:—

"and on such consideration the House is of opinion—

- (1) that the draft proposals are inadequate and ineffective to meet the situation;
- (2) that in order to protect the handloom industry and to safeguard the interests of the handloom weaver the Government should fix the minimum living wage of the handloom weaver;
- (3) that since the Handloom Weavers' Co-operative Societies at present are being discouraged the Government should by all possible means encourage the formation of a large number of co-operative societies of genuine handloom weavers;
- (4) that for the purposes of ensuring a regular and continuous supply of more yarn at controlled prices and eliminating wide spread blackmarketing in yarn the Government should take over the management of all textile mills during the present crisis allowing not more than a minimum profit to the mill owners, take steps to step up production and distribute yarn through

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MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member has my permission. The Hon. the Premier may give that information if he likes."

* THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"That is the very matter on which I wanted to say a few words. We are dispersing now, and when are we to meet again is the question. I am saying this so far as I am able to see and from what is going on in the country. I have no particular authority from Government or other sources for what I am saying. I am only placing my views before the House so that Members may be prepared if they should be called for another meeting at an early date. The Budget Session will begin on the 31st July next. Some of you may be under the impression that the rest of this month and the whole of July will be a holiday. It may not be so. It may be that a meeting of this House may be summoned about the middle of this month. We are already on the 3rd June. A meeting of this House may be summoned for the sake of the Constituent Assembly elections. We cannot suddenly come here and go through all the formalities of nominations, withdrawals, scrutiny of nominations and elections in one or two days. Therefore the House may be summoned about the middle of June. The last day for the receipt of nominations may be about 30th June. The scrutiny of nominations may be on the 1st or 2nd July. The date for the withdrawal of nominations may be two or three days later. The elections may be held about the 10th July and the results declared about the 15th July."

"But one thing I should make clear to hon. Members. All this may not happen if there is no agreement there in Delhi and if no further step is to be taken in pursuance of that. Agreement or no agreement, one thing I must make clear and that is, unless there is a direction from the Congress High Command, so far as we are concerned, we cannot say that all this will happen. But I am only speaking generally having regard to all that has been going on until now, and I have mentioned the dates to which the House will stand summoned and the programme of elections for the Constituent Assembly."

KUMARARAJA SIR MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have not been able to follow the two things. I do not understand why the Hon. Premier says that the House would be summoned to meet about the 15th June, if the elections are to take place in July."

yarn ration retail depots, thereby eliminating the chain of middlemen unnecessarily created between production and distribution ends; and

(5) that in order to ensure equitable distribution of adequate yardage of cloth per head among the public the Government should ration handloom cloth also."

B. POCKER SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Add the following at the end:—
'That on further consideration this House is of the opinion that rationing of cloth be introduced in the Province and that rations be fixed according to the requirements of the various classes of consumers in regard to quantity, quality and variety.'"

3rd June 1946]

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"If I have given that impression, it is a wrong impression and I must remove it straightaway. I do not say that the House will be meeting here on the 15th June. A notification will be issued on the 15th June stating when the House will be summoned for that purpose and it will also indicate the dates for nominations, scrutiny, withdrawals, elections, etc. I think I have now made that position clear."

MUHAMMAD ABDUL SALAM SAHIB BAHADUR:—"On a point of information, Sir, may I know whether the Leader of the House has got any information in this matter as Premier of this province?"

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"As an ordinary man and as a Premier I have made this statement having regard to all the information that I could gather. But I have got nothing from the higher authorities of the Government."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I thank hon. Members from the bottom of my heart for the kind co-operation they have one and all given me in this the first session of this House. I adjourn the House *sine die*."

The House then adjourned *sine die*.

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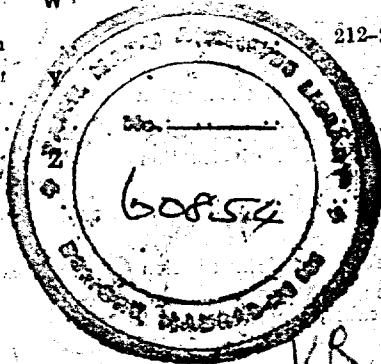
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